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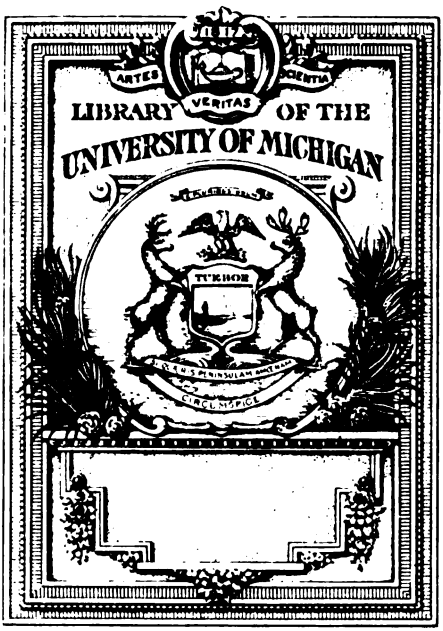
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Reformed Church review

THE

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EDITED FOR

The Alumni Association

OF

FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE;

BY

REV. E. V. GERHART, D. D. AND REV. P. SCHAFF, D. D.

Neque enim quæro intelligere ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam.—*Anselm.*

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOL. XII.

ARTICLE. PAGE.

NO I.

I. Sketches of a Traveller from Greece, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine, 1

IV. History of the Modern Greek Language and Popular Poetry.
By Prof. A. L. Kœppen, Lancaster, Pa.

II. Churchliness, - - - - - - - - - 41
By the Rev. T. G. Apple, Greencastle, Pa.

III. The Church and Charitable Institutions, 64
By the Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D. D., Philadelphia, Pa.

IV. The Festival of Adonis, - - - - - - 86
By Prof. William M. Nevin, Lancaster, Pa.

V. The American Student in Germany, - - - 97
By Prof. N. Porter, D. D., New Haven, Conn.

VI. Synodical Church Authority, - - - 127
By the Rev. Henry Harbaugh, Lancaster, Pa.

VII. Cantatate Domino, - - - - - - 141
By the Rev. E. V. Gerhart D. D., Lancaster, Pa.

VIII. Recent Publications, - - - - - - 154

NO II.

I. Constantine the Great, - - - - - - 173
By the Rev. Philip Schaff, D. D., Mercersburg, Pa.

II. The Old Doctrine of Christian Baptism, - 190
By the Rev. John W. Nevin, D D., Lancaster, Pa.

III. The English Language, - - - - - - 216
By the Rev. Edmond Emerson, Greencastle, Pa.

IV. German Hymnology, - - - - - - 228
By the Rev. Thomas C. Porter, Lancaster, Pa.

V. Religion and Christianity, - - - - - 251
By the Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D. D., Lancaster, Pa.

VI. What is a Catechumen? - - - - - - 269
By the Rev. Henry Harbaugh, Lancaster, Pa.

VII. Mansel's Limits of Religious Thought, - 294
By the Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D. D., Lancaster, Pa.

VIII. Recent Publications, - - - - - - 319

NO III.

I. GOETHE. A DISSERTATION BY DOCTOR RAUCH, 329
Edited by Prof. E. V. Gerhart, D. D., Lancaster, Pa.

II. INFANT SALVATION, - - - - - - - - 385
By Rev. N. S. Strassburger, A. M., Pottstown, Pa.

III. THE CLOSING CHAPTERS OF THE BOOK OF JOB. THE DIVINE SOVEREIGNTY, - - - - - - 410
By Prof. Taylor Lewis, LL.D., Schenectady, N. Y.

IV. DOGMATIC THEOLOGY. ITS CONCEPTION, SOURCES, AND METHOD, - - - - - - - - 451
By Prof. Moses Kieffer, D. D., Tiffin, Ohio.

V. SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY IN 1859, - - - - - 479
By Prof. L. H. Steiner, A. M., M. D., Baltimore, Md.

VI. RECENT PUBLICATIONS, - - - - - - 498

NO. IV.

I. THE FALL AND THE NATURAL WORLD, - - - - 505
By the Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D. D., Lancaster, Pa.

II. STRENGTH AND BEAUTY OF THE SANCTUARY, - - 525

III. MEMOIR OF DR. J. W. ALEXANDER, - - 555
By Prof. Edwin Emerson, Troy, N. Y.

IV. UNLETTERED LEARNING, OR A PLEA FOR THE STUDY OF THINGS, - - - - - - - 586
By Wilberforce Nevin, A. M., Lancaster, Pa.

V. THE LITERATURE OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM, - 601
By the Rev. H. Harbaugh, D. D., Lancaster, Pa.

VI. THE PROSPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA, - 625

VII. RECENT PUBLICATIONS, - - - - - 639

THE

MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1860.

ART. I.—SKETCHES OF A TRAVELLER FROM GREECE, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

IX. HISTORY OF THE MODERN GREEK LANGUAGE AND POPULAR POETRY.

It seems to be a prevailing opinion in America that the Modern Greek as it is spoken and written at the present day by the three millions of Greeks in the Levant, is a totally distinct dialect from the classical language of the ancient Hellenes. Many of our literary men speak of it, as of a *Lingua Franca*, a medley of Turkish and Italian, a barbarous jargon, devoid of harmony and beauty and being, as they think, without a literature, is not worthy of the study or even the notice of the scholar. Yet this is an erroneous view which has its origin only in their not being sufficiently acquainted with the modern dialect. To this may be added some prejudices which we nourish against the Greek nation itself and a certain indifference on this otherwise interesting question or a shyness to go straightway into a thorough investigation of this subject by seriously and critically comparing the ancient and modern language with each other. Great has likewise been the outcry against the modern Greek pronunciation, though we think that every one must admit that it is far more harmonious, softer and partakes more of the nature and spirit of a Southern nation, than that long since introduced into the English Universities, and followed pretty generally in America. Among our prominent philologians there are

few who have made the modern Greek their study, and still fewer who have travelled in Greece and resided long enough at the University of Athens to adopt the pronunciation and spirit of the modern dialect and thus to be able to render an impartial judgment on this question.

Several of the German professors who lived with me in Greece have introduced it into the Universities of Germany, to which they returned after the revolutionary catastrophe of September, 1843.* So did the late lamented Dr. Lewis Ross in Halle, and Ernst Curtius in Göttingen. The same has been done by President Woolsey at Yale College and Prof. Felton at Harvard University in Cambridge, nor need I add that years ago my highly esteemed friend and colleague, Prof. W. M. Nevin, at Franklin and Marshall College, has adopted the true Greek pronunciation, and continually demonstrates to the students the importance of the modern Romaïc for the thorough study of the ancient Hellenic.† Should we now question the Greeks themselves, we would hear them denounce with one voice the presumption of the foreigners who, coming from a remote corner of the North, from regions unknown to their ancestors, pretend to teach the Greeks, the descendants of the Hellenes the proper pronounciation of their own mother tongue and they would add apparently with some justice: We can prove historically that our forefathers for a thousand and even twelve hundred years back have pronounced our language exactly as we do to this day. It belongs then to you, foreigners, likewise, to demonstrate on what grounds you suppose that your pronunciation of our language, which to our ears seems so barbarous, could have been of remoter antiquity than our own. During what period? by what revolutions has this

* See Mercersburg Quarterly Review, Vol. VI, 1854, page 465, et seq.

† From the time when Constantine adopted Christianity as a state-religion and built the Cathedral of Sancta Sophia in Constantinople, (A. D. 325), the Greeks in a religious significance call themselves *Romans*, Ῥωμαῖοι and their language, as the original tongue of the sacred Scriptures, Ῥωμαϊκὴ γλῶσσα Hence the words Ῥωμαῖος and Χριστιανός are synonymous. The modern dialect is likewise called ἡ σημερινή, or τωρινή (present) and ὠμιλουμένη or καθομιλουμένη (spoken) διάλεκτος. The Greeks call it likewise ἡ κοινὴ γλῶσσα, and their present purified written language ἡ ἀκλο ἑλληνικὴ, or *common Hellenic*.

change of accent and pronunciation taken place, which does not consist merely in the modulation of the voice or the variations of a dialect, but in harsh diphthongal sounds which it is quite impossible for a Greek organ to pronounce? Nay, the Greek will add, with a smile, "You yourselves, with your Anglo-Saxon organs, would not be able to speak that language which you read with so much difficulty and hesitation in the school." In this the Greeks certainly are right and there is some injustice on the part of the foreigner. For by merely opening some Romaïc or modern Greek book printed in the popular dialect a century ago in Venice or Vienna and finding some Turkish or Italian words mixed up with the Greek, an Hellenic scholar will shrug his shoulders and with a disdainful smile throw the book aside exclaiming, "Oh, what a barbarous jargon is the Romaïc." And yet he knows as little of the excellent works of Bulgaris, Theotokios and other Greek writers from the middle of the last century as of the late eventful history of the Greek nation and the astonishing development of their language which has within the last fifty years been restored to renewed freshness and beauty.

By this I do not, however, pretend to say that there is no difference in the style of the ancient and *modern Hellenic*—as the Greeks call their purified written language. The parts of speech as to their etymological structure are precisely the same now as they were three thousand years ago; but though there is no difference in the words, the modern language is not so copiously inflected nor so elliptically arranged with regard to the syntax as in the ancient Hellenic;—its structure follows more the easy flow of the Romanic languages, yet without losing either the character or the spirit of the mother tongue.

Such a modification, nay, total change in the very spirit of the idiom has taken place in the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and French languages in their relations to the Latin of ancient Rome. But with regard to these modern Romanic languages, history clearly accounts for the general

perversion of the Roman tongue during the continual migrations and settlements of Northern and Eastern tribes in the dark ages that followed the overthrow of the Western Roman empire. Latin was lost as a living language as early as the sixth century—while, on the contrary, the Hellenic was spoken, and written by the learned and the nobles of Constantinople until the Turkish conquest in the fifteenth century; nay, the celebrated Italian Philelphus, who visited that capital a few years before the fall of the Byzantine empire, says expressly, "that the ordinary speech of the ecclesiastics, the courtiers and principally the ladies of Constantinople, was so pure and beautiful that it might have issued from the lips of Sophocles or Euripides, and even from Plato or Aristotle themselves."* Nor is this a mere compliment paid by a Florentine enthusiast to the Constantinopolitan ladies—it is a well known fact that woman in Greece, at a much earlier period, was remarkable for preserving the purity of her language, and Plato tells us that it was principally the Athenian women who so faithfully preserved the ancient pronunciation of Attica.

These authentic statements left us from the middle ages, compared with our own observations at the present day, may well enable us to assert that in reality there exists a far greater difference between the English spoken and written by Chaucer and the present English, than between the language of Demosthenes and that of Trikupis and of Asopios now of the University at Athens.

The all powerful influence of the dominion of the Ostrogoths, the Longobards, the Franks of Charlemain and

* In his letter from Constantinople to his friend John Argyropulos, in 1451 two years before the conquest of the city of Mohammed II., he says: "Viri aulici veterem sermonis dignitatem atque elegantiam retinebant: imprimisque ab ipsis nobilibus mulieribus, quibusqum nullum esset omnino cum viris peregrinis commercium, *merus illè ac purus Grecorum sermo* servabatur intactus." In the island of Sicily and in the south of Italy, both in Calabria and on mount Gargano the great bulk of the population was Greek in language and manners, and few portions of the Greek race had succeeded so well in preserving their wealth and property uninjured. The Greek language continued there in use until the fourteenth century. See Col. George Finlay's excellent work: *Greece under the Romans.* Edinburgh and London. 1844. page 515.

the German emperors in Italy, and that of the Svevi, Vandals, Visigoths and Arabs in Spain and Portugal, brought on a total mixture, both of different races and of their dialects—from which, at a later period of the Middle Ages, new nations and new languages arose on the ruins of the old.

Not so in Greece. For one thousand years after the down-fall of Western Rome—during the sway of the Byzantine emperors—Greece was invaded, as I have related in a former article†—but never entirely subdued by any foreign nation. The Greek race never melted away and lost itself—nor did the Avares, the Bulgarians, or the various Slavic tribes obtain any permanent settlement in Hellas. Even those Slavonian colonies, I mentioned as occuyping, during the eighth and ninth centuries, some parts of the Peloponnesus, were soon subdued, conquered, Christianized and Hellenized by the sword of the Emperor Basilius, the Macedonian, in the year 860, and from that time down to the conquest of Constantinople by the Othoman Turks in 1453, we find the Greeks existing as a nation. Even under the government of the Dukes of Athens and the sovereign Princes of the Morea, they still enjoyed their language and religion, and a participation in the feudal priviliges of the French Barons.

Yet these revolutions, and their intercourse with more barbarous tribes, such as the Slavonians, the Albanians and the haughty Crusaders, have undoubtedly left some traces behind them, which particularly in the syntax of the modern language constitutes its real and essential difference from the ancient mother tongue. This dissimilarity consists chiefly in a reduced form, or a simplification of the old forms of the language, and, if I may say so—in a more modern turn of thought, which often with good Hellenic words expresses the new ideas of a modern Christian people;

† See my description of the Slavonic Invasions in Peloponnesus in Mercersburg Quarterly Review, Vol. IX, 1857, page 407. My medieval history of Athens and northern Greece, will follow in another number next year.

but nevertheless retain the Hellenic character.‡ Yet in spite of these alterations, which already begin to vanish in the latest books published in Athens—I consider these barbarisms to have been brought about by the condition of the times, that does not essentially strike at the heart and root of the language, because all the treasures of the ancient Hellenic remain still the inexhaustible source from which the modern Greeks can enrich their own—while, at the same time, they are rejecting and banishing the intruded Turkish, Albanian or Italian words and expressions. What renders this reform more easy is that these foreign words, though suffered to remain in common use by the illiterate mass of the people during the centuries of subjection, have never obtained such an influence over the Greek dialect, as have for instance, the Gothic and Arabic over the Italian and Spanish languages.

Popular dialects, deviating more or less from the written language, existed already in antiquity; and in order to trace them to their origin, the inquirer would be obliged to go back to the most flourishing times of Hellenic literature. The language of the Apostles in the New Testament forms already a transition toward the more modern idiom.

The Princess Anna Comnena, the learned daughter of the Emperor Alexius Comnenos, in the eleventh century employed Romaïc words; she calls Bohemund the Crusader a *Pallikari* or a brave and handsome warrior.* Nay it was even later that a Greek monk called the Ptochoprodromos—the poor Forerunner—in the twelfth century became the first modern poet who wrote a Romaïc poem addressed to the Emperor Manuel Comnenos. From that

‡ Thus for instance do the present Greeks in daily conversation make use of an indefinite article (εἷς, μία, ἕν,); they rarely employ the dative case and supply its want by prepositions. From the Slavonians and Crusaders they have adopted the more frequent use of auxiliary verbs and compound tenses as in the modern languages, though they employ them less in their more elegant *written* language. The Greeks have likewise dropt the infinitive mood, as far back as the thirteenth century and substitute the conjunctive with νὰ (ἵνα). They have reduced the simple tenses of the verbs to the present, imperfect and aorist, seldom using the perfect; yet they retain the participles in their full variety of forms and express the future like the Anglo Saxons, and Danes by the auxiliaries *shall* or *will*—θέλω.

* The modern *Pallikari* or Παλληκάριον is the diminutive of the ancient Greek πάλλαξ, a handsome young fellow and παλλακίς, a sweet heart.

time the Byzantine historians began to write in a mixture of Hellenic and Romaïc and this dialect was after the fall of Constantinople used by the Ecclesiastics and learned Greeks and called *mixobdrbaros*—while the language of the mass of the unhappy Greek nation during the Turkish dominion became more and more corrupt—through the intrusion of Turkish and Albanian words.

And yet the spirit and the body of this rough idiom remained truly Greek and it is a false supposition of superficial travellers that Slavonic, Albanian or Turkish is spoken by the modern descendants of the Hellenic race in Greece to the exclusion of their own.

I would therefore fearlessly compare the modern Greek language to an ancient Hellenic statue, which for many centuries had been buried in the bosom of the earth, but on its discovery,—though maimed and broken,—still presents the noble traits of antiquity and, placed in the hands of a skilful sculptor—might yet be restored to the beauty of a Medicean Venus.

During the last century different opinions prevailed in Greece with regard to this important restoration of the language. Some learned Hellenists, such as the venerable Neophytos Ducas and others, considered the vulgar dialect to be incapable of purification and they, therefore, wrote their voluminous works in a stiff and pedantic ancient Hellenic. But their labor was lost; their books were neither read nor understood. Others, taking the hint, like the lively poet Christópulos now began to exhort their countrymen to study their plain speech. They again went too far in another direction because they rejected all those Hellenic words and phrases which were not in common use, and published some curious books, without regard to etymology or orthography, thus putting a sudden stop to any future development of the popular language. But all in vain. The tender lyrical songs of Christópulos became the favorite airs to the guitar;—but his style was never imitated by succeeding poets; his barbarous orthography was dropt at once—and it was reserved for two patri-

otic men, the generous Rhigas and the learned Koraïs—to become the true regenerators of the Hellenic language.

Constantinos Rhigas, a native of Thessaly, was the founder of the patriotic society, the Hetaria, which twenty-five years later, in 1821, succeeded in uniting all the Greeks for the glorious delivery of Hellas. He was the enthusiastic *poet of liberty*, who in a pure and noble strain, composed those beautiful war-songs which thrilled the hearts of the Greeks from the banks of the Danube to the promontories of Morea and led them on to battle and victory. Hunted down by the Turks and betrayed by treacherous Austria, the noble-minded Rhigas was delivered into the hands of the Pasha of Belgrad, who, with cannibalian cruelty, in 1799, slaughtered the first martyr of regenerated Greece. But the happy reform which he had begun in the poetry of his native tongue survived, and was extended to its prose by the Adamantios Korais from Chios, who is regarded as the father of the new Hellenic language.

The purification of the vulgar dialect, which Korais now attempted, did not consist in introducing words and set phrases from the ancient language unintelligible to the mass and mixed up with the vulgar expressions of daily life. Such a medly, which Koraïs called ἡ μιξοβάρβαρος γλῶσσα or, the mixed barbarian dialect was then in fashion among the clergy and half-learned Greeks of Constantinople, the Phanariots,—and he most severely reprobated it as detrimental and quite contrary to the spirit of the Romaïc tongue.

"The design of these mixed Hellenizers"—said the worthy Koraïs—"is in itself laudable, because they strive, poor men, to bring the modern language as near as possible to its mother, the Hellenic. But since the first virtue of a writer is perspicuity, or to write in such a manner as to be well understood by those for whom he writes—and the second to write with elegance, which may give pleasure to the ear, I think that such Hellenizers have neither the one nor the other of those merits—who involve the ancient language in the most grotesque and ridiculous manner with

the modern syntax, and form out of the two an obscure, harsh, unharmonious and truly monstrous style of diction —a mere patch-work of phraseology."

Koraïs then gives a curious letter written in this compound of ignorance and pedantry—quite a dish of maccaroni.

Such being the sound principles from which he started on his great reform and taking both the standard of education in Greece and the spirit and coloring of the modern Greek as his basis, he, by the most solicitous comparison of both dialects, the ancient and the modern—and by the nicest regard for the beauties of both, with good sense, taste and discrimination, adopted only such words and forms of the Hellenic as were indispensable for the modern language, in order to enrich and purify it, without changing its leading character. Only a man of such talents, of such profound learning, excellent judgment and amiable character as Koraïs, was able to undertake so herculean a work and to ensure its full success.

The whole nation soon hailed his laborious exertions with veneration and gratitude. His numerous works, written in an extremely pure and truly elegant language, were understood even by the illiterate, because they breathed the spirit of the people; they were expressed in a nobler, more perfect style, which elevated the minds of the Greeks and contributed more to their civilization and the exalted feeling of their nationality, than all the other political and commercial influences of the time.

Adamantios Koraïs, by profession a physician, lived retired at Paris, as a member of the French Institute, and highly honored by Napoleon, who charged him with the publication of new editions and translations of Strabo and Plutarch, and rewarded his labors with an honoray pension of 4,000 francs.

But being poor, Koraïs would have found an insurmountable difficulty in publishing and distributing his powerful exhortations to his suffering countrymen. He, therefore, in his modern Greek translation of Beccaria's celebrated

work on crimes and capital punishments, addressed himself to the wealthy and virtuous men of his country and said:

"Let all the rich and patriotic men of the Hellenic race unite for the name and love of our common mother-country and let them contribute each according to his power,—since Greece, being in misery and servitude, has no public treasury to support schools for the maintenance and instruction of her destitute youths. But unite quickly, while Greece has need of your assistance, if you wish to have the gratitude of Greece. True friends hurry to their friends' assistance in time of danger;—flatterers do not appear until the danger is over! Instead of repining at the expense for good and useful objects, you ought to thank the Providence of God for living in circumstances and in times, in which, by the superfluity of your wealth, laid out with prudence, you may gain immortal honors and be named the benefactors of Hellas, upon whom a new morn of light begins to dawn!"

These powerful words were published in 1802, nineteen years before the shout of liberty and victory began to re-echo from the mountains and valleys of Greece.

They were heard and understood by the two noble-minded brothers, Zozimades, rich merchants from Epirus, who had passed the greater part of their industrious career at Leghorn, in Italy, and at Moscow, in Russia—and they were the first to stand forward as the benefactors of the nation and help on its progress toward civilization. Many wealthy Greeks in London, Paris, Vienna, Trieste and Odessa afterwards followed their example. All the works of Koraïs and other modern authors of Greece, were published in Paris at the expense of the benevolent brothers, and distributed gratuitously all over Greece and Turkey.

Koraïs lived to enjoy the deliverance of his beloved native country. He died of old age, in Paris, in 1832.

The path was now opened and many were his followers yet it would have been wonderful indeed if Koraïs should have escaped the envy and jealousy of his rivals. He was

continually attacked by the learned Constantinos Koumas from Thessaly, and other Greek writers, who, during the wars of Napoleon, flocked to Vienna and Paris. They all accused the worthy Korais of a too modern French or Italian style of diction, which they pretended to be detrimental to the spirit of the Hellenic language. But all these clamors soon died away. Time has now sanctioned the correctness of the judgment and good taste of that benevolent man, and a comparison of their rough and affected language with his, would immediately prove the acute discrimination of the Greek nation, who have awarded to him the merit of being the founder of the written language of modern Hellas.

The world at large, both in Europe and America, beheld with astonishment the first fruits of this reform of a language, which was then hardly known to exist, in the manly and spirited proclamations of the Greek nation that in 1821 rose in arms to reconquer their independence, in the able and well written Constitutions of Argos and Troizen in 1823, in the famous funeral oration of Spiridon Trikupis at the bier of Lord Byron, and in the public edicts of Count Capo d' Istria, the first president of the new Hellenic kingdom.

The great work of Korais, the rational restoration of the Hellenic, was continued and extended with activity and excellent judgment by the learned Greeks after the ascension of King Otho on the throne of Hellas in 1833. The purification and completion of the language became an object of the highest importance to the Royal government, though at that time it still presented many difficulties. Among all other nations the development of the language and the introduction of scientific or technical terms follow gradually the successive progress of civilization. In Greece, on the contrary, with the sudden introduction of European institutions, laws, sciences and arts, thousands of terms and expressions, were immediately, either to be borrowed from the ancient Hellenic dictionary, or, on the principles of the classical language, to be formed and adapted to mod-

ern inventions, altogether unknown to the contemporaries of Pericles and Demosthenes.*

It was particularly in the military language that the beginning of this interesting reform was made, even during the war, by the learned Colonel Rhodios, and it was continued with great diligence at our Military College of the Euêlpides, where my friend and colleague, Captain Andreas Zabunzakis, from Crete, Professor of the Military Sciences, published a complete work on fortification, containing more than twelve hundred terms, laboriously gathered from Xenophon, Polybius, and other military authors of antiquity, and suitably applied to modern science. These labors had become the more necessary since intellectual cultivation and every trace of a political life in Greece had been swept away during the long and barbarous oppression of the Turks. What still existed in the modern Greek dialect of technical expressions in the different branches of science and art, had been supplied by uncouth Turkish or Italian words, which were still in the most ridiculous manner employed by the mass of the Greek people.† Nor did the reform of Korais extend so far: it remained only the sound foundation on which to build: and it was left to others to rear the edifice. It was the glory of the great Chiote to give form to the new language, but his works being mostly disquisitions on general literature or on political topics or new editions of the classics, they did not enrich the language with technical terms. This important task was now reserved for the professors of the Colleges and University at Athens. Thus, then, the copious vocabularies of modern discoveries and ideas were quickly—perhaps too

* Thus for instance, the modern Greeks call the steam-boat Ἀτμόπλοιον, from ἀτμός, steam and πλοῖον, a ship. They translate the mint τὸ νομισματοκοπεῖον, from νόμισμα, coin and κοπεῖον, the place where it is struck. They render the Quarantine τὸ λοιμοκαθαρτήριον, from λοιμός, the plague—and καθαρτήριον, the place where persons are cleansed. According to this system they often change the ancient signification of a word and call the artillery τὸ πυροβολικόν; the cannon τὸ πυροβόλον; and the gunner ὁ πυροβολιστής, because he throws fire from his engine.

† It was then extremely curious to hear the worthy old generals, Kolokotronis, Hadgipetros and other brave Pallikars recite their exploits in the mountains against the Turks in their Turko-Romaïc or Turko-Albanian lingo, which will be no longer understood by the youths of the rising generation, who now receive their education in the regular Colleges of a civilized country.

hurriedly—introduced into the Greek language on the return of peace. If, therefore, a foreigner should still nourish some doubts with regard to the existence of the Hellenic language, he might go to the Othonian University and there with admiration listen to the Greek professors, who hold forth in Philology, Theology, Mathematics, Medicine or Natural History in the pure and eloquent diction of the mother tongue of those sciences.

The Regency of the kingdom opened this new career with the decree relating to the organization of the geographical divisions of Greece. Provinces, towns, mountains, rivers, now received their classical names, which during the oppression of so many centuries had been lost among the barbarous Slavonic, Albanian and Turkish denominations. Thus Mistrás recovered the glorious name of Sparta, Slavochori, that of Amyclai, the sanctuary of Apollo; the miserable village Sinano in Arcadia adopted the sounding name of Megalopolis and the little filthy Miraca that of Olympia. Porto-Leone we now again called Peiraeus. The swamps of Mola gave way to the immortal Thermopylæ, and every Greek youngster is again proud to talk of his Leónidas!

Then followed in quick succession the civil and criminal codes, translated from the code Napoleon, but modified and adapted to the wants of Hellas, by the Regent Chevalier de Maurer. The numerous Royal ordinances on the organization of the municipal government, on the police and armed gendarmerie, on the quarantine, army and navy were all written in the pure New-Hellenic language by the Professors Constantinos Schinas, Philippos Joannou and Venthilas: yet they were but imperfectly understood by the mass of the illiterate people at that time, and the most curious mistakes were daily made. The Greek mountaineers would gather in the office of the governor, or in the custom-house and in their noisy manner dispute about the signification of a royal mandate. During that period I have often seen the Eparch or Nomarch, the governor of a province or district, standing on a platform in the market-

place, explaining the new laws to the lively multitude crowding around.

But the natural shrewdness of the Greeks, their docility and quick comprehension, and the many schools established all over the country in 1835, made them very soon understand the written language and express themselves with more correctness. The discourses of the National Assembly, eight years afterwards, gave the best proof of the remarkable progress of the language. Many excellent publications, in different branches of literature, contributed in an extraordinary manner to the completion of the language, while sixteen or twenty newspapers, reviews, and other periodicals, published at Athens, Syria, Nauplion and Patras, soon, in correctness and elegance of expression, passed far beyond the narrow limits, which the virtuous Adamanthios Korais had begun to give the language forty years ago.

It is a general opinion, prevalent in America, that the difference in the pronunciation of the Greek as it is spoken by the natives themselves and by strangers, who only learned that language through their study of the classical writers of antiquity, consists principally in the iotacism or the pronunciation of the vowel Eta and several diphtongs, as i or iota, thus producing a predominant i-sound, which seems unpleasant to the foreign ear.

But how great is the astonishment of the northern traveller, when, on his arrival in Greece, he discovers in the pronunciation of the native Greeks an extraordinary variety of sounds and modulations of the voice and an emphasis, a quickness, an accuracy of tone and accent, altogether strange to his ear, and which he needs must own to belong exclusively to the organs of a southern nation and particularly to the spirited Hellenic race and which no doubt is as ancient as their language.

Having for years studied the ancient Greek with the Danish or Erasmian pronunciation, and then read a number of modern Greek books, I boldly accosted the Athenians, on my arrival at the Peiraeus in 1834, in their Romaïc di-

alect, but to my utter surprise, the Greeks, with a smile and shrug of their shoulders, would answer me in Italian: "Signore, non parliamo il vostro Bavarese." "Sir, we do not speak your Bavarian language." Nor did I at the first moment separate the different sounds of their pronunciation, or understand a dialect, which I fancied that I already could master. Not only the vowels and dipthongs, but even the consonants, in their pronunciation, differ essentially from those of our own Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian languages. Here lies the great difficulty in acquiring the true modern Greek pronunciation, and among the hundreds, and I may say thousands of foreigners, Americans, English, French and Germans, for years settled in Greece, only very few, and those only missionaries, professors, judges, physicians, or royal secretaries, were able, by constant study of the ancient language and by their speaking publicly the purified modern Hellenic tongue, to acquire a gramatically correct language and a full, clear and elegant pronunciation of the Greek, with its sharp accentuation and deep guttural and whistling sounds. Our broad and coarse pronunciation of the Greek can not be the criterion for judging of the euphony or beauty of a language, which is spoken with the more delicate organs of a southern nation, so different from our own.*

But it is not my intention here to stand forward as the defender of the Greek pronunciation against that adopted by the northern nations. I shall simply and historically attempt to show in what period and by what circumstances the Etacism or the Hollandish pronunciation of the Hellenic was introduced into the schools of western Europe, and then terminate this subject with a few specimens of modern Greek poetry.

* I would, in consequence, often excite the merriment of the Greeks by telling them that we northmen, when saying, for instance, "The Achæans and the Lacedemonians sailed to the Peiraeus, would would pronounce thus: Hoï Achaïoï kaï hoï Lakedaïmonioï eplúsan eïs ton Peïraïéa—instead of: I Achæí kæ i Lakedhomónii éplefsan stom Biræá. They would regard this pronunciation as utterly impossible, and would never listen to any of our arguments intending to prove that we possessed the true Hellenic pronunciation of their language.

The ancient Greek classics were studied and the Hellenic language was spoken and written with more or less purity in the Byzantine Empire, during the middle ages; yet it remained nearly totally unknown at that time in western Europe.

The French and Venetian crusaders burnt Constantinople in 1204, and the ignorant Latin monks destroyed the precious Greek libraries, as belonging to the schismatics and containing their errors; and it is an historical fact that those extensive conquests in the east did not contribute to the introduction of the Greek language and literature into Italy, France or England. The few Universities of Italy at that period, those of Bologna, Padova and Naples, were wholly occupied with their disputations on scholastic philosophy and the study of the Roman Corpus Juris, after the discovery of the Pandects of Justinian, at Amalfi, near Naples, in 1137. A nearly total ignorance of the Greek classics prevailed, and the learned British monk, Roger Bacon, who lived at Oxford toward the middle of the thirteenth century, says that he could not find a single copy of a Greek Homer in England. Nor did the great Italian poet Petrarch, one century later, succeed in obtaining one Greek copy of that author in all Italy, though the celebrated Boccace at that time already began publicly to lecture at Florence on Greek literature.

It was not until the threatening conquests of the Othoman Turks in Europe and the impending danger of the Byzantine empire, that a more intimate communication was opened between Constantinople and Rome. Among the Greek ambassadors, sent to Italy in 1395 to demand assistance against the Turks, was Emanuel Chrysoloras, who afterwards became the first native Greek professor lecturing on the Hellenic language at Florence. The still more celebrated Theodoros Gazis explained the Greek philosophers and orators at Milan and Constantinos Láscaris published his Greek Grammar in 1470, the first Greek book, which ever was printed.

After the overthrow of the Byzantine empire and the

conquest of Constantinople by Sultan Mohammed II., in 1453, a large number of learned Greeks fled to Italy and even to Germany, where Greek literature and philosophy soon began to excite universal enthusiasm and became the most important subjects of study. The native Greek professors and their Italian scholars, Poliziano, Poggio, Landino, Laurent-Valla many others, taught the Greek philology with the Greek pronunciation of Constantinople, which was precisely the same as that now used in the Levant. This pronunciation can historically be carried back through the middle ages as far as the second century of our era; while no evidence exists of any general change or modification having taken place in the pronunciation of that language, since the times of Alexander the Great, when the different Helenic dialects, the Attic, the Dorian and the Aeolic, began to be merged into the common Greek or *Κοινὴ γλῶσσα.*

Among the foreign students, who in the latter part of the fifteenth century frequented the Universities of Italy, were John Reuchlin, the German, and the celebrated Erasmus from Rotterdam in Holland. The former, who called himself in Greek Kápnios, (the Smoky from *Rauch*) became an eminent Hellenist, and lectured at Bâle in Switzerland with such success, that on hearing him explain the classics, the learned Greek Argyropulos exclaimed that the Muses of his deserted native land had fled to the north of the Alps.

Erasmus, from Rotterdam, on his return to Holland, felt some envy at the unrivalled success of Reuchlin in France and Germany, where the students flocked to hear him. It was Erasmus, who for the first time introduced our present pronunciation of the Hellenic, and the following ancedote has been assigned as the cause of this singular and untoward reform. A learned Spaniard, Henricus Glareanus, is said one day, while dining with Erasmus at the College of Louvain, in Belgium, to have told that irritable and credulous man, in mere jest, that some native

Greeks had lately arrived at Paris, who pronounced their language differently from the common mode in use. He said that these Greeks pronounced Vita like Beta, that they separated the diphthongs into their component vowels aï, eï, oï, and so on. Erasmus believing the jest of the jovial Spaniard, instantly resolved to be the first to promulgate this important news and going to work accordingly, composed a witty dialogue between a bear and a lion, in which the former, the bear, complains to the latter of the exceedingly difficult pronunciation of the Greek language, and the lion, in return, then humorously advises his thick-skulled companion, the bear, not to take the trouble of pronouncing the Greek with the Constantinoplitan sound of the diphthongs, but with that of the broad Dutch, which he pretends to have been the genuine pronunciation of Homer and Plato.

The burlesque form which Erasmus gave to his dissertation, and the fact that he himself did not employ this Dutch pronunciation or *etacism* in his own lectures, but on the contrary that of Constantinople, which he himself had learned in Italy, proves that he had no serious conviction of his own precepts, and that he did not intend to introduce any change—or at least that he was afraid of standing forward against his numerous and learned opponents and of being denounced by them as a literary heretic.

Nevertheless, both Reuchlin and others, took up the gauntlet in defence of the genuine Greek pronunciation and accent; while many Dutch professors, who found the etacism more convenient to the organs of their scholars, with great acrimony sustained the innovation of the Erasmian lion. This curious dispute was carried on with an immense apparatus of learning and with such success on the part of the Erasmian reformers or perverters, that they triumphantly introduced their system into all the schools of Holland, Germany and Scandinavia.

Nowhere did this literary war rouse the passions of the pedantic Savants, of that time, to such a pitch of intolerance and fury, as in England, particularly in Cambridge,

where two of the professors, Sir John Chek and Sir Thomas Smith, stood forth as champions for the innovation of Erasmus. On the contrary, the chancellor of the University, Stephen Gardener, Bishop of Winchester, remained a staunch defender of the Greeks, Chrysoloras and Gazis. Nay, this passionate prelate went even so far, as in a thundering decree of 1541, to prohibit the new doctrine, punishing the offender, if a professor, with the loss of his chair, if a student, with his exclusion from the academical dignities and honors, and if a pupil, with the whip and the ejection from school.*

In spite, however, of the opposition of the Bishop, the efforts of Chek and his colleague Smith, were eventually successful. The reform proceeded slowly, but steadily; and in England, and afterward in America, the modern Greek pronunciation, as introduced by Chrysoloras, Lascaris, Chalkokondylas, and the rest of their learned countrymen, was abandoned, and that suggested by Erasmus and his Dutch imitators, became the universal practice of Britain, as it had already become that of the other countries of Europe.

The truth arrived at by these argumentations about the pronunciation of the Hellenic language, in my opinion is simply this: that though some passages in Thucydides, Plato, and other ancient authors, together with the orthography of inscriptions and etymological inferences from Latin, are adduced in support of the modern pronunciation,—yet historically, it can not be proved farther back than the second century before Christ. In the palmy days of the Republics, the Attic dialect was particularly praised for its elegance, flexibility and softness, as Cicero says, which

* Chek had a long and virulent controversy with the chancellor, and series of their letters were published. In one of them the Bishop says: "I have read the treatise which you have transmitted to me, in which I find a copious stream of words, and a redundancy of speech: much reading, too, do I discern, and happiness of memory: besides industry and diligence in the pursuit of common and trivial matters. But know, Sir, that in a professor, I look also for *judgment* and *erudition*, and I condemn that arrogance, presumption and insolence, which so frequently flow from your pen." *Stephanus, Vitonens. Episcopus, Acad. Cantab. Cancellarius. Johan. Cheko, e. c. t.*

coincides far better with the modern Greek pronunciation than with that of Erasmus. The conversion of the diphthongs into the simpler sounds of æ and i is easy and natural. At the same time we may suppose that though the general character of the Greek pronunciation be the same, yet, the long reign of barbarism may have produced some change in regard to the sound of certain Greek letters, particularly the *i sounds*, and the loss of some of the nicer distinctions of the ancient, more civilized times, so that we may be allowed to dissent from the propriety of some of the sounds given to them by the modern Greeks, although generally we may be disposed to appeal to their authority. "It is easy to conceive," says Gibbon, "how every other depravation and barbarism should have, by degrees, crept upon the language,—but that the ancient sounds of its letters should be altogether lost and now unknown in Greece, itself alone of all countries, where that language is recited, is not to be believed." And this is the opinion of all enlightened Greeks themselves.

On my first arrival in Greece I was struck with the hoarse and rattling pronunciation of the common and illiterate people on the mainland of Greece, mostly mountaineers of Albanian descent, and their dialect appeared to me less harmonious than the Italian or Spanish. But I soon discovered, that all well educated Greeks, particularly the inhabitants of the Cycladian Islands, Smyrna and Constantinople, pronounce their different dialects with softness and harmony. No language in the world, perhaps, sounds sweeter, more soft and tender than the Romaic Greek on the lips of the brilliantly beautiful ladies of Smyrna, Ipsara and Constantinople.

It is this elegance of expression, the greater harmony of the vowels, the greater softness of the consonants, in accordance with a southern climate, scenery and manners—it is the authority of more than a thousand years—which at the present makes the pronunciation of the new Hellenic extend over all Europe. At five Universities in Germany, at Berlin, Kónigsberg, Breslau, Leipzig and Mu.

nich, professorships have been erected for the study of modern Greek literature; nay, a French College or Pension-house, has a few years ago been established by the French government in Athens, where, beneath the direction of the distinguished Othonian Professor, M. Charles Levesque, a number of young French philologians attend the lectures of the Othonian University, in order to impart a more thorough instruction of the Hellenic language and literature on their return to the Colleges of France.

The enthusiasm and skill with which the Greeks have accomplished the reform of their language have already borne their fruits: numerous and well attended schools and colleges, a progressing cultivation throughout the Levant, and a flourishing literature in every branch of study; yet my theme for the present must be limited to the popular dialect and the national songs of Greece.

I shall never forget the feeling of sympathy and delight, which the first Greek song I heard awakened in my heart. I had embarked on board a Greek brig at Malta. At sunset on the third day the wind had hushed; it was one of those beautiful calms on the broad bosom of the Mediterranean. We approached slowly the high beetling promontories of the Morea. All was life and gaity on board. The handsome young Hydriote, Demetrios Zacharis, took his guitar, and with a fine voice, began to sing the war-song of Constantinas Rhigas.

Σπάρτα, Σπάρτα, τὶ κοιμᾶσθε;
Ὕπνον λήθαργον βαρύν.
Ξύπνησον! κράξον Ἀθήνας
Σύμμαχον παντοτεινήν.—
Ἐνθυμεῖθήτε Λεωνίδου
Ἥρωος τοῦ ξακοστοῦ
Τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπαινουμένου
Φοβεροῦ καὶ τρομεροῦ!

Ὅπου εἰς τὰς Θερμοπύλας
Πόλεμον ἀυτὸς κρατεῖ

Καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀφανίζει
Καὶ αὐτῶν καταχρατεῖ.
Μὲ τριακοσίους ἄνδρας
Εἰς τὸ κέντρον προχωρεῖ
Καὶ ὡς λέων θυμωμένος
Εἰς τὸ αἷμα των βουτεῖ!

ὁ Χορός. *Τὰ ὅπλα ἂς λάβωμεν*
Παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἀγωμεν
Ποταμηδὸν, ποταμηδόν
Τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸ αἷμα
Ἂς τρέξῃ ὑπὸ ποδῶν!

Sparta, Sparta, why in slumber?
Why in lethargy so deep?
Rouse thyself! thy friend awaken,
Glorious Athens, from her sleep.
Call to mind thy ancient warrior,
Great Leonidas of old,
Mighty man of fame immortal,
The tremendous and the bold.

See him!—where the noble patriot
All th' invading war withstands,
At Thermopylæ victorious
O'er the flying Persian bands
With his brave three hundred heroes,
Forward now the lion goes,
Plunging through the blood of battle,
To the centre of his foes.

Chorus—To arms then, our country cries,
Sons of the Greeks, arise, arise
Until the blood, in purple flood
From the hated foe,
Beneath our feet shall flow!

The tune of this song is plaintive, but the chorus is lively and stirring; it resembles the Marseillan Hymn, so well known from the French revolutionary wars. This song of the unhappy Rhigas excited as great an enthusiasm in Greece and caused the slaughter of thousands of Turks.

During the war with Turkey the mountain defiles of Thermopylæ, on the east, and of Messolunghi, on the west,

were the only two points by which an army could penetrate into the heart of Hellas; they were, therefore, both considered as the bulwarks of Greece, and the greatest efforts were made to defend them.

The ancient pass of Thermopylæ, so renowned in history, was situated near three copious springs of mineral water, bursting forth from the base of Mount Oeta and was closed by a wall, built by the ancient Phocians, of which ruins are seen to this day. The pass itself does no longer exist; the road to Thessaly is at this place open and undefended. The waters of the Maliac gulf have receded and laid bare the maritime swamps, at the mouth of the river Spercheios, where they now form extensive pasture-grounds.

Thus an entire army of 20,000 men in battle array can now march through the former pass of Leonidas. But eight miles farther south, the high and woody Mount Knemis cuts off all advance along the coast. Only a narrow pass between overhanging precipices opens westwards on the upper valley of Doris at the base of Mount Parnassos and the plain of Boeotia. This is the ancient pass of Elateia by which the crafty Philipp of Macedon, suddenly entered Hellas and so unexpectedly opposed and defeated the united Greeks at Chaeroneia.

The French Crusaders built here the strong and picturesque Castle of Boudonitza, commanding the pass below, toward the Thermopylæ, at that period called the Iron-gates or *les Portes de fer*.

Here was, during the last war, the glorious battle-field of Ulysses or Odysseus, the brave son of Andriskos. From the height of the pass we overlook a most splendid prospect toward the distant island of Euboea and Mount Pelion in Thessaly on the east—and the whole plain of Doris and Boeotia on the west, bounded by the two immense snow-capped peaks of Mount Parnassos.

A beautiful plaintive song, sung by every Greek, commemorates the brave defence of the Greeks, guarding the defiles with some few devoted warriors against the thousands of wild Turkish horsemen and Jenizaries encamped

on the coast below. A young Greek, called Pelopidas, is placed on guard on the ridge over against the Turkish camp, and during the starry night, his heart swelling with the affections of home, he thus sends forth his greeting to his native land.

Λαμπρὸς ποτε φωσφόρος τῶν νυκτῶν,
Ἐφώτιζε σκηνὰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας,
Ἐκεῖ πλησίον τὴν λόγχεν του κρατῶν,
Ἐτραγῳδοῦσεν ὁ νέος Πελοπίδας.
Ὦ Ζέφυροι τερπνοί! πετᾶτ' εὐδύς,
Μηνύσατ' εἰς τὴν φίλην μου Ἑλλάδα,
Διὰ τὴν δόξαν σου, πατρίς,
Φρουρῶ ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα.

Τηρεῖ τὴν λάμψιν τοῦ ἐχθρικοῦ πυρὸς,
Καὶ σιωπᾷ σ' τὸν τόπον του θεμένος,
Ἡ νύκτα χρόνος ὁ Ἕλλην ζωηρὸς,
Καὶ τραγῳδεῖ 'ς τὴν λόγχην στηριγμένος.—
Ὦ Ζέφυροι τερπνοὶ κ. τ. λ.

Ὁ Ἥλιος τὸν πόλεμον κινᾷ,
Ἄυριον εἶν' ἡμέρα τῆς ἀνδρίας,
Ἂν ἀποθάνω 'ς τὴν λόγχην μου σιμὰ,
Ὑπὲρ πατρίδος, καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας,
Πετᾶτε πάλιν, ὦ ζέφυροι τερπνοὶ,
Μυνήσατε 'ς τὴν φίλην μου Ἑλλάδα,
Διὰ τὴν δόξαν σου, πατρίς,
Ἀπέθανεν, εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα!

"The bright star of morning once more dawned on the tents of the Greeks, when young Pelopidas in arms and on guard, thus sent his love to his dear home.

Mild zephyrs, fly swiftly and announce to my dear Hellas, that for the sake of her glory, I watch here in the valley."

The spirited young Greek, throughout the night, affronts the enemy's fire: he remains silent on his post and leaning on his lance, remembers his sweet home.

"The sun stirs the war—to-morrow is the day of the brave, and if I die here in arms for my country and freedom, then

Fly, oh ye breezes, and announce to my dear Hellas how her youth did perish on the battle-field here in the valley."

Of equal importance for the safety of Greece was the defence of Missolunghi on the coast of Acarnania, protecting the passes of Mount Chalkis, which opens a communication with the gulf of Lepanto and Patras in the Morea.

The danger of the small fortress Messolunghi was imminent, when, during the summer of 1823, Mustapha Pasha of Scodra, in Upper Albania, led an immense army of wild Mohammedan Albanians through the defiles of Mount Pindus toward the open plains of Acarnania.

The greatest disorder reigned at Messolunghi, which was not yet sufficiently fortified and provisioned to withstand a regular seige; because Lord Byron, though daily expected, had not yet arrived.

But the brave Marcos Botzaris, with his four hundred Souliotes, resolved to surprise the Turkish camp, while yet in the mountains. With their long Albanian rifle slung over their shoulders, the light footed Souliotes, with almost incredible celerity, traversed the lakes and swamps and ascending the rugged mountains, occupied the forests immediately above the Turkish camp, the green and purple tents of which extended throughout the whole valley toward the city of Karpenisi.

At mid-night, Markos, with his Souliotes, supported at a distance by other Greek bands, covering their flanks, crossed the out-posts of the Turks by saluting them in the Albanian tongue, with the usual "bésa dià bésa," (peace be with you) and arriving in the centre of the hostile camp, he gave the signal for battle, and rushed into the brilliantly illuminated tent of Mustaphá Pashá. All the sleeping officers and attendants were butchered, and the Souliotes finding a Turk of distinction sleeping in an inner apartment, they supposed him to be the Pasha himself. Grasping him by the beard, they dragged him out of the

tent. But the Pasha had escaped, the prisoner being his secretary; he was immediately cut to pieces. The scene of slaughter and confusion was terrific. In the darkness of night, Turks, Albanians, Souliotes, all sabre in hand, were fighting most desperately against one another, while the shouts of the Greek bands in the distance, announced that the camp was surrounded by numerous foes. Yet the thundering voice of Botzaris, dealing death blows around him, was heard above the din of the battle, and when some Turkish *agados* or commanders hurried between the combatants, calling out that all was a mistake, Botzaris cut them down and shouted: "No mistake, ye infidels, Botzaris is here!"

At these words shots were fired at him from all sides, and the hero fell in the arms of victory. For the Greeks, having joined the Souliotes, the Turks gave way, and abandoning their camp, fled in disorder toward Karpinisi, leaving an immense booty of horses, arms and provisions in the hands of the Greeks. Messolunghi was saved—but indescribable was the sorrow of the Souliotes at the loss of their leader. Botzaris fell on the 20th of August, 1823, in the 30th year of his age. His remains were carried to Messolunghi and buried in the battery which still bears his name, with all the honors he so well deserved, and all the pomp that the melancholy circumstances of the town could afford.

It was during the excitement and sorrow which this event produced in the mind of all the Greeks, that the simple but beautiful dirge of Markos Botzaris was sung, while the Souliotes shedding tears of sincere affection and veneration, surrounded the bier on which lay the bravest son of Souli.

Ἕλληνες κλαύσωμεν ἄνδρα γενναῖον,
Τὸν Μάρκον Βότσαρην Ἥρωα νέον·
Οὗτος ἀπέθανεν ἡρωϊκῶς,
Τοῦτον τὸν Ἥρωα ἂς μιμηθῶμεν,
Ἂν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μας ὄντως ποθῶμεν,
Καὶ θέλει θραύσωμεν ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν.

Ἄνδρες ὁμόνοια 'ς ἡμᾶς ἀνήκει,
Καὶ ὁ ὑπέρτατος μᾶς τάζει νίκη,
Νίκην βεβαίαν τε καὶ ἀσφαλῆ.

Τοῦρκοι σκληρότατοι! ἂν ἐφονεύθη
'Ο Μάρκο Βότσαρης δὲν ' λιγοστεύθη
'Η ἐναντίον σας 'Ελλήνων ὁρμή.
Ἥρωα Βότσαρην, 'Ηπείρου θᾶυμα!
'Σ ὅλους τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἄφησες τραῦμα,
Σῶμά σου' χάσαμεν, οὐχ ἀρετάς.
Ὕπαγε ἀθάνατε 'ς τὰς οὐρανίους
Σκηνὰς τοῦ πλάστου μας μὲ ὕμνους δείους,
Καὶ δέου πάντοτε διὰ ἡμᾶς.

Greeks! Let us weep for the Hero Botzaris,
For the Patriot, who died so nobly for us.
Whilst freedom burns in our hearts, let us imitate our Marco and exterminate our enemies.
Sons of Greece, in concord is our strength, united, the Almighty will give victory to our banners.
Turks, cruel and bloody, Botzaris is no more,
But the fire of our hate burns fiercer than before.
Noble Botzaris, pride of Epirus, thy death wound pierced each breast! We have lost thy strong arm, but thy virtues remain with us.
Ascend to God Almighty, great spirit! and before the Eternal throne let thy prayers in divine hymns eternally rise for thy country.

These airs, and many others as characteristic, are daily sung by the Greeks, but their battle-song, or *ἐμβατήριον*, which is at present the national song of the army, the Yankee-doodle of the Hellenes, is the following extremely lively song, which never loses its exciting effect when the whole front of the battle-line, lowering the bayonets, is rushing to the attack.

'Η ἀθλία 'Ελλὰς 'ς τὸν βαρὺν ζυγὸν στενάζει,
Τοὺς πιστούς της υἱοὺς εἰς βοήθειάν της κράζει,
'Αλύσους νὰ συντρίψουν,
Δεσμά της ν' ἀποῤῥίψουν,

Καὶ τρόπαια λαμπρὰ νὰ στήσουν κατ' ἐχθρῶν,
'Ευοῖ! ἐυοῖ! ἐυοῖ! ἐυοῖ!
Θράμετε, Ἕλληνες! μεγάλοι καὶ μικροί.

'Ο Καιρὸς, ἀδελφοὶ, τῆς ἐλευθερίας φθάνει,
Καὶ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν τὰς δυνάμεις του λαμβάνει.
Γενναῖοι, Ρουμαλιῶται,
Μωραΐται καὶ νησιῶται,
Τὸ αἷμα τῶν τυράννων χύστε ποταμηδόν.
Σπαθί! σπαθί! σπαθί! σπαθί!
Δράξατε, Ἕλληνες, μεγάλοι καὶ μικροί.

* * *

Μὴ φοβῆσθε, Γραικοί, ὅτι εἶσθε τάχ' ὀλίγοι,—
'Η Εὐρώπη ἰδού, τὰς ἀγκάλας της ἀνοίγει.
'Ο Τύραννος κλονεῖται,
Τὴν πτῶσίν του φοβεῖται.
'Ο ζῆλος τῆς πατρίδος ἂς λάμψ' εἰς τὰς ψυγάς.
Φωτιά! φωτιά! φωτιά! φωτιά!
Τρέξατε Ἕλληνες, γυναῖκες καὶ παιδιά!

* * *

Μὴ φοβῆσθε Γραικοί, τοὺς Λαοὺς τοὺς τρισβαρβάρους.
Εἶναι ὄχλος πολὺς δίχως τόλμης τε καὶ θάρρους.
'Ως πότε τυραννία;
Ζήτω ἡ 'Ελευθερία!
Τὸ αἷμα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἂς τρέξῃ πρὸ ποδῶν.
Φωτιά! φωτιά! φωτιά! φωτιάν
Βάλλετ' Ἕλληνες, εἰς ὅλην τὴν Τουρκιάν!

Wretched Hellas sighs in the heavy yoke and calls forth her sons to break her chains, to fling off her bonds and raise glorious trophies won from the foe.

To Arms, ye Greeks, let the sword be swung by old and young.

Now, oh Brethren, is the hour of liberty, the whole nation feels its power and thrills with rapture! Oh ye brave, from the Highlands, the plains and the islands, rush on, give no quarter, let flow in one stream the blood of the Turk, arm, arm, draw the sword, all ye great and ye small.

Do not fear, oh ye Greeks, that you are few—look how all Europe opens her arms, while the tyrant trembles and dreads his fall. Let the love of old Hellas inflame the hearts of all.

Do not fear, oh ye Greeks, those barbarous hordes, their masses are without valor and firmness. How long then this tyranny—huzza for liberty.

Fire, fire, let the flames envelop all Turkey.

The victories of the Greeks on the mainland and their naval triumphs in the Archipelago during the first years of the war of independence—1821—1824—excited the highest enthusiasm among the inhabitants of the seven Ionian Islands, then, as now, occupied by English garrisons and recognizing the protection of Great Britain. The policy of the court of Saint James was then as hostile to the cause of Greek emancipation as it shows itself at the present moment adverse to the reunion of the Ionians with their brethren under the liberal government of King Otho. The Lord High Commissioner, Sir Thomas Maitland, therefore considered the noble efforts of a heroic nation as a foolish presumption and criminal revolt, and ruled over the islands with the iron rod of true British despotism. Yet in spite of the severest prohibition, hundreds of warlike Ionians, commanded by Andreas Metaxas, Gerasimos Phokas and other valiant chiefs, embarked from Zante and Corfù and wielded their swords bravely at Lala and in other battles in the Morea.* At that time of generous sympathy Count Dionysus Solomos, a distinguished poet in Zante published his beautiful hymn to liberty, one of the lyrical master-pieces of our age.†

Adressing the Genius of Liberty, the Poet thus begins his poem in the popular dialect of Zante:

*See the History of the Greek Revolution by Spyridon Trikupis. London, 1853, Vol. I., page 328, et sq. A noble work in modern Greek.

† *Ὕμνος εἰς τὴν Ἐλευτερίαν ἔγραψε Διονύσιος Σολωμὸς Ζακύνθιος, τὸν Μάϊον Μῆνα* 1823. *Ἐν Μεσολογγίῳ* 1825, with an Italian translation by Prof. G. Grassetti I have not personally known Count Solomos, who lived retired and melancholy in Corfù, but visiting his sister in Zante in 1840, she presented me with a copy of this delightful poem, perhaps the only one now in the United States. That lovely young lady married in 1842 Count Nicolo Conrado Lunzi, a benevolent and liberal nobleman of Zante, at whose country seat, Kallipado, I spent some of the happiest days of my life.

1. *Σὲ γνωρίζω ἀπὸ τὴν κόψι*
Τοῦ σπαθιοῦ τὴν τρομερὴ,
Σὲ γνωρίζω ἀπὸ τὴν ὄψι,
Ποῦ μὲ βία μετράει τὴν γῆ.

2. *Ἀπ' τὰ κόκκαλα βγαλμένη*
Τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ ἱερὰ,
Καὶ σὰν πρῶτα ἀνδρειωμένη,
Χαῖρε, ὦ χαῖρε, Ἐλευθεριά!

3. *Ἐκεῖ μέσα ἐκατοικοῦσες,*
Πικραμένη, ἐντροπαλὴ,
Κ' ἕνα στόμα ἀχαρτεροῦσες,
Ἔλα πάλι, νὰ σοῦ' πῇ.

4. *Ἄργιε νἄλθῃ ἐκείνη ἡ' μέρα,*
Καὶ ἦταν ὅλα σιωπηλὰ,
Γιατὶ τἄσκιαζε ἡ φοβέρα,
Καὶ τὰ πλάκονε ἡ σκλαβιά.

5. *Δυστυχής! παρηγορία*
Μόνη σοῦ ἔμενε νὰ λὲς
Περασμένα μεγαλεῖα,
Καὶ διηγῶντάς τα νὰ κλαῖς.

6. *Καὶ ἀχαρτέρει, καὶ ἀχαρτέρει*
Φιλελεύθερην λαλιὰ
Ἕνα ἐκτύπαε τἄλλο χέρι
Ἀπὸ τὴν ἀπελπησιὰ,

7. *Κ' ἔλεες· πότε ἄ! πότε βγάνω*
Τὸ κεφάλι ἀπὸ τς' ἐρμιαῖς;—
Καὶ ἀποκρίνοντο ἀπὸ πάνω
Κλάψαις, ἄλυσσες, φωναῖς.—

I know thee by the terrible edge of thy sword,
I know thee by thy look, which rapidly measures the earth.

Risen from the sacred bones of the Greeks and brave as of yore, I hail thee, oh Liberty.

Yonder thou didst dwell, mournful and hopeless, awaiting the voice: "Now, rise again!"

But that day did tarry—all was silence—
Menace frightened thee and thraldom oppressed thee.

Miserable Hellas! no other comfort hadst thou, but to recall the memory of thy former greatness—and to weep!

And thou didst wait for that thrilling voice, and didst fold thy arms in silent despair.

"When shall I raise my head from the gloom of the desert," saidst thou—and thy children answered with tears, with wailing and the rattling of chains!

The Poet then most poetically describes fair Hellas in her blood-stained garments, wandering far away to sue for assistance "but alas! when misery knocks, the doors seldom will open."

Δὲν εἶν' εὔκολαις ἡ Θύραις
Ἐὰν ἡ χρεία ταῖς κουρταλῇ.—

Refused with scorn, poor Greece calls her despairing children to arms, and the wild shout of liberty now reechoes over sea and land.

The United States of Washington, says the Poet, joyfully hail that voice and remember the chains which once kept them in bondage.

But the British Leopard looks grimly and its angry roar is heard to the utmost deserts of Russia—while the eagle of Austria, from her cloudy heights, whets her beak, still reaking with the heart's-blood of prostrate Italy.

Having in burning verses given an awful and truly poetical picture of the storming of Tripolizza and the bloody revenge taken on Dramm-Aly Pasha, the Tiger, in the defiles of Korinth, the poet, in powerful verses warns his countrymen against the still more dangerous enemy who remains behind on the battle field of the slaughtered Moslems—Fatal Discord—and admonishes his fellow-citizens,

with Christian love and forbearance to complete the great work. "By all the precious blood—says he—you so freely have shed for your country and religion, I conjure you, O Hellenes, embrace one another like brothers—united in love, victory will follow you for ever!"

Πάντα ἡ νίκη, ἂν ἑνωθῆτε—
Πάντα ἐκεῖς Ὃ ' ἀνολουθεῖ.

The popular poetry of the modern Greeks is rich in love songs—*δσματα ἐρωτικά*—which is sung to the guitar and are as tender or passionate as they are modest and sparkling with poetical pictures taken from nature. I have already in an earlier number of the Review related the melancholy event in the Island of Zante which caused the following farewell of an unhappy lover to be sung all over Greece.*

THE LAST FAREWELL.

It dawns; the Morn-star glows on high,
And tells us that the Sun is nigh;
Soon will he rise o'er yon blue main,—
But never on our loves again!

Fast fades the moon, all pale her ray,
Pale as thy cheek on that glad day,
When first—while tears with utterance strove,—
I heard thee falter forth—"I love."

O how all nations smiled around,
When first I felt that heart's rebound,
When that fond heart throbb'd back to mine
And my full soul was lost in thine.

But now of the sweet flowers bereft,
To us the thorns alone are left,
Love's lasting pangs, its tears, its sighs,
Its fears and death-fraught agonies.

* Mercersburg Quarterly Review, Vol. V., 1853, page 393. I reprint the Greek text, because that of 1853 can hardly be understood on account of the many errata that have been left in the text, by the loss of the proof sheet, during my absence from Lancaster. The translation has been made by the late British Consul in Philadelphia, Hon. William Peter, A. M., of Christ's church, Oxford, who was as distinguished as a classical scholar and poet as he was honored and loved as a true hearted friend and noble minded citizen

Γλυκοφέγγει, καὶ τὸ ἄστρο τῆς ἀυγούλας
Σημαδέυει πῶς ὁ ἥλιος προβαίνει
Ἴσως πλέον γιὰ τ' ἐμᾶς δὲν θαὐγαίνει,
Νὰ μᾶς ' βρίσκῃ ἑνωμένα τὰ δυώ.

Πάει ἀχνίζοντας τ' ὡραῖον φεγγάρι.
Ὁποῦ μ' ἔδειχνε τ' ἀχνὸ πρόσωπον σου
Μιὰ βραδειὰ ἕνα δάκρυ ' δικόν σου
Ὅταν μ' ἔλεγες, ἐγὼ σ' ἀγαπῶ.—

Τότ' ἡ φύσις μ' ἐμᾶς ἐχαιρῶταν
Γλυκὰ μ' ἔσφιγγες στὴν ἀγκαλιάν σου
Ἡ καρδιά μ' ἐκτυποῦσ' στὴν καρδιάν σου
Κ' ἡ ψυχή μου ἦν ὅλη μὲ σέ.

Ἀλλὰ τώρα τὰ ἄνθη' χαθῆκαν,
Καὶ μᾶς ἔμειναν μόνα τ' ἀγκάθια
Σκληροῦ Ἔρωτος αἰώνια πάθια
Πικρὰ βάσανα καὶ στεναγμοί!—

Another popular song which often is heard in Greece, sung to a sweet melody, is that of the homeless, roaming little bird that is enticed into a cage by a maiden. I give here the Greek text on account of the simplicity and beauty of the dialect with a correct and elegant translation in the metre of the original by Prof. William M. Nevin.

Τὸ πλανήμενον πουλί.

1. *Πουλάκι ξένο, ξενιτευμένο,*
Κυνηγημένο, ποῦ νὰ σταθῶ;
Ποῦ νὰ καθήσω, νὰ ξενυχτίσω,
Νὰ μὴ χαθῶ;—

2. *Βραδιάζ' ἡ 'μέρα, σκοτάδι παίρνει,*
Καὶ δίχως ' ταίρι, πῶς ναὐρεθῶ;
Πῶς νὰ φωλιάσω σὲ ξένο δάσο
Ν' ἀποσυρθῶ;—

8. Ἡ μέρα φεύγει, ἡ νύκτα βιάζει,
Νά! ἡσυχάζει κάθε πουλί.
Κ' ἐγὼ στενάζω, τὸ ' ταίρι κράζω—
Ξένο πουλί!

4. Κυττάζω τ' ἄλλα πουλιὰ ζευγάρια.
Αὐτὴν τὴν χάρι δὲν ἔχω πλειά.
Ἔρημον τρέχω, τόπον δὲν ἔχω,
Μηδὲ φωλιά!

5. Ναὶρῶ γυρίζω, πῶς νὰ καθήσω,
Νὰ ξενευτήσω κἂν μοναχό;
Κάθε κλαδάκι βαστᾶ πουλάκι
Ζευγαρωτό.

6. Δὲν μὲ γνωρίζουν, κ' ἐδῶ μὲ διώχνουν,
Κ' ἐκεῖ μ' ἀπωχνοῦν, ποῦ νὰ σταθῶ,
Ἄχ! πῶς νὰ γένω; ποῦ νὰ πηγαίνω,
Νὰ μὴν χαθῶ;

7. Δεγοῦν οἱ κλάδοι, τὰ φύλλα σειοῦνται,
Γλυκοτζερπιοῦνται τ' ἄλλα πουλιά.
Κ' ἐγὼ τὸ ξένο, τὸ πικραμένο,
Χωρὶς φωλιά!

8. Ἀπορμένο σὲ ἄγρι ' γκάθια,
Πικρά μου πάθια καὶ ξενυτειᾶς,
Θρηνῶντας μένω, κ' ἐκεῖ διαβαίνω
Κακαῖς νυκτιαῖς.

9. Κ' ἐκεῖ ' ποῦ στέκω μαμουργιασμένο,
Καὶ μαραμένο θρηνολογῶ.
Μιὰ, νέα ' βγαίνει, ἁρματωμένη,
' Σὰν κυνηγός.

10. Βαστάει δίκτυα, δίκτυ ' δσημένια,
Συρματερένια στ' ἀριστερό.
Καὶ ' ς τὴ δεξιά της, μὲ τ' ἅρματά της,
Κλουβ ' ἀργυρό.

11. *Φορέματ' ἄσπρα, κι' ἄσπρη μὲ χάρι,*
Ὅλη φεγγάρι βαθειᾶς νυκτός.
Ἂς κ' εἶν' ἐκείνη, ὁποῦ τοῦ δίνει
Λάμψιν καὶ φῶς —

12. *Περνᾷ κοντά μου, καὶ μὲ κυττάζει,*
Γλυκὰ μὲ κράζει καὶ μὲ λαλεῖ.
Ἔλα, πουλάκι! μεσ' 'ς τὸ κλουβάκι
Ξένο πουλί!

13. *Ἔμβα, μου λέγει, ἔμβα τὸ ξένο,*
Τὸ πικραμένο, ν' ἀναπαυθῇς.
Γιὰ νὰ καθήσῃς, νὰ ξενυκτήσῃς,
Νὰ μὴ χαθῇς.

14. *Πουλί, δικόν μου νὰ σ' ἀποκτήτω,*
Καὶ νὰ σὲ στήσω χρυσῆν φωλιά.
'Σ αὐτὴν νὰ ζήσῃς, νὰ λησμονήσῃς
Τὴν ξενιτειά.—

15. *Μὴ σε πειράζει κλεισμένον νᾷσαι,*
Καὶ μὴ φοβᾶσαι νὰ σκλαβωθῇς.
Ἔλα 'ς ἐμέρα, τ' εἶσαι σὲ ξένα,
Καὶ μὴ χαθῇς.

16. *Σὲ τάζω μ' ὅρκον τὴν 'λευθεριάν σου,*
Χωρὶς κἀμμιάν σου ἀμφιβολιά,
Ὅταν θηλήσῃς, κλουβὶ ν' ἀφήσῃς,
Καὶ τὴν φωλιά.

17. *'Σ ταῖς τόσαις χάρες, 'ς τὰ σπλαγχνικά της*
Λόγια γλυκά της, πλειὸ δὲν ἀρχῶ.
Φτερά μ' ἁπλόνω 'ς αὐτὴν ζυγόνω
Πολὺ γοργό.

18. *Καὶ 'ς τὸ χρυσό της, πετῶ χεράκι,*
Καὶ 'ς τὸ κλουβάκι προτοῦ νἀμβῶ,
Τὰ ζαχαρένια, τὰ κουραλλένια
Χείλια τσιμπῶ.

THE HOMELESS BIRD.

1. Where, a lone stranger, fleeing from danger,
Far away ranger, hunted, forlorn,—
Where shall I seat me; through the night keep me,
Not to be torn?

2. Soft day is waning, night on it gaining;
No mate remaining, where may I come?
In this unknown grove how longer lone rove?
Where find a home?

3. Twilight is failing, dark night prevailing;
And sleep assailing comes the birds o'er;
While I, still here late, cry for my dear mate—
Coming no more!

4. Other birds mated I see elated;
From me, illfated, no longer blest,
Wand'ring, forsaken, was that joy, taken—
No home, no nest.

5. Oh, I might hover all the trees over,
I could discover naught to perch on;
Its bird well faring each bough is bearing—
Mated each one.

6. These do not know me; off they all throw me,
Sharp pecks bestow me, turn where I may.
From deaths that threat me, ah! to protect me,
Where may I stay?

7. From leaves renewing till their undoing,
Billing and cooing, birds are all blest.
For me, the stranger, sorrowful ranger,
Is there no nest.

8. Thrown now asunder, all the day under
Dense thorns I wander, in my sad plight,
And 'neath them keeping, still lonely weeping,
Watch all the night.

9. These my breast paining, my feathers staining.
Must I remaining still sadly press?
See! that fair maiden, bright garb arrayed in,
As a huntress,

10. O'er the lawn faring, her left hand bearing
Nets for ensnaring and wires to seize,
While what engages her right, a cage is;—
Silvered all these!

11. White clad and gleaming, with beauty beaming,
As the moon seeming in the deep night,
One might suppose that she 'twas who throws that
Pale orb her light.

12. Near draws she to me.—What will she do me?—
Now stops to view me. Hear what she sings:
Poor little mourner, weary sojourner,
With drooping wings,

13. From woes that press thee, from fears that chase thee,
Hither come haste thee, to my cage flee;
Within its keeping, all the night sleeping,
Safe shalt thou be.

14. No more a roamer, gentle new comer,
Come with me summer, come be thou mine;
A cage shall serve thee—from ills preserve thee,—
Of golden shine.

15. No fear, sweet stranger, that 'twill bring danger
Freedom to change for service to me;
No birds to scare thee, no thorns to tear thee,
Blest shalt thou be.

16. Or if 'twill grieve thee ever, believe me,—
I'll not deceive thee, on earth I swear,—
Free will I set thee from thy cage, let thee
Take the wide air.

18. Me thus befriending, favor extending,
On her depending would I rely;
No danger dreading, my fond wings spreading,
To her I fly.

18. By her small golden hand am I holden,
And ere, I thralled, into her cage slip,
Her ripe mouth willing, sweet, am I billing—
Her coral lip!

Another kind of national ballads, sung to the lyre and accompanying the warriors' dance—the Romaïka—are those describing in lively pictures the heroic deeds or daring adventures of the Klephts or mountain-robbers, who never yielded to the Turk and at the outbreak of the Greek insurrection in 1821, were the first who, armed and prepared, victoriously encountered their deadly enemy.

These artless, but often highly poetical songs are composed in the roughest dialect and difficult to be understood on account of their frequent allusions to the manners and peculiar habits or superstitions of the Highlanders and the mountain scenery of northern Greece and Epirus. I shall nevertheless here insert one of these *τραγῳδια κλέπταα*, the subject of which is similar to that of Schiller's celebrated tragedy of "the Robbers," in which the Captain of the brigands, on account of his love to a beautiful maiden, is deserted by his savage band and perishes by their hands. The translation in the metre of the original Romaïc is by Prof. Felton of Harvard College.

THE ROBBER CAPTAIN IN LOVE.

Conduct thee wisely, Nicholas, as well becomes a Captain,
Nor with thy children be at strife, nor venture to insult them;
For they an evil plot have laid, resolving they will slay thee.
"Who is it with my children talk? who is it tells them stories?
Well! when the blooming spring shall come, and when shall come the summer,
To Xerolibadá I go, and to our ancient quarters,
Thither I go to wed my love to take the fair-haired maiden:
With golden coins I'll deck my love, with strings of pearl adorn her."
The Pallikars they heard his words and scornful was their anger,
Three shots they gave him all at once, and all the three were fatal.
"Down with the weakling fool!"—they cried—"shoot down the worthless wanton.
From us he took the golden coins to win the fair-haired maiden,
Our fair-haired maid the pistol is, the sabre is our mistress."

All these songs of the Klephts from Agrapha and Valtos, all the ballads from the war of independence, which are the emanation of the popular feelings of that day, though often expressed in the roughest of dialects, contain a treasure like the massive gold-ore of the mountain, and are the truest and most eloquent documents of the modern history of Greece. They must, therefore, all be carefully collected and rescued before the stream of time shall carry them away, as they otherwise must necessarily perish with the generation that sang, fought and conquered.

The Greek, with the guitar on his knee, will give words to his feelings like the Italian and Spaniard. His voice is

less harmonious than theirs; his music harsh and monotonous, his language less soft and polished—but he nevertheless paints with the true and vivid colors of nature, in animated pictures, the events of a southern life, of domestic sorrows and affections, and sketches, often with a single touch, the splendid scenery of Greece. These national melodies all express a deep romantic sentiment, blended with good humor, wit and tenderness. We find here no elaborateness, no art, no polish or affectation. It is nature herself that springs warm from the heart and speaks as eloquently as in the fragrant blossoms of spring and in the artless warbling of the birds. They are the poetical effusions of an imaginative and lively people, which even during its bondage under Turkish oppression and its total exclusion from political activity and ambition, knew how to preserve its yearning and hope for the attainment of future freedom and happiness.

Another view of this subject would carry us into the consideration of the more artistic productions of the learned poets of modern Greece, of the poetry of Rhisos Rhangavis, Alexander and Panaghiotis Soutsos, Karatchutchas and others, who have attained considerable celebrity by their elegant compositions in the pure and refined New-Hellenic language. Every branch of literature, theology, history, the mathematics and natural sciences possess valuable works by modern Greek writers, which often are translated into the languages of Western Europe. Only in the Drama they seem still to be behind-hand, though the tragedies of Alfieri and Monti in modern Greek translations have been brought on the stage at Athens with success, and lively satiric commedies, such as that of the *Poor Fortune Hunter*, have lashed the Bavarian adventurers and the misrule of the foreign administration, with Aristophanic wit and acrimony, to the delight of the applauding audience.

In a later article I may come back to this highly interesting subject; my next contribution will be my researches on the history of Athens during the less known, but not

less important, period of the Middle Ages and the formation of of a Frankish State under the Dukes of Athens.

A. K. L.

Franklin and Marshall College, Dec. 1, 1859.

ART. II.—CHURCHLINESS.

Although the word *Churchliness* has not yet found its way into our Dictionaries, yet its general use by standard theological writers may be regarded as having obtained for it a place in the English language. It signifies that spirit or animus which makes due account of the Holy Catholic Church as confessed in the Apostles' Creed. The idea of the Church is, undoubtedly, just as essential to the existence and perpetuity of Christianity in the world, as is that of the state for the maintenance of law and order in society. Neither the one nor the other is the result of any human calculation or economical arrangement. Civil law cannot actualize itself except in and through an organization called the state, and the life and principles of the Christian religion equally demand an organization called the Church, if they are not to remain mere abstractions. The idea of the state grows out of the revelation of the divine will in the social nature of man, by which he is constituted a member of a family or race, and not merely an independent individual among many others. The idea of the Church occupies a similar relation to man as he stands in the Kingdom of grace.

But granting the necessity of the Church to the existence of Christianity, there is still room for great difference of opinion as regards its particular form. This is not fixed in the word of God. The Saviour evidently did not dictate a system of Church polity except in its essential features, such as the establishment of the holy ministry and

the appointment of the sacraments. Further particulars were left to arrange themselves in the course of Christian history, for the reason that Christianity is life and not an outward, mechanical system. Its outward form may vary in its non-essential features, as was the case with Judaism. The form of primitive Christianity differed from the mediæval polity of the Church, and this latter again was outgrown at the period of the Reformation. Since that period the Protestant Church, with all its life and activity, has failed to assume a definite outward form. Its present distracted condition has proved itself to be unsatisfactory, and hence internal movements may everywhere be discerned towards meeting this great want. The Church Question has become the great problem of the age. We do not believe that this problem is to be solved by any particular method which human foresight can specify. We look for its solution rather in the way of a historical necessity. Nothing is so important, in contributing to this much desired solution, as to be in possession of a churchly spirit, and hence the great importance of understanding what is churchly and what is its opposite.

It may be premised, that a true churchly spirit is primarily something internal and not external. It does not concern itself first about the particular outward form which the Church must assume. To be specially and primarily interested in the form of Church government, the style of Church architecture, the particulars of worship, or the appropriate habit of the clergy, is to tithe mint, anise and cummin, and neglect the weightier matters of the law. It is, therefore, a fact worthy of notice that the Mercersburg movement started not in this outward way, but concerned itself rather with certain ideas which lie at the heart and core of the whole matter. And it is not to be inferred now, that those who presume to stand in the forefront in taking due care of the outward incidents connected with this subject, are therefore necessarily the most churchly. Unless these ideas take deep root, and continue to exercise their full power, the settling of the outward form

must prove in the end to be a mere useless, empty sham. In directing attention to some of these ideas which lie at the basis of the Mercersburg movement, which has, not without reason, attracted the notice of the Christian world, we presume not to set forth anything new, but merely to attempt to show their relation to a true churchly spirit.

I. The first that we mention is, *A correct view of the person of Christ.*

That a correct view of the person of Christ stands related to a true churchly spirit, not arbitrarily, but in a necessary and inherent way, may be inferred from the manner in which the two are brought together by the Lord Jesus Christ himself. In that remarkable and much disputed passage in Matt. 16: 13–20, this connection is clearly designated. The time had come for the disciples to make their confession of faith in Christ. To the Jews the Saviour appeared as yet only a great prophet. "Whom do men say that I, the Son of man, am? And they said, some say that thou art John the Baptist; some, Elias; and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets." Over against this popular belief, the faith of the disciples is now called forth. "He saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.*" Now mark how directly the Saviour connects this faith in Peter with the idea of his Church. After assuring him that flesh and blood had not revealed it unto him, he exclaimed, "Thou art Peter, and *upon this rock will I build my Church.*" Here then we evidently have the idea of the Church growing directly out of a true faith in the person of Christ, and, therefore, we say, that in order to the possession of a true churchly spirit, proper views must be entertained in reference to the person of Christ.

The clearest and fullest definition of the doctrine of the person of Christ is furnished us in the Athanasian Creed.

"For the right faith is, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and man.

God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds; and man, of the substance of his mother, born in the world;

Perfect God, and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting;

Equal to the Father, according to this Godhead, and inferior to the Father, according to his manhood.

Who, although He be God and man, yet He is not two, but one Christ; one, not by the conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by assumption of the manhood into God; one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man; so God and man is one Christ."

From this definition, which the Church in all ages has adhered to, we learn that God the Son, the Everlasting Word, who is equal and consubstantial with the Father and the Holy Ghost, took into union with himself human nature, "was made flesh," when he condescended to be born of the Virgin Mary. In his conception and birth he assumed human nature, not as it existed before the fall, but as he found it far down the stream of history in his Virgin Mother. Although, by the power of his divine nature, sin was entirely and forever separated from the human in his person, yet his human nature was laden with all the ills and woes incident to fallen man, and so rested under the curse of the law. Upon Christ rested the burden of sin, and that too not as a merely external burden, but as the necessary and inherent consequence of transgression, and, bearing the heavy load, he went down to death. He met and triumphed over the powers of darkness and raised human nature to a position of honor and glory. Hence we must here make proper account of the Saviour's resurrection and ascension, as constituting true historical developments, in rescuing human nature from the consequences of sin.

It must be at once apparent, that, while the Lord who appeared among the disciples after his resurrection is identical with the Lord who had been with them before, yet a great change had taken place in his person. That change took place in his resurrection. The event of the resurrection was concealed from mortal eyes. "The writers of the

New Testament make mention only of what they themselves saw when the sepulchre was already empty. The creative energies wrought in silence, and unobservedly, and wove for the sublime person of the Lord, a raiment of celestial light, worthy of investing the King of the world of light." The resurrection of Jesus was not merely a return to life as was the resurrection, for example, of Lazarus. It involved, at the same time, a glorification, an entrance into a new and higher order of life. His body of flesh and blood became, in the process of his resurrection, a spiritual body. It was a real, true body, as he assured his disciples afterwards, but it was no longer subject to the ordinary limitations of time and space. When Christ arose, he emerged from time into eternity, from the world of matter into the world of spirit. His full and final glorification took place, of course, only in his ascension to the right hand of the Father. His human nature, thus raised up and glorified, in union with the divine, was no longer limited and confined as before, but went forth freely in the power of the Holy Ghost—to be the life of his people. The descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost was, at the same time, the return of Christ himself in his glorified humanity, according to his promise, "I will not leave you orphans; *I will come to you.*"

Here we have the origin of the Christian Church. The presence of Christ in his people, and their union with him by the power of the Holy Ghost, this constitutes the profound mystery of the Church, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail, and here we have the fulfillment of the promise, "Lo I am with you alway, even to the end of the world." To have faith in the presence of the Saviour's glorified humanity in the world, by the power of the Holy Ghost, *is to be churchly.* Over against such faith, all regard and adherence to that which is merely outward and incidental sink into utter insignificancy, but where such faith has once found lodgment in the heart, it will and must invest the outward form with proper significance.

The idea of the Church as a divine institution may be

subverted in two ways, according as our view of the person of Christ runs into one or the other of two errors.

It is not our purpose to go back and go over the two main and leading heresies, in regard to the person of Christ, which prevailed in the early ages of Christianity. Suffice it to say, that they related to the relation of his two natures, the divine and human, and instead of holding to the real, organic union of these in one person, they constantly gave such predominance to the one or the other as to overthrow the true doctrine of his person. On the one side, the Docetic heresies, as they appeared in the gigantic creations of Gnosticism, failed to make due account of the human nature of Christ, resolving his bodily appearance into a mere vision or optical illusion. On the other hand, the Nazarean, or Ebionitic heresy, so undervalued the divinity of Christ as to fail to see in his incarnation a properly new creation at all. All Christological heresies may be said to congregate on these two sides.

In our day they can be distinctly traced, in spirit at least, in what professes to be Protestant Christianity.

First we have Unitarianism, which, although not conceded to be a portion of Evangelical Protestantism, is yet evidently a heretical branch of the Protestant Church. Here we have a denial of the proper divinity of Jesus Christ. We wish to show how this heresy undermines the idea of the Church and is thus fatal to all true churchly feeling.

In denying that Christ is God as well as man, Unitarianism denies, at the same time, the fact of an absolutely *new creation* in him. It also sets aside his generic headship, the organic relation he sustains to his people. Whatever divine influence or power may have dwelt in him, Christ was merely an individual among men, come into the world to make atonement for sin, and to be an example of righteousness. No room is left in this system for the organic union of the divine and human natures, and the perpetual presence of Christ in the Church is denied. Hence, while there may be Christians, there is, properly speaking, no

such thing in the world as an institution, clothed with divine powers, which is, in order, before individual Christians, called *the Church.* Carried out to its ultimate consequences, it leads to humanitarianism, which is a reformation of the world based on man's native powers. As a crutch to get over difficulties that may stand in its way, a sort of pantheism is introduced, a divine afflatus in man, by which he is brought into sympathy with the Deity.

Now it is a notorious fact, that Unitarianism has, from the first, set itself violently against anything bearing the name of Church, in the sense of the Creed, and it has hitherto been its boast, that it deals with men independently of all such organisms, constituting them Christians as individuals and not as members of an order of grace. It is true, in the recent remarkable and able production of Dr. Bellows of New York, on "The Suspense of Faith," there is manifestly an earnest yearning after the Church, with its supernatural powers, its holy sacraments, its liturgic order of worship; but we regard this, not as the legitimate fruit of the system in which he stands, but rather as a reaction in the direction of the truth. Unitarianism, finding itself houseless and homeless, in being without a *Church*, may make efforts to satisfy this want by attempts at reproducing the outward form; it may institute an order of liturgic worship, resembling in form the ancient order; but its attempts must prove abortive, until it correct its false view of the person of Christ. Till that be done, their Church will be an organism, or the appearance of an organism, without a soul. Christ did not found his Church on a denial, but on a *confession*, of his own proper divinty, which comprehends at the same time his deity.

Secondly, we have in Protestantism, orthodox Protestantism, a spirit which fails to make due account of the *humanity* of Christ.

It is truly amazing, and at the same time most alarming, to observe how little account is made, in a large portion of Protestantism, of the human nature of Christ in the work

of man's redemption. The only necessity for his taking to himself a human body is made to lie in this, that he might thereby prepare himself for death on the cross, sustaining in this way the curse due unto man. That event accomplished, the work of Christ, to all intents and purposes, ceased. The Holy Spirit came into the world to carry forward the work, in bringing men to repentance for sin and faith in this vicarious sacrifice. Christ, as to his humanity at least, is now separated from the world. When it is said, that man approaches God *through* Christ, nothing more is understood than that the approach is made with a reliance upon his merits. "He is the occasion by which men are brought near to God, not the real medium of this approach itself; the cause of the atonement in the divine mind, not the very fact in which it consists, as the self-revelation of God, *at one* with the world, and making the world to be at one with himself."

Under this error, religion becomes a metaphysical system, rather than a living fact. According to a certain theory or system of divinity, God is represented as being reconciled to man, and to understand and receive this theory is to become a Christian. The righteousness of Christ is first set over to the account of man in an outward way, and then the Holy Spirit commences the work of sanctification. Thus the human nature of Christ is not really and truly the medium of our union with God. Hence, also there is no supernatual organism—in which Christ dwells, and properly no Church. Each man is constituted a Christian in his individual capacity, and these individuals, being then associated, form the Church.

Accordingly, we find little said among many Protestant bodies of the *birth of Christ.* The festival which commemorates his entrance into the world is stripped of all its deep significance. His death on the cross is understood to be the great end for which he assumed human nature. Little is said of his human life, and the difficulties that meet us in his life, such as his temptation and his agony in the garden, are resolved into mere appearances.

It is perhaps unnecessary to enlarge further, in giving instances of the workings of this spirit of Gnosticism (for such it unquestionably is) in various branches of the Protestant Church. The efforts it has made, and is still making, to ignore the mystical presence of Christ in the Church, in the sacraments and means of grace, are known to all who have at all observed its workings. It is largely an intellectual system, and becomes in the end cold and dead.

Over against these two errors, a true Christology acknowledges and believes in the divine and human united in the person of Christ. It falters not to say with Thomas, "My Lord and my God," nor with Peter, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." It teaches that God, who made all things by the word of his power, came down into the world, that he united himself with human nature, and that as God and man he continues ever to be the only mediator between God and man. It teaches his constant presence on earth through the Holy Ghost, bringing into union with himself all who believe on his name. Whoever believes in this greatest of all mysteries, must, at the same time, believe in the Church.

II. A second idea which we mention as lying at the basis of a churchly spirit is that of *mystery in religion.*

It is not now again by an arbitray arrangement of our own thoughts, that the idea of the mystical in religion and a churchly spirit are thus brought together. We base this relation upon the passage of Scripture recorded in 2 Timothy 3: 15, 16: "But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is *the Church of the living God,* the pillar and ground of the truth. And without controversy, *great is the* MYSTERY *of godliness,* &c."

One of the leading ideas which absorbed the minds of the Apostles and the early Christians was the great mystery, which challenged their faith, in the revelation of Jesus Christ. The Jews had always been conversant with mysteries. Throughout their entire history, they constantly looked upon things which were incomprehensible to rea-

son. Wonder succeeded wonder. God coming down to hold communion with his people; angels walking upon the earth,—visions and dreams,—prophecies being fulfilled—judgments from heaven—indeed, their whole system was calculated to make them feel that God was among them as he was no where else in the world.

But, in the coming of Christ, the revelation of his glory, the performance of his amazing miracles, his death, resurrection, and ascension to heaven, the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, reason was baffled and faith only could receive the revelation. All these things passed before their vision like a heavenly panorama displayed to mortals on earth. The tabernacle of God was with men as it had never been before. All around them were divine and heavenly powers. A new revelation appeared in the old,—all was mystery—a solemn sublime mystery, and they, as children, could only bow down and believe, where mere reason faltered and failed.

A mystery signifies something concealed,—something hidden from ordinary view. In Scripture it generally signifies a revelation which lies above and beyond the sphere of sense or reason. The early Church translated the Greek word *μυστήριον* by the Latin word *sacramentum*, from which we have our English word sacrament. The old definition as given by Augustine, "A sacrament is a sign of a sacred thing," or in other words of the same import, "A sacrament is a visible sign of an invisible grace, instituted for our justification," with which agrees also substantially the answer to the 67th Question in the Heidelberg Catechism, gives us to understand what is meant by a mystery in the Christian sense. The invisible and incomprehensible joining itself to, or revealing itself through that which is visible and comprehensible, or, in other words, the supernatual in the natural,—this constitutes a mystery in the kingdom of grace.

In order to understand the point under consideration, it may be necessary to point out the distinction between a mystery in the natural world, and a mystery in the world

of grace. The growth of a plant in the natural world is a mystery. There is a secret, invisible power lodged in the germ of the seed, which, when the proper conditions are at hand, begins to be active—breaks through the outward shell or covering of the seed, struggles up through the soil, comes forth into the light and air, takes to itself a body, and bears fruit in due season. The feats of legerdemain, performed by the wizard or sorcerer, are, in a lower sense, mysteries, because the power by which they are performed lies hid from observation. But, in each of these cases, there are only natural powers at work. The power that causes the seed to grow, is the vital force which God placed in it at the period of creation, and which propagates itself naturally throughout all time. So too the performances of the wizard are the result of natural powers, and, if we could look behind the scenes, we could understand it all.

In the scheme of redemption, a mystery is not only something concealed from view, but it is also the result of supernatural powers. The foundation of all mysteries in the Christian religion is the incarnation of the Son of God. The Everlasting Word made flesh is the commencement of that union between God and man, the natural and the supernatural, after which the world longed. Here the unseen and eternal revealed itself through the visible and temporal. Of course, this was, and continues to, be a profound mystery, which cannot be fathomed by reason, but must be received by faith.

Now we desire to say, that there is and must be a mystery connected with the Christian religion in all its operations. If we look at the objective features of the Christian system, we shall find mystery there. The preaching of the Gospel is a mystery. We are confronted here already with something more than merely the powers of nature. The reasonableness of the teachings of Scripture, the manner in which they are presented, these will not suffice to explain the success of the Gospel in the world. It must be conceded, that there is a secret invisible power connected with the preaching of the Gospel, which is the cause of its

success. "My words, they are spirit and they are life." The Holy Ghost accompanies and enforces the teachings of Christ, as presented by his ministers. Under this power, strong men are bowed in repentance, darkened minds are enlightened, and hard hearts are melted.

The holy sacraments are mysteries. Here we have invisible grace sacramentally joined with certain outward signs. Here again the supernatural comes to us through the natural. But this union of the two is not mechanical. It cannot be explained on the *opus operatum* theory, which is, at last, a system of magic. But whatever explanation may be offered as to the manner of this mystical union, the fact nevertheless remains. With the outward washing of water there is joined the washing of the Holy Ghost,—with the bread and wine in the holy eucharist, there is joined the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

If we look at the subjective features of religion, we find mysteries there. In the workings of divine grace in the mind and heart, there is a real and true marriage between the natural powers of man, and powers which are supernatural. We may give definitions of repentance and faith, regeneration and sanctification, and other subjective states or experience, but they remain, at last, mysteries, which differ from all natural phenomena, and cannot be explained to the understanding of man.

Wherever a due sense of the mystical element in religion prevails, we think there will be found one element at least of a churchly spirit. This, after all, is what constitutes the Church an object of faith in the sense of the creed, that it is a real kingdom of grace, in which divine and heavenly powers are constantly at work. He, therefore, who apprehends the true mystical element in religion, must have faith in the Church. At war with this mystical element in religion is rationalism, which is at the same time at war with all true churchliness. Whenever the mind refuses to concede anything above nature and reason in the various phenomena of religion, there is an end of all mystery. The miracles recorded in the Old and New Testa-

ments are then explained away as mere natural events, or at most deceptive appearances; the word and sacraments are divested of their true character, and religion turned into a delusion. A rationalist, in the full sense of the word, must be also an infidel. But the poison of rationalism may diffuse itself in combination with a measure of true faith. This is the case largely, we think, with Protestantism. The intellect has been made to play so large a part in its history from its beginning, as a reaction against its neglect and enslavement previously, that there is great danger of its trusting too much in its own light. There are denominations, among whom *mystery* is almost an obsolete word, and when used by others, they consider it a bad indication. Who does not know how lustily a certain American divine, and certain American Churches cried out, not many years since, against regarding the Lord's Supper as a mystery, or against believing in the mystical presence of Christ in that holy sacrament? And who does not know, that, with a large portion of American Protestantism, the idea of mystery connected with the sacrament at all is regarded as superstitious? And just to that extent they are also *unchurchly*. No man can make due account of the idea of the Church, who does not sympathize with the mystical element of the Christian religion. He can have no reverence, except as he feels himself standing in the presence of the supernatural. He can have no true faith in the Church, unless he can see in it the revelation of divine power and grace. There is undoubtedly wanting to a large extent in Protestantism precisely this sense of mystery. Owing to the fact, that the Reformation was a waking up of the world's intellect, as well as a reformation of abuses in religion,—and owing to the rise of a sensational philosophy, which finds its legitimate fruit in the Positive philosophy of Le Comté, mystery has been well nigh ruled out of religion. Knowledge has taken the place of faith, and men rush madly in where angels fear to look.

But, as intimated above, the conception of mystery iu religion may be overthrown by uniting the natural and

supernatural in a *magical* way. This, we think, is the defect in the Roman Catholic system. In that system, there is no real union of the order of grace and the order of nature. "The two worlds are sundered by an impassable gulph, as regards inward constitution and being; only by the word of God, as an outward report, it is possible for faith, in the sphere of nature, to be infallibly assured of what lies beyond in the higher sphere. This abstract conception of the supernatural, as something that refuses utterly to flow into one life in any way with the natural, underlies the whole theory of Romanism." Hence the faith and reverence, which are due only to the supernatural, are transferred at last to the merely natural, and become superstition. We will not pursue this thought further at this time, but proceed to remark,

III. *The idea of a liturgic order of worship* is another element of a churchly spirit.

This proposition may be demonstrated historically. It will be found in examining the history of the Christian past, that, from the beginning, a liturgic order of worship has always stood in connection with a sound churchly feeling, and *vice versa*. In the primitive ages of Christianity the idea of the Church was all-absorbing. The early Christians felt themselves standing in an order of grace, which was to them a truly supernatural kingdom. Of this kingdom they were living *members*. Their individual Christian life was regarded as healthy only as it flowed forth freely from this kingdom of heaven on earth. Now, it is well known, that this was, at the same time, the age of liturgies. Worship was then regarded as an act of the Church, and not merely of individuals in the Church. It was the voice of the Saviour's spouse, which was one, going forth from a warmly beating heart to Him who is the chief among ten thousand, the one altogether lovely. It is also true, that, since the period of the Reformation, those branches of the Protestant Church which realize most their organic connection with the Holy Catholic Church of all ages, have the deepest sympathy with a liturgical order of

worship, whereas among those denominations and sects where the idea of the Church is, to a great extent, lost, there is also a repugnance to all liturgies. The question here is, not which is right. We are not now arguing the merits of the case, but merely directing attention to a historical fact. Churchly feeling and liturgical worship may both be condemned as wrong, as contrary to the teachings and spirit of Christ, yet the fact remains that they always go together.

But our proposition may also be demonstrated philosophically. The Church, as it is confessed in the Apostles' creed, is one and indivisible. It was the burden of the Saviour's last prayer, that it might continue thus united to the end of time. "That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may know that thou hast sent me." If this character of unity is to be a reality, and not a mere empty name, it behooves that the voice of the Church must be one when it ascends in worship to the throne of God. It is often urged, indeed, that the unity here spoken of is a unity of spirit, and that it therefore has no immediate reference to the outward form or language employed. But where there is true unity of spirit, there must, in the nature of the case, be unity in outward form. Life always struggles to actualize itself, and it can fail to do this only where there are stronger foreign powers at work. The acts of public worship are not merely the acts of individual believers, but of the whole body of believers. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is truly a *communion* in which all have part. The offering up of prayer and praise is an act in which the whole Church engages. The Saviour teaches this in his formula of prayer given to his disciples. When ye pray, say, "*Our* Father who art in heaven." The prayer must be one which expresses the wants and feelings of all,—it must be universal in its character.

A liturgic order of worship, not only brings out prominently the idea of the *unity* of the Church, but also its *objectivity*. The Church as the body of Christ, a new order

of grace, and therefore an object of faith, presents itself before us as something more general and comprehensive than the subjective experiences, or the sum of subjective experiences, in individual Christians. It is, in order, before individual Christians, just as the net in the parable is something apart from the fishes which formed its contents. As the family life, or the national life, is something broader and deeper than that of the individuals comprehended in it, so the life of the Church is always broader, and more comprehensive than that of its members.

Now, in worship, the member of the Church is to rise above his subjective state or experience and mingle his note of praise in that which is general. The general life of the Church stands united with Christ who is in heaven, as to the fulness of his majesty and glory. It stands in sympathy with heavenly things and all its members are to enter into this fellowship. This is what the Church has always meant by its *Sursum corda*, "Lift up your hearts," and the response, "We lift them up unto the Lord." This is what is meant by saying in the solemn prayer, "We unite with angels and archangels around thy throne, with the glori ous company of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs and saints in heaven, as well as with thy militant Church on earth, in ascribing unto Thee honor and blessing, thanksgiving and praise. Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of Hosts: heaven and earth are full of the majesty of Thy glory." In the language of another, "The Liturgical prayer is objective, it looks to heaven, it worships with angels, it moves amidst bodily realities, and it prays for spiritual things under tangible forms: thus leading the individual out of himself, and turning the particular voice of his private devotions into the one great voice of the Body, which is the Church." The same might be said of all the other official acts of worship.

Now where the Church is comprehended in its *Unity* and its *Objectivity*, there must be a churchly spirit, and there must be also, as has been shown, a Liturgical order of worship. It is not without meaning, therefore, we think

that the Mercersburg movement, after earnestly presenting the great, germinative doctrine of the person of Christ, setting forth the Incarnation as lying at the foundation of Christianity, and the mystical presence of Christ as the life of the Church, should now make earnest with the Liturgy Question. There is an internal bond of union between these. But on this account they must be held, not separately, but together. To advocate liturgic forms, without, at the same time, being imbued with a proper conception of what goes before, would be senseless formalism. A liturgy without a Church would be an ironical satire on the spirit of sect and schism.. Hence the liturgy movement cannot advance properly any faster than the minds and hearts of the people become imbued with a true faith in the Church. When this has fully taken root, a liturgic order of worship will follow as a necessary consequence.

It might be suggested here, if such kind of worship is the only proper kind, why not join in that of the Roman Catholic, or Episcopal Church? The objection to the order of worship in the Roman Catholic Church, among other objections, is this, that there the worship is conducted by the clergy, and the people are entirely shut out. True the people read their prayers—and the choir engages to some extent, but the language of the missal is only for the clergy. This objection does not hold as against the Episcopal Church. But here the objection is, that their exclusive, and perhaps we may say, selfish theory of the Church, shuts out their Protestant brethren from joining with them in worship on an equality. Hence there seems to be no other alternative left, than for the other Protestant bodies to produce, or reproduce, an order of worship adapted to their wants. The times are looking towards this end. We believe it will yet be accomplished.

IV. Proper respect and reverence for the holy ministry, is another characteristic of a churchly spirit.

It will not be difficult, from what has already been said of some of the fundamental ideas of true churchliness, to

obtain a correct conception of the character and functions of the holy ministry. These must rest ultimately upon the constitution of the person of Christ. The functions of the holy ministry are not based upon an external commission merely, but upon something going before the commission. It was because Christ himself was the world's prophet, priest, and king, and that this threefold ministry was to be of perpetual force, that he was qualified to commission his disciples and their successors throughout all ages, to go forth and act in his name.

The ministry, therefore, is not something created *ab extra*, but it is rather the continuation of the ministry of the Lord Jesus Christ. Accordingly, his words, "Lo I am with you alway, even to the end of the world," express a literal truth. It is not as though he had said, I will support and sustain you; I will give you all necessary encouragement and success. It means, that Christ will ever continue to live and act in the functions of his true ministers, and therefore *he* will be with them.

The functions of the ministry must, therefore, be regarded as truly supernatural. They proceed not from any merely natural or human power. Neither are they delegated from the people constituting the Church militant at any given stage of its history. The powers here come from above, not from beneath. It is true, the laity have a voice in designating the persons who are to be invested with these solemn functions, but they do not create the functions themselves.

But now it must not be overlooked, that, in the ministry there is a real union of the natural and the supernatural. We cannot separate absolutely between the official and personal character of the Christian minister. Here the weakness of the Roman system again reveals itself. According to this system, there is, in theory, an absolute divorce between these two, and the effect has been, that, not only in exceptional cases, and for a time, but as a general rule and for centuries, a large portion of their ministers have given sad evidence of being priests without being

Christians. Undoubtedly there has been much shameful misrepresentation on this point. History has been turned into a nose of wax but too frequently, in the hands of partisans and bigots, in order to bring reproach on the system. In many instances history, thus abused, has righted itself again, and it has been made to appear that many popes and priests, who had been covered with the slime of base vituperation, were really honest and upright, yea, even eminent servants of God, and faithful ministers of Christ. No one can read such a volume as *Edgar's Variations of Popery*, without being filled with *nausea* at the manner in which the author luxuriates in filthy misrepresentations.

But, conceding all this, it is still a matter of history, which the fingers of time will never efface, that the Romish priesthood has often become corrupt, and the cause may be found largely in the false view of the ministry to which reference has been made. The priest and the man are regarded as two beings. With them this is the rule, not the exception. Their people do not seem to be at all horrified, therefore, in having wicked popes and priesthood to dispense the functions of the gospel ministry. They will tell you with an air of unconcern and even apparent complacency, "if the priest is bad, he is bad for himself, not for us." Yet who cannot see that this is making a principle out of an exception? If the principle were true, then the functions of the ministry could go forward successfully even in the hands of an entirely corrupt priesthood, which is certainly impossible for any length of time.

The case requires indeed, that we should distinctly recognize the supernatural character of the functions of the ministry, but we must not, at the same time, overlook or ignore the Christian character of those who exercise them.

But, if Romanism errs on the one side, a large portion of Protestantism has erred on the other. It is not to be concealed, that, in many branches of Protestantism, the official character of the ministry is entirely lost sight of. With them the minister of the gospel wields no supernatural power whatever. His influence and success are re-

garded as depending entirely upon his personal qualifications. Ministers themselves, entertaining this same view, turn out moral reformers; their churches are turned into lecture rooms, and they entertain large audiencies by able and polished lectures on questions of the day.

Now it will be found that the Christian ministry, which rests its claims upon either of these errors will, in the end, prove a failure. The Romish priesthood could not stand before the tide of reformatory movement induced by reigning immoralities in the Church, and Protestant ministers, who fall into the other extreme, will be landed on the bleak and barren shore of humanitarianism, which never yet regenerated a single soul, while the stream of true Church life will roll majestically onward to its final destination.

From this we can see at once what respect and reverence are due the Christian ministry. They combine in themselves the character of a private Christian and of a public minister of Jesus Christ. As the continuation of the Saviour's prophetical office, they are the regularly constituted organs of instruction. They are the *ecclesia docens*. They are not called to teach systems of philosophy, or to disseminate their individual opinions and notions on any and every subject, but they are to make known the great system of faith which is entrusted to their keeping. The Apostles spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. The Christian minister, in like manner, must feel himself bound to proclaim that which he is sent to teach. In the present state of the Church, he is bound by the symbolical books of his denomination. Thus he preaches always in an official character, and delivers a message first delivered to him. He does not do this, indeed, in a mechanical way. The truths must pass through his own mind, and his own heart too, and be reproduced for his hearers, yet the truths are not his own, but Christ's. As the continuation of the Saviour's priestly office, he is to offer up the sacrifice of thanksgiving and praise in behalf of the people. The central arch in this department of the work of the Christian

ministry is the Holy Eucharist, which they are called to dispense. Flowing forth from this are the prayers and songs of praise, with which the Church approaches God in solemn worship. These ascend in connection with the Eucharist or *thanksgiving*, in which the atonement of Christ is brought really home to all believers, and through which they offer themselves up as living sacrifices. As a continuation of the Saviour's kingly office, the Christian ministry, including ruling elders as well as teaching elders, are to govern the Church of Christ. In the use of the keys entrusted to their keeping, they are to open and shut the door of the kingdom of divine grace by the preaching of the Gospel and Christian discipline. They are not to be lords over God's heritage, ruling with a tyrannical spirit, but they must nevertheless rule and govern, though in a spirit of humility and love.

The respect and reverence due to the Christian ministry are based now upon their character as already briefly sketched. In exceptional cases where we may reasonably believe their personal characters are bad, yet so long as they stand *rectus in ecclesia*, they must be regarded with due respect. Their ministerial acts are valid. But the proper condition is only realized, when the love we bear to them, as Christians, is combined with respect and reverence for them as ministers. Jesus Christ manifested all due deference to officials in the Jewish Church, even though he had to denounce them as vile hypocrites. He always responded to their demands when exercising their official character, and encouraged the people to pay all due regard to their instruction, because they sat in Moses' seat. What a humiliating contrast is presented in reference to this point in our day! Is not the contrast owing to the general prevalence of an unchurchly spirit? Who lower the standard of qualifications for the ministry? Who have labored to do away with all distinctions between the ministry and the laity? There can be no hesitation in answering these questions. The sects,—who are a standing denial of the one holy catholic Church,—they ignore the

high and holy charecter of the ministry. On the other hand, wherever proper views of the Church prevail, there the ministry will be respected. No man can love Christ and believe in his Church, and yet show habitual disrespect for his ministers.

The evil here brought to view is not to be remedied, as we think, until right views of the Church, as the body of Christ, come to prevail; and right views of the Church depend again on right views of the person of Christ, and of the nature of Christianity. Any merely outward application, or outward reform, will not be lasting. To insist merely on an outward succession in the Episcopal sense is not enough. A pedantic assumption of a clerical dress and clerical manners, will avail but little. There must be a lively faith first in the perpetual presence and power of the *ministry of Christ*, as he lives in the Church, in the way of a profound mystery, a faith in the presence of divine and heavenly powers, and when such faith prevails, respect and reverence for the office bearers in the Church will manifest itself in due time. Apart from such faith all will be empty and vain.

Again, reverence for the house of God, and a suitable regard for church-architecture are the natural and necessary result of true churchliness. The house of God is made sacred by the presence of God's worshipping people, in the midst of whom Christ himself is present, according to his gracious promise, "Where two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." From the beginning of the world, God himself has inculcated the duty of reverencing places specially set apart for the revelation of his presence and glory. Such a place was the spot on which, in ancient days, the altar was erected; such a place was the vicinity of the burning bush; such a place was the tabernacle, and afterwards the temple. It is not now indeed Mt. Gerizzim nor Mt. Sion that we are to regard as peculiarly sacred, but in whatever place God's people choose to strike their tents, or build houses for his worship. In these temples of prayer and praise something

more than the shekinah of the holy of holies in the Jewish temple, is present. Because this presence of Christ is a spiritual presence, it is none the less real. What a sad commentary on the character of much of the religion of the day, and the faith of this age, is the spirit of irreverence so generally manifested for the house of God!

Due reverence for the house of God will lead to a proper regard for Church-architecture. The house of the Lord must be the best we can prepare. It is erected for the honor and glory of God in preference to our own convenience and comfort. It is to be lamented that in many churches this order is reversed. You may often find richly cushioned pews to accommodate the people, whilst the pulpit and the altar are left uncared for. In churches that cost fifty or a hundred thousand dollars, frequently nothing but an ordinary speaker's desk is erected, from which to expound and proclaim the everlasting Gospel, and an ordinary table from which to dispense the holy sacraments and offer up prayer and praise. Should not this be changed? The people can worship in plain seats, but the sacredness of the pulpit and the altar should be adapted to inspire all with reverence and awe.

The idea of worship also, as a liturgical service, demands a proper regard for the character of the building in which such worship is offered up. It must not only be adapted in its proportions for the voice of the speaker, as a lecture room, but it should also express the uprising of prayer and praise. To this end it points upwards, like its towering spire, to the skies, whither the earnest longings and aspirations of all true worshipers tend. Everything in and about it should bring home to the mind and heart the sacredness of the place and of the service. There is indeed a theory according to which all such outward expression of religious sentiment and feeling is unnecessary,—the theory which regards religious service as exclusively spiritual. The consistent and legitimate conclusion of this theory is reached in the graveyard silence and ghostlike worship of Quakerism. It is contradicted, however, by the common

sense of the whole Christian world, which arrays itself in Sunday dress, to hallow the Lord's day and prepare for solemn worship. Religion is for the body as well as for the spirit, and these two are inseparable in our present state of existence.

Regard for holy seasons pertains also to a churchly spirit. Christianity sanctifies the revolving years by which time is measured. It is moreover historical, and must, therefore, constantly keep before the mind its great historical events. But we will not pursue our subject farther in this direction. Our object has been rather to collect together a few leading ideas which lie at the basis of a churchly spirit. There is danger, in this superficial age, that the remedy proposed to satisfy the great want of Christendom may prove an abortion,—that we may grasp at the conclusion without digesting well the premises,—that we may put on a dress which will be only a sad mimicry. The "Church of the future" must be a true birth from the life of the present. We believe there are hopeful indications of the dawn of a more auspicious day for God's struggling militant people. Party divisions must sooner or later come to an end. Love and unity must prevail. Yet we must patiently abide the time for history to shape its course. It is questionable whether Protestantism has yet expended all its centrifugal force. It would seem that divisions will for a time continue to multiply. Doubtless some of the bodies that have been thrown off, and have been revolving around themselves as centres, will perish in darkness. But we have hope for the main elements of Protestantism, because we have faith in history, and especially Christian history, one of the legitimate movements of which was evidently the great Reformation of the sixteenth century. But history is not regulated by unalterable fate. Its factors on the one side are free agents. Hence the Protestant world must become conscious of its mission. It must look earnestly towards the final overthrow of sect and schism, or else perish. Nothing will contribute so much, we think, to this end as the cultivation, in all its

branches, of a *true churchly spirit.* May the good Lord hasten the time, when all his people shall be one in outward form, as they are one in inward life, when there shall be one fold as there is one Shepherd,—when, the world over, there shall be "one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism."

T. G. A.

ART. III.—THE CHURCH AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS*.

Mankind may be contemplated in two leading aspects. The one exhibits a race of *sinners*, fallen and condemned, and as such needing a *spiritual* salvation. The other aspect exhibits a race of *sufferers*, because they are fallen sinners, or implicated in sin as it has become dominant in the world, and as such sufferers needing *physical* salvation. Now it depends almost entirely upon the subjective character of our piety, of Christianity as living in us, by which of these aspects we will be most deeply affected, or whether each will receive, in its own proper measure, the consideration to which it is entitled.

Those whose religion rests entirely upon convictions of the holiness of God, and whose piety consists in all-absorbing meditations of the Divine justice, will be likely to be most deeply moved by the sight of man as a *sinner*, and the consideration of his impending doom as a sinner. All their thoughts about him, are suggested by that name, and fasten on it. They see him in no other light than as a rebel against God. The term *sinner* expresses the only relation to God in which they care to regard man, and designates the only character of man which they deem worthy of earnest anxiety. It matters little or nothing to them whether he be blind, or deaf, or naked, or hungry,

* The Charity of Primitive Churches, &c. By the Rev. Stephen Chastel. Translated by G. A. Matile. Philadelphia. 1857.

or halt, or maimed, or sick, or in prison. His being a sinner so exceeds in fearfulness all other possible conditions, that they lose all significance. And if he can only be rescued from that evil, all other evils may well be borne. This phase of piety, also, true to its spiritualistic convictions, generally leaves men lie unpitied and unrelieved in their various physical woes, if only they are saved; that is, if only their souls are pardoned and redeemed. Why should the hungry poor sigh over their scanty crusts, if only they may eat bread in the kingdom of heaven? Why should half-clad orphans shiver in their rags, if only they may say, "Our Father who art in heaven," and can warm their souls in the rays of love which fall from the Cross? Why should widows weep in their lonely bereavments, and pine away in their desertion, if only "their Maker has come to be their husband," and they have attained to a good hope through grace, of a better portion hereafter? Sinners should be thankful that they are saved, and bear the lack of other good, and the burden of other ills, with patience, and grateful resignation.

We do not affirm that with the phase of Christianity just considered, theory or doctrine and such practice, are always associated. But abundant facts, past and present, will corroborate the assertion, that its strong and most prevalent tendency is in the direction indicated.

That such an extreme positive should have its extreme and counteracting negative, is only in harmony with all the phenomena of matter and of mind. Accordingly we find that the aspect of mankind as *sufferers* has so absorbed the attention and excited the sympathies of another class of Christians, or at least Religionists, that every other characteristic of man is lost sight of or ignored. The sight of physical suffering or temporal wretchedness so affects them, that they have no sighs for diseased souls, and no concern for desperate spiritual maladies. With such, *philanthrophy*, in its lowest sense, is religion, and temporal beneficence the only desirable form of piety. In their estimation almshouses are far preferable to churches, and

meetings of beneficial associations more important to the welfare of society than public worship. If only men have bread, and children clothing; if only widows are housed, and the suffering sick nursed; if only dying men can be assured that they will be decently buried, and their bereaved survivors somewhat cared for,—why should any desire or need more than this? There are men, and men professing to have learned at the feet of one who taught wiser lessons of duty than ever Gamaliel uttered, who nevertheless would rather see a slave free of his temporal bondage, than see him a Christian. There is, indeed, that in this error to which every warm heart responds. Though it rests upon a *perverted* humanity, we cannot refuse or wholly suppress sympathy with the *humanity* that is in it. But as a perversion of a great truth and duty, and that to the exclusion of a still greater truth and duty, it must be rejected and denounced. If those of the previously named class allow their high sense of the holiness of God, their indignation at sinners as offenders against that holiness, and their concern for those offenders as obnoxious to extreme penalties, to render them comparatively indifferent to the claims of men, as physical sufferers, upon their sympathies; those who belong to this second class are so overwhelmed by scenes of human sorrow and shrieks of human wo, that, in their tender concern for the afflicted, and philanthropic zeal to alleviate those physical miseries, they comparatively forget that sin is the primal source of all these sorrows, and that man's first need is pardon and reconciliation with God. The former are exclusive theists; the latter exclusive humanists.

Now it is obvious to the student of Revelation, and especially of the morality of the Bible as exemplified by Christ, that Christianity gives no warrant to either of these extremes. The first concern of every man for himself, should doubtless be to seek a living participation in "the kingdom of God and his righteousness." And, consequently, the benevolent zeal of those who have attained this, should lead them *primarily* to labor to bring others to a like

participation in spiritual blessings. But Christianity, and as especially illustrated by our Lord himself, is no less explicit in inculcating similar zeal for the relief of the physical sufferings of mankind. For "*Pure Religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this: To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.*" (James 1 : 27.)

There are impure and defiled Religions in the world; Religions which originated in the depths of foul hearts, and which, instead of cleansing and ennobling their deluded votaries, have only caused them to sink still deeper in the mire. The utterly degrading influence of all pagan forms of religion, is too well known to need any special illustrations. Now as those religions are low and brutalizing in their nature and moral influence, so they are also uniformly characterized by cruelty and inhumanity in their social workings.

But even our essentially holy Christian Religion has not escaped contamination, in its progress amidst the vile idolatries of the world. Its principles have often been perverted. Its worship has frequently been adulterated. And its living acting charity has, alas! how commonly, been worse than neutralized by bitter infusions of hateful bigotry. Orthodoxy, frigid and dead, has been substituted for righteousness of life; formalism (whether premeditated or extemporaneous) for hearty devotion; and sectarian fanaticism, for holy zeal, in the service of God and of our brother, God's son. Oh! how miserably has that "wisdom which is from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, *full of mercy and good fruits*," been falsified by ecclesiastical and sectarian caricatures!

No wonder then that the earnest practical Apostle above quoted, draws so strong a contrast between such counterfeit forms of piety, and genuine Christianity. In opposition to all those deceptive and inefficient imitations, he declares that "pure Religion, and undefiled before God and the Father, is this: To visit the fatherless and widows

in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." This only is true religion in the case of individuals separately considered; but this, also, is the most effective and worthy form in which the piety of Christians collectively—as a Church—can be exhibited.

He does not deny the importance and necessity of a ground-work of faith. How could he? The same Spirit which inspired Paul, inspired James. Their doctrines, therefore, must essentially agree. And they do agree. Both teach that faith is indispensable to salvation; only St. Paul gives more prominence to faith, because he was addressing those (especially in the epistle to the Galatians) —who were in danger of relying upon righteousness by works. Both teach that works are indispensable; only St. James, who had witnessed a tendency to trust in a mere inactive faith, gives prominence to their importance, as the legitimate fruit of faith; and the proper evidence of its existence in the hearts of those professing to possess it.

And yet this representation of the relation of St. Paul to St. James, may hardly exhibit the matter in its true light. For St. Paul does give as much prominence, in fact, to the *fruits* of the Spirit, to "a faith that *worketh* by love," to deeds of charity, as irresistibly prompted by the principle of indwelling charity, as could be expected in epistles, the aim of which would have justified no greater stress being laid upon this view of piety. And so, on the other hand, St. James, instead of at all ignoring the vitalizing power of faith, makes it, wherever it exists, a living fountain whence issue streams of charity to gladden the hearts of the desolate.

The truth is that the danger of separating theory and practice, so as to substitute the one for the other, is exposed in every book of the New Testament. How explicitly is it everywhere affirmed, that "except our righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, we can in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven;" that men are "made new creatures in Christ Jesus," in order that as "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy

nation, a peculiar people, they may shew forth the praises of him who hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light." Thus are they challenged to "glorify God in their bodies and spirits which are his." And the way in which prëeminently, as true believers, they are to do this, is, by exemplifying the power and beauty of Religion in the form specified by St. James.

The alleviation of human misery, as a prominent duty of Christians and the Christian Church, is, therefore, a theme warmly commended by the statutes and practice of our holy Religion, and the more especially deserving of earnest attention, as it is apt to be underrated and overlooked.

We propose devoting a few pages to its consideration.

The duty in question is plainly taught in the Scriptures by reiterated precepts, and strongly enforced by numerous examples.

Passing by the many proofs in point which might be cited from the Old Testament Scriptures, let us notice: *The teaching and example of Christ and his apostles.*

So strong, and seemingly unqualified, are some of the *declarations of our Lord*, touching this subject, that they have not only been made to favor agrarian and communistic errors, but have troubled the consciences of not a few simple hearted, yet serious and earnest Christians. It would seem as though he required his disciples to strip themselves of all their possessions, and distribute them among their destitute and suffering fellow men. Nay, not only that he has enjoined this upon them as a proper act of self-denial, but has seemed to make it a condition of salvation.

He represents those whom he welcomes as the blessed of his Father, into the joys of their Lord, as being persons who, when even the least of his brethren on earth were hungry, gave them meat; when they were thirsty, gave them drink; when they were strangers, took them in; when they were naked, clothed them; when they were sick, visited them; and when they were in prison, went to cheer them. From this it would seem as though the piety which

Christ desired to recommend, consisted mainly of beneficence, as springing from faith.

When he sent forth his twelve disciples on their first mission, what strange prominence he gives to acts of mercy towards the bodies of men. "He gave them power and authority over all demons, and to heal diseases, and all manner of sickness." And again when he sent forth the seventy, he invested them with like power over all bodily complaints, both such as seemed connected immediately with the agency of some evil spirit, and those which did not.

At another time he rebukes the prevailing disposition to pay court to wealth and worldly estate, and commands his followers, when they give public entertainments, to invite such guests as proud and selfish worldlings despise. "When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, nor thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbors; lest they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind; and thou shalt be blessed: for they cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just."

To the same effect is our Lord's approval of the conduct of Zaccheus, in giving *the half of his goods to feed the poor*, whether this means that he intended at once to make distribution of that proportion of his effects, or to give the half of his annual revenues to their relief. This is set forth by Christ as the most indubitable evidence of the publican's conversion,—a most cheering proof that salvation, with its regenerating power, had indeed come to his house.

Thus he everywhere admonishes his followers to make such a beneficent use of what riches they may possess, as will secure the divine approbation, the friendship and favor of Him, who, when they shall fail, can receive them into everlasting habitations.

And what our Lord so impressively taught, he *exemplified* in his whole life. What was that life but a continuous act of self-sacrifice to the relief of the wretched, and the

deliverance of the lost? He knew that he had been anointed not only to preach the Gospel to the poor, but to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. Therefore he went about doing good. He came to minister, not to be ministered unto. The works of Him that sent him, which he so untiringly wrought, were deeds of mercy to the miserable and helpless. When John the Baptist sent to our Lord for proofs of his Messiahship, Jesus could, therefore, triumphantly point to the miracles of beneficence which he had performed. By his divine pity, therefore, he has taught his disciples to be compassionate, and full of tender sympathy for all that are in distress. By his zeal in seeking out and aiding the wretched, he has set them an example which should incite their awakened sympathies to diligent and self-denying efforts to alleviate the woes of our suffering fellowmen. And by the blessed results which followed his labors of love, he stimulates their zeal by assurances that their toils shall not be in vain in the Lord.

Accordingly, when we consider the precepts, and contemplate the bright and inspiring example of our Divine Redeemer, we may well wonder less, that ardent hearts have allowed themselves to be inflamed by overwrought enthusiasm in imitation of what he said and did—than that so many of his followers should exhibit utter apathy, and frigid insensibility to human sorrow. It is true that enthusiasm has often flamed out into fanaticism, and sought to accomplish its aims in most unscriptural and repulsive forms. But it is hardly becoming for those who do nothing, to condemn others for doing too much. No calm and sober judgment, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, will ever construe the Saviour's words or acts into a warrant for socialism, or any kindred error. But how can men be ever looking unto such a Jesus, and be daily admiring such beneficence, without having their own souls stirred within them to go and do likewise?

That this duty should be *reiterated by the immediate apostles and disciples* of our Lord, and that their lives should *furnish corresponding exemplifications of it*, must seem altogether natural. Accordingly we find the Acts of the Apostles, and their Epistles abounding in exhortations to deeds of mercy, not only towards suffering fellow-believers, but also towards strangers. They urged their brethren to be instant in season and out of season, "doing good unto all men, but especially unto them who were of the household of faith."

It is not St. James, but St. Paul, who, under the influence of the Spirit, says: "I have showed you all things, how that so laboring ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said: It is more blessed to give than to receive." (Acts 20: 35.) "Therefore, charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy; that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate; laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come." And in full harmony with this doctrine of St. Paul, the aged apostle John, asks: "But whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" This is but a scanty specimen of exhortations and directions abounding in the writings of the Apostles. We cannot now quote more. But they are sufficient to show how explicitly, and how earnestly the duty of beneficence, in forms suited to the varied circumstances of the needy and afflicted, was urged upon the members of the Apostolic Church.

And in the case of the Apostles, likewise, *precepts were illustrated by a consistent example.* They denied themselves, took up their cross, and followed Christ. Silver and gold they might have none, but what they had they cheerfully consecrated to the service of the brethren, and the cause of human beneficence. They not only died for Christ and

his people;—they did more, they *lived for them.* And they lived for them, not simply and solely by being the bearers of the Gospel as a system of saving facts and doctrines, or as a heavenly devised scheme for exhibiting to the world, in the most awe-inspiring form, the severe and unchangeable righteousness of God (Rom. 1: 17); but also, and very decidedly, by manifesting in their own lives, how tender-hearted, how pitiful, and how abundant in deeds of mercy to others that Gospel taught them, and all who truly embraced it, ever to be. They lived frugally, that they might not too heavily tax the churches in their comparative indigence. They labored with their own hands, not thereby to concede their right to ample maintenance by public provision, or to set a precedent which covetous Christians, and penurious churches might subsequently, in more prosperous days, plead as an apology for keeping their pastors on economical fare—(for it was plainly asserted that the ox that treadeth out the grain should not be muzzled), but they did so for two different reasons. In the first place they were unwilling to be burdensome to their poverty-stricken brethren, who, under losses sustained in many cases by their embracing the Gospel, were hardly able to provide for themselves. Then the apostles desired by their own manual labors to earn means of assisting the needy and distressed. Thus they proved that, although man was not to live by material bread alone, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of the Lord, nevertheless, it was a Christian duty to give the hungry bread. Like their Master, they might perceive that many among the multitudes following them, were influenced only by carnal motives, hoping to get food to satisfy their bodily hunger, and such carnality might be rebuked by them. Still like that Divine Master, also, they did not, therefore, refuse to exert their miraculous gift for the relief of the blind, and lame, and sick, nor to put into active exercise the spirit of Christian love, even at the entire sacrifice of personal comfort, for the benefit of their suffering fellow-men.

The general recognition of this duty in the early ages of the Church, and the various measures employed in its discharge,—furnish corroborative proof of its claims.

During the Apostolic period the duty to care for the needy, and minister to the wants of the wretched, seems to have been unhesitatingly admitted, by all the members of the Church. They held all things as common to all: *i. e.*—those who had possessions really regarded themselves as holding their riches in trust for the good of their needy brethren. Poor widows and their orphan children were objects of special regard. To those who had suffered losses through persecution, pecuniary relief, contributed by more fortunate churches, was liberally sent. A special office was instituted, with reference to the execution of some formally devised plan of beneficence. Alas! that the significance of the diaconate is scarcely known in these last days! The *agapae*, feasts of love, were no less than public meals, furnished by the more wealthy Christians, at which the poor enjoyed freely the same fare with their richer brethren. And these feasts were daily spread. The poor took the fragments home with them, to supply the next day's wants. None were allowed to suffer for lack of any thing. They served one another in the Lord.

So deeply was the force of this obligation felt that it overcame all the previously existing prejudices of nation and caste. Disputes and jealousies might occasionally arise. But soon the law of love would assert its sway, and Jew and Gentile be found by turns, mutually aiding each other, in obedience to the strong promptings of celestial charity.

There were, indeed, no public institutions of charity, as asylums for the poor or the sick, then yet reared. For, first of all, there was *no need of them* in the Church. All requisite provision for such objects of pity was made by private and individual liberality and benevolence. In the household of faith, there was always found room to shelter, feed, and protect, the destitute and helpless members of that household. The house of Stephanas was but one

among many, "addicted to the ministry of the saints" (Cor. 16 : 15). Then, furthermore, the spite and jealosy of their foes, would not have allowed the early Christians to give such public demonstrations of the law of charity. And, again, the political agitations of those times were barriers in the way of such benevolent establishments. But by the collections taken on the first day of the week, and other acts of private munificence, the needy were comfortably cared for, and the homeless housed.

It was this fact which attracted the notice of surrounding Gentiles, and forced from them the declaration: "See how these Christians love one another!" It was not the exhibition of any sentimental affection; not merely that they lived together in harmony and peace, whilst intestine feuds, and unrelenting strifes, made other communities boisterous with discords. This indeed was comparatively true. But the most prominent characteristic was, that they abounded in deeds of mutual charity; bore each others burdens; did good in communicating to each others necessities; were hospitable; remembered them that were in bonds, as bound with them; and them which suffer adversity, as being themselves in the body (Hebrew 13 : 3).

Nor did the cause of Christian beneficence wane as the Apostles one after another passed away, and no longer stirred up the Churches by their inciting presence and appeals. Nay, during the several centuries succeeding the primitive period, the spirit of genuine compassion, and of activity in deeds of mercy, often exerted, apparently at least, greater power, than ever before. As opportunities multiplied and means increased, there seemed to be a growing disposition to turn both to account. Sometimes, in our day, we are taken with joyful surprise, by a newspaper paragraph announcing munificent bequests to some literary or benevolent institution. But bright as these examples of liberality are, they are almost eclipsed—both in their extent and their aim—by many reported in the histories of the early ages of Christianity.

Cyprian, the heir of great estates, disposed of all, not

even reserving his gardens near to Carthage, and made distribution of the proceeds among the poor. And after he became Bishop of Carthage, he on one occasion raised a sum equal to $4000 for the redemption of some Numidian christians, who had been carried away captive by neighboring barbarians, and in forwarding the amount to them, begged them not to hesitate to ask for more if it were needed.

Marcion, (who subsequently became a heretic) gave $40,000 to the Church at Sinope (of which his father was Bishop)—for charitable purposes, whilst he was still a neophyte.

It became a rule, moreover, to appropriate one third of the ordinary income of the churches, for the relief of the unfortunate.

Among these objects of compassion and help were aged men and woman, the infirm, all incapable of working, and those whose income was insufficient for their maintenance. Special attention was paid to orphans, and exposed children. When no others offered to take them in charge, they were placed under the pastor's or bishop's care, and properly provided for and trained. Cornelius of Rome reports, about 250, that his Church was then sustaining more than 1500 poor, such as widows, and persons afflicted with different evils. During a severe famine which followed the long wars of Gallienus in that same century, a plague broke out which carried away thousands. The heathen were smitten with impotent terror. But Christians regarded the calamity as a call to work. They displayed true zeal and selfsacrifice. Obedient to the teachings and examples of their holy Religion, they not only contributed liberally of their means to feed the famishing—but numbers of them attended the sick, night and day. Those who could not give money, endeavored to do the more service to the suffering. Not deterred by seeing their brethren fall victims to the contagion, they hastened to supply the thinned ranks, joyful that they were thought worthy to die in so merciful a cause. Such was their zeal and liberality, on

occasions like this that Tertullian could say, in his apology —"If we give nothing to your gods, we do give for your poor, and our charity spreads more alms on your streets, than the offerings presented by your religion in your temples."

It early became a custom among Christians to appropriate the first-fruits, or tithes of their harvests to the support of religion, and especially of the poor. Besides this, offerings were brought by communicants to the Lord's supper, and at the anniversaries of the funerals of relatives, for the same benevolent purpose. On certain occasions general collections were taken for the relief of the indigent; fasts, also, were turned to account in this way (as indeed was the case under the Old Testament among the Jews). All the sermons preached on fast-days during the latter part of the third, and fourth centuries, are mainly charity sermons. They made it a duty to lay by for the nourishment of their poor brethren, whilst they abstained from food themselves. During a famine in Caesarea, St. Basil so moved the rich by his eloquent appeals, that they opened their granaries to him, and he fed multitudes daily with bread and other provisions. Chrysostom says of Olympias, the widow of Pammachius, prefect of Constantinople: "From thy earliest youth thou hast not ceased to nourish Jesus Christ, to quench his thirst, to visit him in his afflictions, and in our days, the ocean of thy charity has spread to the ends of the earth." St. Gregory declares that his mother, Nonna, would have exhausted a sea by her largesses. Gorgonia, her daughter, not content with enriching the churches, received at her house all the pious, was the friend of widows, and extended to the unhappy an assisting hand. Her house was a hospital for all her neighbors in destitution, and her goods were the common patrimony of the poor. Do such instances fill us with admiration? Then what shall we say of those, who, after having sold and distributed all their possessions, crowned their self-sacrificing zeal *by selling themselves into servitude, that they might give the proceeds to the poor!*

But in order to meet the wants of the needy and suffering more fully, public hospitals and almshouses were founded at an early period. Among the first advocates and founders of such charitable institutions, we find Ephraim the Syrian, Basil, and Chrysostom. Basil opened a hospital for lepers, at the gates of Caesarea, in 370. About 375, a fearful famine broke out in Edessa, and, as usual, was followed by a fatal plague. Ephraim, learning that a crowd of wretched persons, without bread and shelter, were lying in the public square, quit his hermitage, came to Edessa, and so warmly appealed to the rich of the city, that they at once furnished him with money enough to set up three hundred beds in the public galleries for the accommodation of the sufferers. Similar houses were soon established by Christians in most of the cities. In the reign of Constantine, St. Zoticus founded a Lobotrophium in Constantinople, to succor the maimed and impotent. Chrysostom, with the sums economized in the expenses of his bishopric, enriched or founded many such in the same city, and employed clergymen and physicians to serve in them. His example was followed by many others. The illustrious widow, Fabiola, after founding a hospital at Rome, begged to be appointed the first nurse. Often she carried the sufferers upon her arms, and washed wounds from which others would have revolted. The Empress Flacilla went herself to the hospital, took care of the sick, prepared their food, tasted their broths, and waited upon them in all the duties of a servant. "Let the Emperor," she said, "give his gold, but I wish in person to serve Him who holds the Empire."

Is this detail of testimony tedious and wearisome? Does it bring the blush of shame to our faces, for ourselves, and for the enlightened and elevated Christianity of the 19th century? Then we will forbear. But whilst others so often appeal to the early ages of the Church for proofs of abstruse questions of doctrine, rites or polity,—we prefer looking at the lovely charities which adorned their holy profession, and drawing from them arguments to incite

Christians to an imitation of their virtues. We care comparatively little whether they were Patriarchs or Popes, Metropolitans or Archbishops, Bishops or Presbyters, Priests or Pastors, who did these things. "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father," does not sympathize half so much with dignities and doctrinal disputes, as with the widow and the orphan in their affliction, and all forms of human sorrow. Assuredly we will all admit that such deeds of beneficence as have just been quoted, more satisfactorily prove the divine source of Christianity —of its affinity to Him, who was anointed to relieve the wretched,—than any glittering mitre, or high sounding names.

We shall not stop here to inquire into the internal or external relation which may have existed between these remarkable displays of charity, and the ecclesiastical polity and dominant doctrinal theories of those early ages. Those beautiful phenomena may have been the natural products of the peculiar beliefs and church constitution of those days, or may have manifested themselves in spite of those peculiarities. If the former was the case, it may merely prove that the extreme sacerdotal or hierarchial tendencies then beginning to develop themselves, possessed a special adaptation to the wants and circumstances of that early period; not that such tendencies and principles are scriptural, or the best for all times. If the latter was the case, it demonstrates that where there is a heart for it, charity can surmount any barriers of extreme ecclesiasticism, or break through any incrustations of hierarchial forms. The active humanitarian beneficence of more modern Quakers, certainly proves that "*churchliness*" and *charity* are not essentially inseparable. Whereas, on the other hand, the persecuting spirit manifested in subsequent ages, when hierarchial ecclesiasticism had developed into stern and firmly knit maturity, serves to demonstrate that pitiless cruelties are not utterly incompatible with at least the formal exercise of pitiful charities. The same hand that, with paternal tenderness gave bread to one child, with revolting

cruelty gave a stone to another. The father that gave one son a fish, gave another a serpent. The mother that gave one daughter an egg, gave another a scorpion. Facts should not be forgotten in the discussion of principles. The Church that was at one time most energetic in founding asylums of comfort, also reared inquisitions of torture.

Thus far we have been arguing the subject before us upon the authority of explicit Scriptural injunctions, and the evidence corroborative of the duty of Christian charity furnished by the early ages of the Church. But if the Bible contained no plain and direct precepts upon this subject, if the New Testament failed to report any illustrious exemplifications of this great duty, and if we had no records or reliable traditions of the labors of love by which the life of the Church, during the first period of its history was so beautifully adorned; sufficient arguments in favor of such active charities would still not be wanting. For then we might confidently fall back upon the animating spirit of our divine Religion, and appeal to the tender sympathies which it ever begets in the hearts of true believers. In those hearts native selfishness, acrid and sour towards all who do not contribute to its gratification and aggrandizement, is not only neutralized, as by some alkali thrown into it, but is positively sweetened by the transforming salt of grace. As new creatures in Christ Jesus, the love of Christ is shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghost. And that love reaches out its arms of compassion, like those of the Redeemer stretched from East to West on the cross, to embrace the world, and draw humanity to its heart. The circumcised ear will then no longer be deaf to the cry of wo; the heart made flesh will no longer be cold and insensate as stone to the entreaties of grief. As a spirit of genuine piety, the spirit of Christ in them will make them too, very pitiful, and as a spirit of true sympathy, it will put them in such sympathetic "rapport" with all proper objects of compassion, as will really avail for their relief.

Love and pity like this require no formal injunctions to

beneficence, any more than fire need be told to give warmth, or the bright blaze of a burning lamp commanded to illumine the house. The spirit prompting them is in such living union with the fountain of all law, that, in its measure, it becomes a law unto itself. There was no specific precept requiring the good Samaritan to stop and minister to the wounded stranger in the wilderness. Full well did the priest and Levite know this; else, for sheer external righteousness' sake, they had sought to render some sort of compliance. But the Samaritan's inner life moved in the sphere of that higher law which, whilst ever in full harmony with written commands, is more comprehensive and potent than they are in their letter. In that sphere he recognized the claims of a universal brotherhood, resting on the broad basis of a common paternity in God. In that sphere he understood what was "the chief end of man," as encompassed by manifold and tender social relationships, and that God was most truly glorified, when temporal opportunities and means are employed, with proper motives, in deeds of mercy to His children.

But if the Samaritan knew and felt this, how much more should the Jew? And if the Jew, how much more men who enjoy the clearer light and occupy the loftier position of Christians? They, most assuredly, should not do works of piety, simply because "Thou shalt" goads them on to obedience, but because, as branches of the true vine, a divine impulse sweetly constrains them to yield such refreshing fruits. The smitten rock in the desert did not swallow back the sweet waters which sprang from its opened heart, but let them gush forth and run down, a vivifying stream, at which the panting parent, and his dying child might lave their consuming thirst and live. So will the heart, whose latent affections have been imprisoned within itself by the selfishness of sin and which had become an almost impassible petrifaction, when touched by the hand of divine love in Christ, beat and throb with love for others, and give utterance to that love in such comforting words and beneficent acts, that many a one perishing

by the way, shall rise up and call the benefactor blessed. In a word, all who are truly created anew in Christ Jesus, and yield themselves up to the "power of that endless life" thus begotten in them, will be charitable, in the widest and most active sense of that term, because "the love of Christ constraineth them."

But this general influence of the indwelling law of love *acquires specific force from the comprehensive character of Salvation by Christ, as including the redemption of the* BODY *as well as of the soul, from the dominion and damnation of sin.* Christianity reconciles the antagonism of flesh and spirit, by so purifying the former as to render it a fit tabernacle for the latter. The Gospel, therefore, nowhere encourages or justifies a spiritualistic contempt of the body. The body is essential to the completeness of humanity. It was honored with the inhabitation of the Word made flesh, and, in a glorified form, continues to be the local centre of his exalted majesty. Whatever degradation it may suffer, through whatever corruption it may have to pass in the grave, a glorious ultimate destiny awaits it, in the persons of all the saints. It is not in the power of the sepulchre to destroy its true identity. Those carnal properties which are merely accidental to its present mode of existence, will of course moulder and pass away. But all the essentials of a corporeal humanity will escape the contamination and destruction of the grave. As the body was the outward organ through which sin entered into the life of man (the soul, which pervades both his physical and spiritual life, and is the bond of unity between both),— and thus became subject, with the spirit, to the law of sin and death ; it is represented as a proper object of redemption also, and will share in the final triumph of redemption over sin and death in their last forms.

Whoever, therefore, is seized and pervaded by the true spirit of Christianity, will share this elevating view of man's corporeal life, and find his soul stirred with deep sympathy for the human body, when groaning under diversified forms of suffering. He will care for the body for

its own sake, if we may yield for an instant to so dualistic an expression, and not merely, for the sake of its temporary spiritual inhabitant. For its own sake will he keep it under, nor suffer any single member to exercise tyrannical authority over the whole. His body by its outward acts and service, as well as his spirit by its thoughts and emotions, shall be glorified in gloryfying God. And so when that body, either in his own person or in the person of another, is bowed down under the burden of some fierce disease, or is suffering from hunger or other destitution, he will feel prompted to relieve it to the extent of his ability. Just as he would instruct or admonish a man ignorant of divine truth, in the way of salvation, that so he may be instrumental in elevating that *man's* spiritual nature to the life that is in Christ, so he will feed, or clothe, or otherwise minister to a man whose *body* may be pining under some sad entailments of sin, so that his bodily nature may be more and more rescued from the sufferings it may endure and be fitted for the higher life it is destined to share with the spirit. Such a prompting to beneficent charity, possesses unspeakably more value than all the superficial incentives of a sickly sentimentality.

In the divine potency of this law of love as an essential element in the moral nature of the Christian, and in this exalted Gospel view of the significance of the body, it is, therefore, that we find the secret and unfailing source of the efficient charitableness of the apostolic and immediately subsequent age of the Church. The earliest disciples of our Lord did not go forth on errands of mercy because a specific injunction directed them to perform acts of charity under prescribed circumstances. No formal code of casuistry was first consulted by them, before they engaged in any particular service of love and kindness to those who needed succor.

They carried in their pockets no draft of minutely worded rules of conduct, to guide them cautiously through each day's toils. And we need only consult some such testimony of their untiring and self-sacrificing beneficence, as is

furnished by the exceedingly interesting volume mentioned at the head of the present article, to learn, how much more efficiently that inner law of their new being in Christ, made them work, than they would have been able to do under the goading force of some outward rules. And it may fairly be questioned, whether any apparently happy results, brought about by substituting such external machinery, for the influence of the indwelling spirit, or by bringing such machinery to bear in cases where the spirit is apathetic, or utterly wanting, are not secured at too great a cost. Rather by far let Christians, as the Church, cherish that tenderness, that pitifulness, that charity, which Christ within them seeks more and more to inflame in their hearts, and outward rules of beneficence will become superfluous. Let them become none the less orthodox, but more benevolent, none the less Churchly, but more Christ-like, and then the worthy poor will not be allowed to knock at the door of the State for food, and the suffering sick will not pine away unpitied or uncared for, on pallets of straw in hovels of mud.

After the martyrdom of the first Bishop Sixtus of Rome, Laurentius, his deacon, assembled all the poor that he could find in Rome, and distributed to them his treasures, without sparing even the sacred vases of his church. The prefect of Rome, informed of the liberality of the deacon, and supposing that Christians had more wealth in reserve, ordered the deacon to deliver them to him. Laurentius asked three days time to meet the demand. At the end of this term he called forth the prefect, and showed him, drawn up before his church, in long and regular array, the blind, the lame, the maimed, and the wretched of all kinds, people whom he nourished, and said—"Behold my treasures."—And why, if we are regenerated in the same Christ Jesus, if we follow the same leader, if we profess the same pure and undefiled religion, why should not these be the treasures of the Church now? It is our rejoicing that Christ is the same to-day, yesterday, and forever. Ought not his people, therefore, to exhibit, in all ages, correspond-

ing traits of character? It is well said by St. Bernard of Clairvaux:—"In this does Christian faith manifest itself, that he, who lives by it, no more lives unto himself, but to Him who came to save all. And let no one say here: I will live unto Him, but not for my neighbor. For Christ not only lived for all, but died for all. How then can he live for Christ, who is unwilling to care for those whom Christ loved? How can he live for Christ who does not obey his law and follow his precepts? Wilt thou know the law? He tells us what it is: 'This is my commandment, that ye love one another, even as I have loved you.' And his Apostle adds: 'Bear ye one anothers' burden.'"*

Would that the Church, in her entire ministry and membership, might realize more deeply than ever, and proclaim it with more intense earnestness, that not frames and feelings, are the best evidence of genuine piety, and of a living union with Christ the head, but active "faith, that worketh by love;" that although good works, without cordial charity, are but as sounding brass, and a tinkling symbol, there is no charity at all, not even in the mere sound, where there are no good works, or powerful promptings to them. Let the Church feel herself urged, therefore, more pressingly than ever, to "love not in word, nor in tongue, but in deed and in truth." Such beneficent "love is the fulfilling of the law," and the best demonstration to the world, that she is the chosen Bride of the Lamb.

The inquiry now naturally arises, how and by what methods, may the great duty we have had under consideration, be most effectually carried out; and what beneficial results to the Church itself, and all who might individually participate in the good work, flow from the faithful discharge of this duty? But we must reserve these points for another time.

J. H. A. B.

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* "Geistliche Stimmen aus dem Mittelalter." p. 182.

ART. IV.—THE FESTIVAL OF ADONIS.

For setting forth some of the peculiarities of his own countrywomen, a fine opportunity is afforded Theocritus, in the dialogue, which he gives us in his fifteenth idyl, between two of these women who have been residing sometime in Alexandria in Egypt and who are now drawn abroad into the streets to see something of the celebration, which is going on, of the great festival of Adonis. As the poet had sojourned in this city several years himself he had, no doubt, at the annual return, in the spring, of this feast, often been struck with the picturesque effect of the contrasted manners and showy dress of the people brought together on such occasions from different parts, and especially, of course, had his observant eye and quick ear been caught by, and taken with, the unobtrusive style and blunt bearing and free address of those from his own island; whose nationalities, though at home he might almost have overlooked them, yet now, when placed abroad among others, he saw presented before him in all their native simplicity and quaintness. Of this idyl too, by the way, the scene being laid in Alexandria affords him an excellent opportunity of throwing off incidentally some well-timed compliments to Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, the great king of Egypt, and his queen Arsinoe, for both of whom he seems to have entertained a very high regard.

The worship of Adonis, as we all know, belonged not at first to Grecian mythology. It had been brought over into it from Asia, and more especially from Phoenicia. Of course with the eastern people it had its mythical sense. Under the form of this beautiful shepherd they wished to humanize and represent, so that their senses and affections could the more easily take hold of it, the vital principle of vegetation; which, on the approach of winter, sinks deep down into the earth, but on the return of spring it is restor-

ed again to its former life and beauty. As the ancient Grecians had a myth of their own of somewhat similar import, the going down to the nether world of Persepone in the winter, and her glad return to earth in the spring, we might have supposed they would hardly have cared to receive into their mythology any foreign representation of the same natural events. As, however, the ceremonies of the worship of these two divinities, though both conducted by women, were nevertheless very dissimilar in their representations, those belonging to that of Persepone and her mother being very solemn, majestic and mysterious, but those to that of Adonis more outward, showy and spirited, and as the former were generally celebrated in the autumn and the latter in the spring, they could not certainly have encroached, to any extent, upon the rights of each other. As the Greeks were ever free to appropriate to their own use any worthy deities they might wish from abroad, it is not to be wondered at then that, to suit the tastes of all, they had long ago received into their mythology this interesting Asiatic youth, and instituted in many of their cities the appropriate festival to his honor. As the ancient Sicilians, however, in their blooming fields of Enna on the side of Mount Aetna, possessed the very spot where, according to the common story, Persepone had been seized upon, and carried off, by Aedoneus, and as they had a warm partiality for every thing that belonged to their own island, it might be inferred that they at least must have preferred her worship to that of any other. But while for her they entertained the highest regard and reverence, their women generally swearing in her name, and the initiated always observing with becoming celebrations, in Syracuse, the festivals in honor of herself and mother, still, it must be owned that, being a vivacious people and fond of life and incident, in spite of all their national partialities, they could not help being pleased with the pastoral and romantic love affair between Adonis and Aphrodite; and though his festival had never to any extent been introduced into their cities, yet the shepherds loved to hear

about him, and by their bucolic poets no other ancient hero was ever more fondly celebrated. No wonder then that in the present case, these two women from Syracuse, residing now in Alexandria, seem to feel no compunctions of conscience whatever on the occasion, but enter with all earnestness and wonder into the full enjoyment of the great celebration.

The scene opens on the second day of the festival. All the sorrow and mourning, which on the previous day had held the city on account of the death of Adonis, has passed away, and from the early morn has nothing been heard or seen but jubilant manifestations and splendid exhibitions of rejoicing on account of his happy resurrection. The women to whom we are introduced, we must admit, belong not just to the highest class of ladies to be met with either in Alexandria or Syracuse; but still they are very respectable. On going out they are accompanied each with a female slave, and one of them leaves at home a nurse and, no doubt, other domestics. This, however, we must own, speaks not very much for their high gentility. A lady of rank and fashion, going abroad on such a gala day, would have taken with her at least half a dozen of servants. All that it shews is that they belong, at any rate, to the middling class in society. What strikes us at first in their conversation is that spirit of freedom and impatience of control which have ever characterized the manners of all Sicilians. Though, no doubt, good and affectionate wives at home, they express themselves very freely about their husbands when with each other apart, and they shew that they will not bear any thing even from them that looks like domineering. For any little act of attention paid them on the way by strangers they return the warmest thanks and good wishes, but for any insulting remark thrown out by the same, they know just as well how to give back the fitting retort. With all these and other peculiarities of theirs, however, there runs throughout their remarks such a vein of genuine human nature that we can not help being interested in them, and we are made to

think all the while that we have certainly met somewhere with just some such persons in our own day; entirely forgetting in our concern for them that the revived conversation to which we are attending must have actually taken place at least some two and a half centuries before the Christian era. What restores us to our senses, however, are the remarks let fall by them concerning their dresses. From these we are made to feel at once that we have been transported far back into a remote clime and are moving among primeval modes and fashions. Of the style of their attire we are struck with the extreme simplicity as compared with that of the ladies of our own day of whatever class or country. Their whole costume seems actually to be made up of little more than three important pieces! These too seem to have come out almost finished from the loom without their having undergone afterwards any very material changes beneath those transforming instruments so essential to a modern dress-maker, the scissors and needle. Praxinoe, when she washes herself, is already clad in her very delicate vesture without sleeves, fitting perfectly close to her person and limbs almost down to the knee, over which all she has to do is to put on her more important woolen garment or *chiton*; which, according to the Doric fashion, on the right side is closed, but on the left is to be kept together only by a few clasps. This is also sleevless and she fastens it on each shoulder by a brooch, where it has not been cut short, but it turns outward over upon itself behind and before, falling down thus into two lappets, which descend so low as to conceal the girdle which she has placed around it underneath. Over this she throws, around her arms and shoulders, her long, but not very broad, shawl-shaped *himation*, or, as we have rendered it, mantle, and then taking her parasol she is fully drest out for a walk. With all this simplicity, however, we are pleased to discover in these ladies some proper feminine feelings of vanity. Praxinoe lets it out that she is not altogether unacquainted with the use of pigments to heighten her complexion, and though she tries to seem

indifferent about the matter, yet we can easily see that she knows very well that she has just put on herself a remarkably fine and neatly fitting *chiton*. To say nothing of the wear and tear which, in the weaving, it had stood her constitution, it had cost her purse besides more than two minae of pure silver, which in our currency is little less than thirty dollars. We would hardly know how to account for this extravagant outlay on a woolen fabric of her own making, even of the finest texture and quality, did we not bear it in mind that it had running through it some golden threads, no doubt, and, up the sides and around the borders, it must have been adorned with several choice and brilliant hues; some of which, as, for instance, that derived from the purple fish, were very expensive. Indeed with this simple costume of her own times, Praxinoe had, we think, the best right to be well pleased, as it was certainly very graceful and picturesque, and, with all our advancement in the arts, far better suited, we are constrained to allow, than any modern dress, even of the latest fashion, for setting off to the best advantage the well proportioned female figure.

THE PIOUS WIVES OF SYRACUSE:

OR

THE WORSHIPPERS OF ADONIS.

GORGAS.

Is Praxinoe within?

PRAXINOE.

Gorgas dear, how long! Within? Yes.
I wonder you came even now. See for a chair, Eunoè,
And put a cushion on it.

GORGAS.

Oh 'tis very well.

PRAXINOE.

Be seated.

GORGAS.

What a stout heart have I! Really alive I scarce have reached you,
Praxinoe, through such a crowd, so many four-horse chariots!
Every where soldiers tramping, every where cloaked horsemen riding!

And what a weary way! You live from us so very far off.

PRAXINOE.

Yes, He, the foolish, coming hither, purchased at the world's end [bors
This den—It is no house—that we forsooth might not be neigh-
To each other; all out of spite. The envious wretch? Just

GORGAS. [like him.

Of Dinon, your good man, my dear, do not be speaking this wise,
Before your little boy. Observe how very close he marks you.

PRAXINOE.

Cheer up, Zoperion, sweet boy, I do not mean your papa.

GORGAS.

The child sees through it, on my word! Yours is a darling

PRAXINOE. [papa.

But yon papa—That naughty one of whom I was just speaking— [chase
That other papa, from the booth some soap and rouge to pur-
Going, brought me instead some salt. The worthless, careless

GORGAS. [fellow!

Just like my Diocleides. He knows not the worth of silver.
For five pieces of dog's wool he paid yesterday seven drachmas—
Pluckings it was of old maimed ewes, all trash, trouble on trouble!
But come, put on your woolen chiton and o'er it your mantle,
And let's go up to the grand hall of our king Tolemaeus
To see the Adonis; which, as I hear, has, in the richest fashion,
Been deckt out by the queen. With royal folks all things royal.

PRAXINOE.

Wait till we've seen, then knowing we can well describe to oth-

GORGAS. [ers.

Time we should go. Our feast of talk we'll leave till at our

PRAXINOE. [leisure-

Eunoe, help me wash. The ewer fill and place it near me.
Haste, languid creature! Cats are spoiled by over dainty faring.
Pr'ythee bestir thee, wench! Some water! first I wish some water.
This way she helps me wash. Pour out some then. Not so profusely! [sprinkled!
See now, you baggage! all my under-dress how you have

Enough. Well I am washed, be sure, as well as Fates would have me.
The key of my great chest, where is it! Quickly hand it to me.

GORGAS.

Praxinoe, how handsomely the folds of that clasped garment
Hang from your shoulders! Tell me from the loom how much [it cost you.

PRAXINOE.

Don't speak of it, Gorgas. More than two minae of pure silver;
And in its making my own life almost into the bargain.

GORGAS.

But sure it meets your highest wishes.

PRAXINOE. [ly.

Yes, you've told me tru-
My parasol and summer mantle. Throw it neatly round me.
My child, you must not come; the hobgoblins, the horse would bite you. [led.
Cry as you will; I do not wish to see you brought home mang-
Let us be off. Phrygy, take in Zoperion. Try to please him.
Call in the dog; and—Do you hear?—shut after you the door fast. [we manage
Good heavens, what a crowd! Which way, what manner shall
To push ourselves through it? Emmets unnumbered and unmeasured!
Many the noble deeds achieved by thee, O Tolemaeus,
Since thy great sire was made immortal! Now no evil-doer,
The unwary passer watching robs, after the style Egyptian.
Pranks of which sort, by men conjoined in foul deceit, were played off;
All on a par, a set of artful rogues—of arrant sharpers.
Oh, dearest Gorgas, what now shall we do? Here are the war steeds [me.
Of the king a coming! My good sir, pr'ythee do not tramp
That sorrel rears himself upright, oh, see how fierce! Foolhardy
Eunoe, flee why do you not? Oh, he will kill his leader!
How glad am I, my dearest boy, I made you stay within doors!

GORGAS.

Cheer up, Praxinoe, the danger's past. They are behind us,
And have come to order.

PRAXINOE.

Ah me! I feel somewhat collected.

A horse and a cold snake, of all things, have I ever dreaded
From my childhood. See, what a crowd is flowing towards us!

GORGAS.

Come you from the hall, good mother?

OLD WOMAN.

Yes, my children.

GORGAS.

To enter
Is it easy?

OLD WOMAN.

Into Troy by trying entered the Achaians.
My dear children, by trying are all things to be accomplished.

GORGAS.

The old dame has pronounced her oracles and then departed.

PRAXINOE.

Our sex know all things, even the hidden mysteries of Hera!

GORGAS.

Behold, Praxinoe, about the door what an assemblage!

PRAXINOE.

Unspeakable! Gorgas, give me your hand, and take, Eunoe,
You that of Eutychus. Hold on to her lest you be sundered.
We will go in all together. Stick close, Eunoe, to us.
Ah me, unlucky! Off from me already is my mantle
Wrested, Eunoe! Gentle sir, if under Zeus you would be
Happy ever, please have respect unto my summer mantle!

STRANGER.

It rests not on myself, but I'll respect it.

PRAXINOE.

What a dense crowd!
They shove like swine!

STRANGER. [a safe place.
Be cheered, good woman, we have reached

PRAXINOE.

For next year and for aye may you, kind sir, be in a safe place
For your good service. What a courteous and obliging stranger!
Hard is Eunoe beset too. Fail not, my girl; Press onward!
Well done. All in! as cries the groom when safe he shuts his
GORGAS. [bride in.
Praxinoe, proceed this way. Observe first this embroidery.
Fine and how beautiful! Of gods the weaving you would call it.

PRAXINOE.

Holy Athena! Who the women who could weave such texture!
And who the men who could so cunningly work out such pic-
So true to nature every form, to nature every gesture! [tures!
Not woven are these but alive! How wondrous man's inven-
tion!
Himself, lo, lying down—How to be gazed at!—on his silver
Footed pallet, the first young hair down falling from his tem-
Adonis thrice beloved, in Acheron still fondly cherished. [ples,

ANOTHER STRANGER.

Give o'er your vile, outlandish talk, ye wretched, ever prating
Turtles! To death will they drive us with their incessant
GORGAS. [drawling.
By mother Earth, whence comes this man! What is't to you
if we prate? [cusans?
When you possess us give commands. Command you Syra-
Know you not this too? We Corinthians are, by proud ex-
traction;
As was likewise Bellerophon. We speak the Pel'ponnesian—
To speak their Doric cannot be denied, we think, to Dorians.

PRAXINOE.

Let no man rise, O Cora sweet! to own us for his subjects
But one. You, sir, I do not care for. You can never stint me.

GORGAS.

Silence, Praxinoe; about to celebrate Adonis
Is now the maiden from Argeia, the most skilful singer,
Who 'twas that bore the palm away by her lament on Sperchis.
Expect you something fine. Now she collects herself for action.

THE FEMALE SINGER.

O mistress mine, who Golgi and Idalium lov'st to visit,
And Eryx placed on high, mirth-loving golden Aphrodite,
Such the Adonis which for thee from everflowing Ach'ron,
A twelve-month having fled, have brought the easy-footed
Horae—
Horae, the friendly, slowest of the blest; but ever longed for,
They come at last to mortals all, forever something bearing.
Thou Cypris, of Dioné born, immortal from a mortal,
As is the current speech of men, didst fashion Berenice,
Ambrosia, the food divine, through all her breast diffusing.
Thee favoring, O many-named, worshipped in many temples,
Her daughter—long may she remain!—fair as the far-famed
Arsinoé, with many gifts adorns for thee Adonis. [Helen,

Here nuts and fruits, all kinds, are placed from choicest trees far gathered, [kets
And tender greeneries set around, well guarded in their bas-
Of silver work, and Syrian unguents kept in golden vases.
Here all the kinds of cakes are strewed which women, skilled in pastry, [mingling;
Know how to make, the whitest flour with herbs and spices
Some mellowed through with honey sweet, and some enriched with fresh oil. [bear them.
They lie all sorts of things shaped like, on feet or wings that
Here green pavilions covered o'er with heavy breathing anise
Constructed are, and winged boys, the Loves, above are flying;
Resembling new-fledged nightingales, when perched upon the tree-tops, [venture.
From bough to bough, with timid wings to flit across they
O wealth of ebony, O gold, O eagles twain, well fashioned
From ivory, bearing to Zeus the boy to be wine-bearer!
A woolen woof all purpled through, softer than sleep its texture,
As a Milesian would say, as would a Samian shepherd,
That couch o'erspreads on which reclines Adonis in his beauty.
This one does Cypris hold, that one the rosy-armed Adonis,
Of summers eighteen, or nineteen at most, the golden bride-groom. [ing.
His kiss hurts not, the callow down of youth his lip still wear-
O Cypris, now be happy thou, thou hast again thy husband.
The morrow morn, while hangs the dew, will we, once more collected, [ing;
Bear him to where upon the beach the gentle waves are break-
And we will let our hair fall loose, our folds down to our ankles;
And we will bear our breasts and beat and sing his mournful farewell. [ron,
Thou goest down, Adonis dear, thence ev'n to gloomy Ach'-
A demigod the rarest thou. Not such did Agamemnon
Fate undergo, not Ajax great, the very wrathful hero,
Not Hector whom of twenty sons Hecuba bore the eldest,
Nor Patrocles nor Pyrrhus home from Troy renowned returning;
Nor earlier those, the Lapithae, and children of Deucalion,
Nor Pelops' sons nor Argos' pride, the valorous Pelasgi [us;
Smile on us now, Adonis blest, and may'st thou next year glad

Both when thou goest and when thou com'st, Adonis ever
GORGAS. [friendly.
Praxinoe, this woman, as a singer, is superior.
What fine things does she know!
PRAXINOE. [sweet voice.
Yes, superfine. She has a
GORGAS.
But homeward must we go. No dinner has had Diocleides;
Who, always sour, is not to be approached when he is hungry.
Farewell, Adonis dear. Come ever thou to those well faring!

We do not wish to become too grave or speculative at the close, but we cannot well dismiss the subject without remarking that, by the celebration of this festival, something more, certainly was intended than a mere worshipping of nature. However regarded by the common people, by the fully initiated, at any rate, it was, no doubt, understood to show forth, under its human representation, something far above the mere bursting forth, from the fetters of winter, of things animated and inanimate, and their joyful bloom and vigor thereafter throughout the spring and summer months. By this general revival of nature, forming of it, as they did, themselves the most essential part, they could not help, of course, feeling exhilerated, but beneath it all likewise, no doubt, they descried the very palpable analogy. From these outward manifestations and their own inward feelings, they were surely induced to conclude that, at least for some favored members of the human family, even from the dominion of the grave, so much resembling that of winter, it was not at all impossible, through some divine interposition, to be delivered and restored again to their former life and beauty. How pleasant it is to observe, even in the heathen world, these earnest reachings after the truth, however mistaken, so long before its full and final revelation! In the time of its observance the festival of Adonis corresponds very nearly with that of our Easter, and during the first day it reminds us some little of its solemnities, while on the second, though partaking

more of the festivities of a marriage celebration, yet, in its rich display of good things, it calls up vividly before our visions something of that profusion of fruits and fancy cakes and decorated trees to be seen and enjoyed at Christmas. Not certainly as an idle mockery of the most sacred things belonging to our religion should this festival be regarded, but rather as being a most conclusive testimony, in the earliest ages, to the universal want of mankind, and a dim foreshadowing of the future coming of Him, who, in his own sacred person, was to reveal and satisfy the desire of all nations.

W. M. N.

ART. V.—THE AMERICAN STUDENT IN GERMANY.

The following article was prepared by a friend of the Congregational Church, a distinguished scholar of New England, who himself spent several years in Germany, and falls in admirably with the scope of this Review, as a discriminating tribute to German scholarship and literature, and as a strong plea, at the same time, in favor of the Theological Tutorship scheme now before the German Reformed Church. It was originally a review of Dr. Schaff's work on Germany, published a few years ago; but as the book is already known to most of our readers, we have left out the introductory pages which relate to it.—EDITORS.

The number of students who go to Germany from America every year is not inconsiderable, and it seems likely largely to increase. The impulse to go has for the last ten years gathered strength in a geometrical ratio, and is becoming almost a *furore*. Pastors leave their pulpits, professors their chairs, graduates rush from their Alma-Mater, undergraduates separate themselves from their college classes, that they may study in Germany, as though

in Germany alone were the keys of knowledge; and as. though from the very atmosphere of that favored land, a man must inhale the inspiration both of scholarship and genius. This tendency is regarded by many with vague suspicion, by others with prejudiced dislike, by others with ignorant terror. By others it is fostered with active zeal and is urged forward with little discrimination, and without regard to the character, the previous training and the present knowledge of the student. 'Go to Germany,' is the advice given to all. 'Go if you can, go as soon as you can, and remain as long as you can, for you will be sure to be the better for it in all respects, as a theologian, preacher and man.'

It has been suggested to us, that the subject deserves a special discussion, and that, by the handling of it, useful hints may be offered and perhaps some important questions may be answered. If the subject is not widely interesting to the many, it is intensely interesting to the few,—to the student himself who is fired with determined enthusiasm, and self-confident ardor, and to the parents and friends who are deeply concerned for his welfare. So far as this tendency is likely to determine the type of theology and the style of scholarship which are to become current among us, it may be regarded as one of the most important movements of the age, as well as one of the most striking signs of the times. If the institutions of a country go far toward forming the principles and deciding the aims and tastes of the best part of its people, some influence will be certain to follow a residence at foreign universities, by no inconsiderable portion of its choice young men. These influences will not be confined to the sphere of Theology, but will be sure to be felt in the science and literature of the country. We propose to discuss them in their general bearing, as well as in relation to the individuals concerned.

The points which present themselves for our consideration, are the reasons for and against studying abroad; the best time for doing this; and the methods of study and employment which promise the best results.

Why should the student desire to study in Germany, and why should he not desire it?

The first and most obvious answer to the question is, that he may master the German language. It is one thing to study German and even to study it so as to acquire considerable facility in using it, and it is quite another to master it. The language itself is at once so copious and so refined, that, in order to use it with ease and with confidence, long-continued attention is required. Otherwise the medium through which we receive knowledge or follow out speculations, delays and embarrasses the mind. If the truths are recondite and the reasonings are subtle, the mind is easily clouded and fatigued. If the full force of the words be not received, if it is not quickly and sharply apprehended, the intellect labors and is offended. These difficulties have till of late been greatly aggravated by the circumstance, that many of the German Theologians and Philosophers have written in a negligent and dragging style—in a style so defective, that if it were English and not German, even English students would weary of toiling in the mire of its complicated and awkward phraseology. There is no way of learning a language so rapidly and so surely, as to hear it spoken by the people, at the same time that you are receiving fresh from the lips of living instructors the peculiar phraseology and the technical distinctions of the science of your choice. The language becomes less and less an embarrassment, and at last its presence is scarcely recognized. The medium of thought which was at first like a glass covered with mist, is cleared of all the obscuring moisture. You no longer see or think of the medium, but look directly upon the object. For some departments of science—and for the enjoyment of literature, a sufficient familiarity with German may be attained without hearing or using it as a spoken language. But if one desires to read extensively in theology and philosophy, it greatly facilitates the necessary preparation, to study the language among the people who use it, and to hear it employed by the scholars who think in it. This arises not

merely, perhaps not mainly, from the copiousness and intricacy of the language, but from its marked peculiarities, as an instrument and vehicle of thought. These peculiarities pervade the structure of the language. They gleam in every word, they are marked on every phrase, they are wrought into every sentence. To many a clear and sober Englishman who is introduced to them in mature life, they are utterly offensive. To the confiding and honest soul who casts his net in all waters, they are often excessively and painfully embarrassing. To not a few foolish youths, they are eminently attractive and captivating. These last suffer themselves to be imposed upon by mere phraseology, and take its personified and pictured abstractions to be the representatives of some ideas that have never dawned upon the English understanding and cannot be expressed in the English language. So far has this been carried, that a German sprite, if it be not rather a German devil, has taken possession of many books in philosophy, and even invaded our pulpits. Our English thinking and our English writing have seemed to be giving way before an invasion of terms and phrases as long and cumbrous as the Teutonic dressing gowns, and by no means as comfortable. German phraseology is paraded before the reader or hearer, as though it enshrined some distinction or truth which could not be conveyed in another dialect. The relief from this embarrassment, if it be an embarrassment, the cure for the affectation, if it be such, is to attain a more perfect mastery over this peculiar language, and to become more familiar with the German modes of thinking and expression. There is no way to do this so effectually and so rapidly as to be familiar with the language on its own soil, both as employed by the learned and as spoken by the people. Peculiar phraseology thus loses its power to embarrass or to mislead. The opinions and dogmas that assumed a false or factitious importance from their obscurity or their splendid pharaphernalia will be either rejected for their absurdity, or accepted for their manifested truth. The authors that gave a formidable sanction to scepticism

in philosophy or heresy in religion, no longer overawe by an obscure dread, when opinions and arguments are brought into the light of distinct statements and are subjected to clear-eyed scrutiny.

We have already said, that these special difficulties of which we speak are not experienced by the student of the physical sciences or of classical or sacred philology. Such students can indeed acquire the language with greater facility when they hear it spoken, but there is nothing except its copiousness and subtlety, which makes it imperative that they should study it in Germany. But to one, who would make himself familiar with its philosophy or theology, it is almost a necessity to do it on German soil and in German schools. The men, who are the most likely (other things being equal) to have their heads turned or *addled* by German speculation, are the men who do not study in Germany. We say other things being equal, for however salutary study at a German University may be to him who is capable of wisdom, we do not assert that it will make a foolish student wise, or a vain student modest, or a muddled intellect clear.

The second reason why a student should desire to study in Germany, is, that he may receive instruction from men of the greatest eminence in the several departments of knowledge. The Germans deserve to be considered as the teachers of the world. So far as knowledge and research are concerned, it may be safely and truly said, that they surpass all other nations. Whatever may be the department of knowledge, they are certain to have mastered and digested all that is known, and what is more to the purpose, all that has been written or thought in respect to it. Books are their field of labor, and research is the chosen and almost the only employment of their learned men. We can scarcely name a department of intellectual activity which living men have not occupied and endeavored to exhaust. In classical criticism, in general and comparative philology, in physics, astronomy, chemistry, mineralogy, geology, zoology, botany, geography—in history, civil and

ecclesiastical, in the history and criticism of literature, in the language and interpretation of the scriptures, in the history of theological opinions, in theology, psychology, logic and metaphysics, there are scores who have made the highest attainments of any men living, while there are hundreds of no mean acquisitions. If it be questioned whether all these acquisitions are in every case accompanied by that sound and discerning judgment which masters and uses its materials aright, it cannot be disputed that the knowledge is possessed and that it can be imparted to those who will and are prepared to receive it. The first principle of the German scholar is to master all that has been known and said upon a given subject by the writers and students of every country, every age, every language, and from this starting point to prosecute his own researches. *Gründlichkeit* is the single word which describes his aims and realizations. To exhaust a subject is his rule. It is of little consequence whether the subject is of near or of remote interest to his own country or to his own interests. He is not content till he has mastered all the literature of the subject, and re-digested and arranged it from his own point of view. Strange as it may seem, there are departments of English history and antiquities, of the criticism of the English language and literature, which have been more satisfactorily explored by German writers than by any Englishmen, living or dead. We are not so simple as to assert, that German authors are of course superior to every other, or that in single provinces of learning and thought they may not be surpassed. But we confidently declare, that there is scarcely any department of human knowledge in which it is safe to overlook them, and scarcely one in which they may not be consulted with advantage. So far as researches into what others have done or written, they are before all other nations. They furnish to the student the most complete and the best arranged encyclopædias, manuals, histories, digests,—in short everything which may be called the apparatus for thought.

But what shall we say of the use which they make of

their learning, and of the conclusions which they derive from their erudition? If they add to the stores of knowledge, do they not poison this erudition by the infection of absurd phantasms and dangerous heresies? Does not the immensity of their reading give a dangerous authority to the folly of their speculations? In some cases it does, but there are all sorts of German speculators, and it has been unfortunately the case, that those have made the most noise at a distance who were distinguished for extravagance and error. It must be confessed also, that the German scholars and thinkers are, as a body, not so conspicuous as the English, for sound judgment and clear-headed wisdom. They do not mingle in general society as do the English. Above all, the society in which they do mingle is not so free. They are cribbed and confined in the matters of social and public life, by senseless routine and oppressive absolutism. An infantine simplicity seems to grow up with them into mature life, attesting some defect of training. They have not the opportunity of gathering from childhood, by actual contact with free and daring spirits, that knowledge of man, which though unexpressed and inexpressible in language, grows into the firm and practical understanding of the English critic and thinker. The constant occupation of the mind with books from earliest childhood, narrows the sphere of the intellect, and while its view is widened so far as the opinions of others are concerned, it is narrowed in respect to its knowledge of men, and in the materials for reaching just conclusions. But while we make all these concessions in respect to the German thinkers as a class, the truth obliges us to add, that not a few are more comprehensive, more discriminating, more just and more sound in their conclusions, than the thinkers of any other nation. There are many, indeed, who sacrifice the honesty of conviction and the sacredness of conscience to the desire of making a sensation, and whose hatred of Christianity seems to us malignant and bitter even under the fairest show of candor, and the most erudite display of reading. But to object against the

Germans generally, that they are fools or heretics, is too foolish to be worthy the name of a heresy. It ought not to be thought strange, that where so many read and think in earnest, not a few should think unwisely. Then it should never be forgotten, that the Germans themselves begin to be ashamed of their own follies, and are fast outgrowing their own extravagances. Marvelous changes have taken place since the days of Hegel and of Strauss. Sobriety of judgment is fast taking the place of fantastic theorizing. The English common sense is rapidly coming into fashion.

One impression prevails in respect to the Germans, of which it is difficult to say whether it is more foolish or false, and that is, that they do not themselves understand the questions, about which they are employed; that in philosophy they strike off into aimless flights, they know not why nor whither, and in sacred criticism they are constantly inventing absurd hypotheses, to the starting of which there is not the least occasion or plausibility. Hence the inference is drawn that no instruction can be derived from those speculations which are erroneous, that it is wiser to let them alone altogether, or at most, that the study of them should be left to those unhappy mortals whose duty requires them to be conversant with morbid or offensive phenomena, who, by the necessities of their occupation, are obliged to explore all the dark and foul passages that wind through the cavern of error.

It would be easy to show the contrary. The speculative philosophy and theology of the Germans are not merely a brilliant, pestilent congregation of vapors. They were occasioned by the exhausting habit of the German inquirer, who, in the very act of subjecting to a critical review all the known theories of others upon his lofty theme, could not but present to himself for answer the loftiest and subtlest questions which can employ the human intellect. What if the intellect has now and then recoiled upon itself before the towering heights that were thus revealed to its gaze, or what if in the greatness of its own endeavor it has

sustained an unsteady flight? What if it has mistaken cloud-land for real land, in this bewildering atmosphere, to which the human vision is so unused? Does it follow that such efforts and such failures have wrought out no results to the human intellect, and that the study of them brings no instruction? To one who cares not to think, and who is not animated by the divine thirst for philosophical knowledge, such speculations may impart no wisdom; they may excite only disgust. But to one who is impelled to find reasons for his opinions, who must make his belief rational, that is well grounded, the study of such speculations, is at once the most inspiring and profitable. Nay, more; we may confidently assert, it is only out of unsound and too presumptuous speculation in philosophy and theology, that a sober, and yet scientific Christian philosophy and theology can ever be expected to proceed. The Socrates who taught such inspired common sense on these themes to the Athenian youth and through them to the world, must first needs try and train his intellect by the crude and fantastic speculations of the earlier Grecian schools.

The same is true of sacred philology. The historico-philosophical theories of the Tübingen school of critics, are not floating islands from cloud-land, which by the force of accident or caprice have settled over the early Christian records, but for all these theories there is some slender basis of fact. It is true that the fire from which comes all this smoke, is very feeble, and the portentous cloud into which it has expanded, seeming at times to shut quite down to the horizon, when once lifted by a fresh and healthy breeze, will be seen to be but an inverted pyramid, issuing from a single orifice, and attached to it by a single thread. The result of the contest will be a more complete vindication of the historic verity of these records, and a better understanding of their import. To realize these advantages, however, our scholars must understand the controversy and acquaint themselves with the writings on both sides. The issue cannot but be useful, both to the Science and the Faith of this generation.

It is, however, quite too late in the day to ask whether it were not wiser to leave German speculation alone. We cannot leave it alone if we will. If its influence is evil only, for that very reason must it be encountered and resisted. It has fascinated too many minds, and taken too strong possession of them to be ignorantly or superciliously disregarded. Besides, it is inwrought into all the departments of science and literature, and through them all it exerts an actual, though an insensible influence. We meet with it in the fiction, the poetry, the criticism, the interpretation, the physiology and the physics, not only of Germany, but also of England and America. If the philosophical and theological world leave alone German philosophy and theology, and endeavor to exclude them by remaining ignorant of the language in which they are taught, this philosophy and theology will make themselves heard through all these channels by the learned and the unlearned, and will infect by their conclusions the minds which they can not bewilder by reasoning, or overawe by pretension.

For all these evils the remedy must be sought from the same quarter whence originated the disease. The weapons with which we encounter these foes of a true science and a believing faith, are to be forged at and drawn from the same armory with theirs. To act effectively upon the mind which has been influenced by these speculations, one must have stood at his point of view, must have weighed the facts and have felt the arguments which have influenced him. Those theologians know not what they do, who shun a free and familiar acquaintance with every one of these forms of error. To be ignorant of them is to confess indolence and weakness. To advise others to disregard them, is to be blind to the character of the men and times in which we live, and to be untrue to the duties which those times and men impose upon us.

We scarcely need add, that all these advantages which the learning and activity of German scholarship present, can be more perfectly and rapidly secured by a personal residence in the country, than through the medium of

books. Books do indeed speak to those who are eager to hear, but they can not speak as do living men. Books can not impress the student as do the men who write the books; who in their own persons are laden with the learning and animated by the fire which their books can not fully represent nor perfectly impart.

Again, it is well for the student to reside in Germany, that he may gain the ideal of what solid learning is, and be conversant with living examples of patient and exhausting study. He will see for himself what a man can accomplish who devotes himself to study for his life, how he can train himself to toil and find in that toil a pleasure; how exhausting can be his labors, and how complete his success. Such an ideal can not but instruct the student, especially the student in his youth. It will set before him a high ideal of what study is, and of what can be accomplished by study. Even if his own vocation is not that of a scholar, it will do him good, in the busiest and most distracting hours of his professional or business life, to have known by personal observation how success in learning may be achieved, and what it is for a man to make a single department of effort the object of all his energies. He will learn to despise pretension and to reverence thoroughness, to look through the emptiness of verbiage, and the impositions of mere rhetoric, to reverence patient and self-relying research, and its fruits in solid acquisition. He will be freed from the notion so current among our students, that inspiration is the work of a moment, that insight may dispense with reading, and pronounce with infallible truth on subjects the details of which it has but imperfectly mastered. Most of all, will he learn to despise laziness and to reverence labor, to rid himself of an American dread of long continued application, as well to contract by several dimensions the inflation of his American self-conceit. For if the young student will but look about him he will find men of his own age, the extent of whose reading and the accuracy of whose knowledge will strike him with astonishment. Compared with theirs his own

attainments shrink into nothingness, and yet he can not despise their acquisitions as trifling or useless; nor does he find that this knowledge impedes the free action of the intellect or represses the freshness of the spirits. The men who have read the most, whether young or old, are not pedants, nor are they monks. On the other hand, their knowledge is more thoroughly incorporated into their being, and has become more entirely a part of themselves than are his own scantier attainments, while the freshness and energy with which they address themselves to fresh acquisitions, put him to shame.

Such examples of devoted and successful scholarship are most inspiring, especially to the young student. Indeed a man might well go to Germany, if he had no other object than simply to contract a genuine enthusiasm for study. For it is there, that this enthusiasm is excited to a passion, and animates an host of scholars with an intense and never-tiring energy. A well trained and diligent student from America, recently wrote home from Germany, "I never felt a genuine enthusiasm for study before." It penetrates the very atmosphere. It is kindled by the sight of and by daily contact with those learned men, who have devoted their thoughts and years to some great object of pursuit till it haunts them as with the force of a master-passion. It is excited by the ardent aspirations of the young devotee who with a splendid training and abundant erudition, is pressing on in the same career with single devotedness. To him the politics of the day, the panics of the money market, the beguiling fiction, the enfeebling newspaper, the superficial review and all the time-consuming occupations and excitements of every-day life are not permitted to interfere with his one object. And yet he is not a slave to his toil, but lives upon it and thrives by the fire of his own enthusiasm. He is not forever struggling between the impositions of task-work and the pleasures of relaxation, but having first of all adjusted his amusements to the duties and habits of a scholar, he prosecutes his pleasures and his work with so great energy, that it is some-

times hard to say whether he finds the most enjoyments in his work, or through heartiness puts the most work into his enjoyments. The scholar not only lives in a world of his own, but he is contented with that world and is satisfied with the superior satisfaction which it imparts. The bustling lieutenant may superciliously ring his sabre on the pavement as he passes, the ignorant noble may smile upon him contemptuously, the fawning trader may by vulgar and tawdry finery put the blush upon his simple and awkward attire, but he envies the lot of none of these, for he has adjusted his habits and his expectations to his condition in life, and is content to be only and wholly a scholar. In social intercourse he is simple, courteous and true. In his own house he is simple and economical, but hospitable and friendly. To be familiar with examples like these of genuine enthusiasm for knowledge and of the simple tastes which are becoming a scholar, can not but be salutary to the American student.

We venture to add in this connection, contrary to the usual impression, that a residence in Germany may furnish facilities for a high moral and religious culture. It is unquestionably true, that such a sojourn is attended with peculiar moral dangers. The most rigid observer of the forms of worship, who goes from America thither will be more offended than edified by the forms which the strict religionists of Germany observe and hallow. He may be attracted by the zeal of such, but he will be repelled by the strange importance which they attach to exploded dogmas. The more lax and liberal religionist will be in danger of being infected by the general indifference, so far as to be careless of all forms of devotion whatsoever. To reside in a foreign country tends of itself to disconnect a man from religious sympathy and communion, and deprives him of the incitements to fidelity which they furnish. On the other hand, it argues feebleness of religious faith and coldness in the affections, if a man does not seek out and find the best of excitements to both in the worship and life of German Christians. With them, it is true, there is ordi-

narily less pretension to piety than with us. There is less of religious talk for the sake of talking, and the theory of profession and action that underlies the religious life of the people is very unlike our own. But we should pity the bigotry and almost suspect the honesty of the man who, after having had access to the most truly religious circles of Germany, should not have found there examples of practical Christianity as sincere, symmetrical and graceful as any we can show at home. We should be outraged at that bigotry which would not be satisfied with many of the sermons which are preached from German pulpits, because forsooth the candles stood ready to be lighted at the crucifix, or which could not be moved by the unfeigned devotion of many earnest Christian assemblies, because of their disregard of certain important observances.

If the student can steer clear of the moral and religious dangers to which he may be exposed, dangers which are no more incident to the student than to the traveler, he may realize important religious advantages. It strengthens the faith and elevates the feelings to have to do with enlightened Christians whose creed and worship are unlike our own. It delivers the intellect from the miserable bondage of a narrowing and ignorant bigotry, to be conversant with the same faith held under differing creeds and to exchange the sympathies which are kindled by common doubts and difficulties, by similar hopes and fears, with those whose associations on other points are unlike our own.

But will not the student make shipwreck of his faith? May he not be entangled in the web of confident and imposing speculations, or bewildered by the glare of brilliant and imaginative theorizing? He may, and so he may if he remains at home. If his faith is not well grounded in intellectual conviction, or if with no preparation of positive and well supported belief he rushes upon the consideration of a multitude of negative theories, he may hesitate and falter. If, for example, with no examination of "the historic evidences" he envelops himself first of all with "his-

toric doubts," he may find himself in a labyrinth from whose mazes he cannot retreat. If he has had no really philosophical training, he may yield up his intellect and his Christian faith to the first brilliant lecturer who sets off the barrenness of pantheism with imposing phraseology and learned pretension. If the student has been trained, as too many of our own students are even under the most orthodox auspices, to receive assertion as argument if it is only sufficiently positive, and to believe that splendid declamation is the highest form of intellectual power, we need not wonder that when he meets with assertion that is more dogmatic and imposing than that to which he has been accustomed, only now in support of error, and is dazzled by a more glittering declamation that sets off falsehood, he should yield to their power. Especially is he in danger when there is superadded the subtle charm that seems to play with wizard power over the German language when it drops from the lips or the pen of genius. We have said a man may be exposed to these dangers if he remain at home. He may even encounter them here with greater hazard than if he studies in Germany. It is true now and then a young theologian returns from Germany with a confused intellect and an addled brain. Here and there one brings home the sad and sorrowful burden of honest doubts and a weakened faith. But the theologians who are infected with the tendency to Germanize in the worst sense of the term, are those whose German studies are prosecuted at second hand and perhaps with little knowledge of the language. We suspect that Mr. Emerson and Mr. Carlyle have had quite as much to do with this tendency as have Neander and Olshausen. But let a student of manly intellect and an honest faith go to Germany and hear for himself, and the charm if any with which error was invested at a distance will be likely to disappear on closer inspection. The heresy and falsehood which smelled like musk across the ocean, emits the rank odor of putrefaction as he draws near. The teachers of error and the teachers of truth are known when confronted

by the discerning spirit. The power to separate the truth from error is greatly enhanced, when the language is made familiar and unusual modes of thinking are mastered, when all adventitious appendages are dropped, and the truth and error which are to be received and rejected are translated into familiar conceptions.

We have not yet noticed the liberalizing influence which ought to be realized by every scholar who can study in a foreign university. If the sciences which he prosecutes and the instruction which he receives, do not differ in anything from those with which he is familiar at home, the mind is enlarged by receiving truth under new aspects and by being familiar with the working of intellects differently trained from his own. The youthful Milton went on a pilgrimage of study through Italy, till he was called home by the troubles of his time. In the earlier days of English learning, classical and theological, English students frequented the Continental universities, and there was a constant interchange of visits and letters between the learned of the island and the learned of the continent, to their mutual advantage. The best days for English thought, for English learning, and even for English literature, have invariably been the days in which England has had the most liberal intercourse with Continental scholars. This intercourse has at times been suspended and in some branches of knowledge almost for a century, in others perhaps longer. In others it has been maintained. It has been interrupted from various causes. Foreign wars, national prejudice, commercial superiority, protestant narrowness, (for there is protestant as well as papal exclusiveness,) high church bigotry, prelatic wealth and assumption, English hauteur, inexcusable laziness—each and all have had something to do with breaking up the old fraternal fellowship of thought. It is also worthy of notice that those branches of science and literature in which this intercourse has been most free, have flourished and made progress, while those in which it has not been sustained have dwindled and become contemptible. Had we time we might show how

much Germany has had to do with the renewed energy of the English mind during the present century. We could show that Scott, and Wordsworth, and Coleridge and Byron, were directly and powerfully influenced by German Poetry; that the higher criticism of England can be traced directly to the German critics—that Arnold was forward to confess his obligation to Niebuhr and Bunsen, that Grote would be as ready to acknowledge his own to his favorite authors, that Sir William Hamilton and the men of the neological school at Oxford would do the same, and that the classical philology of England has received a new impulse from the Teutonic schools. On the other hand we might show that those schools of thought, which have persisted in a terror-stricken non-intercourse with German thinkers, are fast becoming impotent and contemptible from their poverty of thought, or will soon shrivel into mummied relics by their own narrowness.

Science and literature in this country are preëminently in the first or forming stage. Such a period is exposed to great and peculiar dangers. It also has peculiar advantages. To none of these dangers and hazards do we desire to be blind, least of all to those to which we are exposed from undue influences from other countries. We would not be negligent of our advantages, if there be such in studying under the peculiar influences which residence at a foreign University may furnish. But the first of our three topics has perhaps occupied us too long.

We ask next, when shall the student go to Germany, or what period in the course of his studies should be selected as the proper time for studying abroad? The question is somewhat like, when shall a man marry? And it is to be answered nearly in the same language, viz., "when he is fully ready, and if he can."

But when is a man fully ready? What studies should first be finished and what begun? We answer, that depends upon the studies for which he is to be prepared. If a man asks us, when shall I go to Germany? we reply by first asking what are the general or special studies which

you propose to pursue, and how long do you propose to remain. For example, if the student desires to pursue mathematics or chemistry abroad, it is obvious that if he can stay in Germany long enough, he may if he please commence with the elements of these sciences and finish them there. No preparation is required except a sufficient knowledge of the language to understand the instruction given. He can even go into a laboratory and study with a very scanty acquaintance with German, if he has only some previous knowledge of the science. The subject matter in mathematics and in physics is not so much embodied in words, as furnished in material substances and in mathematical symbols. Concerning these there can be no ambiguity; they are not conveyed in vague and shadowy language. New discoveries are recorded in an unvarying and unambiguous terminology. Even then however there comes in another element to determine the decision, viz., the element of time. There may be little difficulty in entering upon such studies at any stage of one's advancement, and still if one has but six months or a year to spend abroad, and with eminent mathematicians or chemists, it is obvious that the later, and even the very latest portion of one's pupilage, should be selected, if the student would derive the highest advantage. Elementary instruction is more nearly the same all the world over. It is in the higher instruction that there is the greatest diversity, both in the knowledge to be conveyed and in the manner of imparting it. The same principles will apply to the study of history, with this exception only, that the higher researches in history supppose an immense command of detail which may as well or better be acquired at home. In philology, whether classical or sacred, the same is true. One had better learn in America than in Germany to decline his Hebrew and his Greek, and to read these languages with grammatical accuracy, and readiness, for the simple reason, that if Germany is preëminent in anything it is in interpretation. When we think of theology, whether exegetical, biblical, dogmatical or historical, much more

when we name logic, ethics, psychology and metaphysics, there occur to us obvious reasons why the time should be delayed as long as possible, and why elementary studies should be first prosecuted in the most thorough manner at home.

This is only a very general way of answering this important question. But from the nature of the case, it can at best be very indefinitely answered. The considerations by which each individual can be aided in satisfying his own mind will naturally appear under the following head.

We proceed then to suggest the conditions or methods by which the student may hope to realize the highest advantages from studying abroad.

The first essential condition to the highest success, is to attain an entire mastery of the language. Many sadly neglect this prime duty. They reason that the language is to them only a medium of gaining the knowledge which they seek; and are content to suspend all farther effort upon the language, so soon as they can be tolerably certain and ready in understanding their instructors. They imagine that a perfect knowledge will come of itself, by an insensible progress, even if no attention be directly bestowed upon it. They are content to make themselves understood in speaking, and do not aspire after a grammatical and fluent utterance of their thoughts. Now if it were true that the instruction sought for could be perfectly apprehended with so very imperfect a familiarity with the language, such a language as the German ought to be studied for itself. To know such a language is itself an education. If the saying of Charles V. is just, that to learn a new language is to become endowed with a new sense, it is eminently true that a language like the German rewards most richly the student who conquers it. It is so copious, so delicately shaded, and yet so precise in the dividing lines that separate terms and expressions that seem to run into each other, so glowing with emotion, so picture-making and so plastic, that to follow but a portion of the wealth of thought and feeling that are stored in its

words and sentences, at once stimulates and enriches the English intellect. We shall not be thought to go mad in our appreciation of the language, to those who weigh our representation of its defects, when we insist that this thorough study thould be diligently prosecuted, independently of the use to which we hope to apply it. But we cannot separate the one from the other. The more perfectly a language is mastered, the more perfectly does it answer the end of a medium of thought. The more fully we enter into the import of its terms and are able to reproduce to our own minds the nicety and the fullness of its wondrous phraseology, the more perfectly qualified are we to receive from our teachers the communications which they seek to give. In some branches of knowledge, this familiar acquaintance with the medium is not a requisite to successful study. In others it is, and so emphatically, that through lack of it, there can be nothing which deserves to be called success. What is clear to the instructor may to the pupil be very obscure. What to the teacher is justly distinguished, and even finely and felicitously reasoned, may either be rejected by the learner as transcendental nonsense, or if received with ignorant servility, may turn him into a transcendental fool, through the dishonesty which it leads him to practice with his own common sense. Indeed, much of the ill-repute into which German authors have fallen among us, is owing to the inadequate knowledge of the language manifested by their translators and interpreters. Grammatical correctness and verbal accuracy are far from qualifying a person to do complete justice to the thoughts of a German thinker. The majority of the readers of German authors, and even of the hearers of German professors, go no farther than this knowledge, and hence they fail to realize much advantage to themselves, as well as to make their profiting appear to others.

The first duty which a student in Germany should take in hand, and the last which he should intermit, is the study of the language. He should study it, not as a grammarian,

in order that he may teach it, nor as a philologist, in order to delight himself and pose others with mechanical repetitions of its forms or references to its etymologies, but as a thinker, that he may comprehend its peculiarities as an instrument of thought, and that he may see how thought itself is affected by the nature of its own vehicle and instrument. Only in so doing, can he enter into the peculiarities of German thinking, for it is only as one possesses fully the German language, that he can comprehend the actings of the German mind, and can understand or do justice to the speculations of the Germans in the higher departments of thought. By so doing he will study language itself with a truly philosophical interest, and derive from it an elevated satisfaction. From each attentive act or painful effort that he makes to surmount the difficulties of the foreign tongue, will come the increased capacity to understand and to use the English language well. The light that flashes on the language that he slowly learns, will be continually reflected upon that mother tongue which he seems never to have been forced to study, and upon which therefore he has never thought.

We could wish, for these reasons, that American students, when in Germany, would study the German language with higher aims and more persevering efforts. We have been almost moved to pedagogical wrath, to see rich men's sons profess to study in Germany, and actually to hear lectures at a University, and yet systematically neglect the choicest opportunities that were spread around them to master the most valuable of modern tongues; or to see earnest students content themselves with what chance should pour into their ears, while they seconded these opportunities with no severe or systematic attention to the language itself. No more striking or humiliating combination of American narrowness, laziness and self-conceit, can easily be conceived, than is in this way yearly displayed before the eyes of the truly cultivated, in the conduct of graduates from American Colleges.

A second condition of success is to be alive to the evils

as well as to the advantages of the methods of instruction practiced at a German University. The general impression is that these methods of teaching and of learning, are the only ones which are worthy of a rational being. Superficial travelers, who have never studied at the American College from which they have issued, or at the German University on which they so confidently pronounce, tell the public of the enthusiasm with which the students listen, and of the enthusiasm which the professors excite, and confidently predict that the good time will come when instruction will be given among us in no other way. So also many lecturers, and writers not a few, professors and guardians, press at every point the desirableness that such institutions should rise up among ourselves. If we could but have one American University, they say, then would science and learning flourish. The student himself catches the impression. He longs to be delivered from his imposed task-work and to have command of his time and employments. He defers the great work of self-improvement till he can study at a foreign University, and follow out at his own will the studies to which his own genius or his future pursuits may direct him. When he reaches the University, he finds much to gratify and much to disappoint him. We will suppose him to have learned the language as he should, and to be ready to enjoy its advantages without embarrassment. What does he find to be true? First of all he discovers that the entire system is based upon and adjusted to the severe labor and the severe examinations of the gymnasia. These are assumed as the proper preparation, and it is supposed that to the gymnasial discipline the hearer has been in fact subjected. Accordingly, those sciences which have been passed over and deferred to the University, are taught by lectures in the most elementary way. Some are treated with the dryness of the dullest dictation. The Professor reads his book, and the lectures which will be his book in due time. Instead of reading his treatise after it is published, the students hear him read it before he prints it, and studiously write

out in their sheets, the principles and facts which they might as well read in their closets. If the Professor has stored from his reading great wealth of learning, if by his own reflection he has turned it to new uses, and developed from it important principles, if he exhibits his erudition and his thoughts with a felicitous method, or the force of an animated delivery, it is worth while to hear him. Often it may be worth a voyage across the Atlantic to hear him. But the majority of lectures and lecturers furnish no advantages above private reading, except those which belong to oral delivery. Under the best and most favorable supposition, such lecturers cannot supersede private and personal labor. If they do not excite and direct to it, the impressions from them are transient and the results are meagre. The Professors themselves are affable in the hour which they daily set apart for converse with the students, and overflow with unfeigned hospitality to those who are favored with an invitation to their reception evening. But they do not and cannot concern themselves with the private studies of their hearers, and to the great majority of them they must be entire strangers. If you gain access to them and ask what they think of the actual workings of the University system, they will tell you it disappoints them continually, that all the conscientious Professors are of the opinion that teaching by lectures only is most unsatisfactory in permanent results, and that there ought to be engrafted upon it the practice of frequent repetitions and the direction of private reading. But the system remains as it is, and the student from America finds himself under its influences for good or evil. He may derive from it the most important advantages. If he has the requisite preparation of discipline and knowledge—of which more hereafter—he may be excited by the genius and enlarged by the comprehension of the superior mind, which spreads out before him the inviting field which has been the world to itself for scores of years, or presents the results of its own researches upon a difficult question, casting light upon some dark corner of that field. He may be inspired with

new aims, and be excited to a thirst for knowledge which he has never known before, and under these impulses he may prosecute his private studies with a new created or renewed energy. But if he be excited by no such enthusiasm, and impelled by no such efforts, his University course will leave him slightly better, or materially worse than it found him. It may give him some new thoughts—a more comprehensive view of a science, or a field of history—it may start new questions in his mind, and enable him to converse upon novel themes and to refer to unfamiliar books and authors. So far he may be slightly better and wiser. But if it makes him more self-conceited and superficial, more dogmatical and supercilious, more sceptical and uncertain, it will be for the worse that he ever studied at a German University. The only way to derive present advantage, and to lay up valuable stores and permanent habits for future improvement, is to accompany such a course of lectures by assiduous private study and reading. To this there are many hindrances, some of which are unknown at home. The very number of exciting subjects, and the reputation and brilliancy of the lecturers, tempt the student to over-task his powers, and to consume his time in hearing only. The excitements from without in novel sights and sounds and in the distracting allurements that are never wanting in a foreign town, as well as the absence of immediate responsibility to any one but himself, are not easily appreciated by the student who has not tried them.

But our course of thought has led us to another theme. The student, to succeed, ought to be fully prepared by previous study, to start with those attainments in thought and acquisition which are required in order fully to appreciate and wisely to judge the instructions to which he listens. This rule is often violated, even by the German student. Perhaps no cause has been more potent than this in producing the disastrous effects of German speculation and theology. Brilliant and daring lecturers have been able to turn the heads of their hearers, because they have plung-

ed them at once into questions which their previous studies had not prepared them to meet, and have carried them away by the force of fervid eloquence, of imposing learning and dazzling imagery. We have only to imagine a German student fresh from the gymnasium, listening to Hegel's exposition of logic, or to Strauss's vindication of the mythical theory, or to Baur on the canon. He is a well trained classical student, and a tolerable Hebraist, and has studied a brief system of formal logic or psychology, and he plunges at once into questions the very statement of which require special reading and practiced familiarity with abstract terminology and philosophic thinking. But it is doubly unlucky for the American who encounters questions of which he has never dreamed, and hears topics discussed to which he has never been fairly introduced by the course of his previous studies. How absurd and how unnatural to attempt a course on the history of philosophy, which supposes the hearer to know what Philosophy is, and what it attempts to perform, or on logic, or on metaphysics, without some previous familiarity with the topics and questions involved; or to encounter one of the giants in philological criticism, without having mastered the alphabet of the subtle art; or to grapple with the latest speculations of the Tübingen school, without having gone over the historical and exegetical reading which are required to appreciate even its power to destroy; or to enter upon a course of prelections in dogmatic theology, with the elements of which the lecturer supposes his pupils to be already somewhat familiar. It is doubly or trebly unfortunate for the American student to be thus deficient, for he must encounter his embarrassments through a foreign language, marked by striking peculiarities and reflecting the genius of a people unlike his own. It is not surprising that not a few disappoint themselves and their friends, and bring away no more substantial results in Philosophy and Theology. They were not prepared to appreciate the instruction which was offered them. They had not studied up to the point whence their teacher took his departure

They could not comprehend his thoughts, or follow his reasonings. Still less were they able to bring their own judgment and good sense to act upon them with coolness, decision and effect. They are over-mastered by their teachers. Their intellects become parasitic and dependent. They receive strange thoughts without digesting them. They recite subtle reasonings without fully appreciating their reach and application. Or what is still worse, they are confused by speculations which they were not prepared to understand and judge, so far as to lose the freshness and cheerfulness of decided convictions, and to bring away a weakened and diluted understanding. Or they are amazed by an array of historic questionings and of destructive criticisms, because they had not read and thought enough to breast them with a manly and independent rejection. Unarmed by previous knowledge and unstrengthened by previous reflection on subjects of this kind, they listen to the charmed words of some subtle critic, and their faith falters, their judgment is taken captive, and a life-time of vague questionings, of timid faith and unresolved doubts, drags out its painful course; or they yield their traditional faith, unfortified by previous study, to the first bold attack which they are not prepared to resist, and become confessed unbelievers. All this may happen, if the young theologian encounters teachers of a negative type and unbelieving tendencies without sufficient preparation. If they yield themselves to teachers of another stamp, to the intolerant bigots of the orthodox school, they become themselves offensively and irrationally dogmatical in proportion to their incapacity to appreciate the position of those of the rationalistic school whom such denounce and oppose. Their residence in Germany sends them back more irrational than it found them, for their newly intensified dogmatism is founded on less exercise of the understanding and the conscience than that which they carried away. They return to America to strenghten a party, but not to advance theological science or religious truth. They are welcomed as men who have been to Germany and who can speak

with authority upon doctrines and parties, on neither of which they were qualified to pass judgment, because they were prepared by previous study to understand neither. Still another result is possible. The student may ascribe his own weakness or confusion of thought to the obscurity of his teacher, or to the indefiniteness of the science, and having attempted efforts for which he was in no wise ready, he may give up effort and hope together. He may despair of mastering speculative theology and philosophy, and the historical questions which concern the canon, and take refuge in a vague but attractive mysticism and satisfy his sense of deficiency by giving it the noble name of Faith. He will find abundant authority for so doing, in Germany itself. He will find a large class of amiable theologians who have resorted to this refuge in order to save or cut short discussion. He will return home enlarged in his reading, but not invigorated in thought. His writing and preaching, his thinking and his judging, will all assume a new type and be marked by strange phraseology. He will be set down as *par éminence* a Germanizing critic or theologian.

We proceed to prescribe another condition or rule of success. Never be content with your achievements till you can express them in the English language and can weave them into one web with the principles and reasonings which are familiar to English scholars. Many forget this rule. If they find new phraseology they think it a new truth. They do not inquire whether it may not be expressed in familiar English words, or translated into intelligible Anglo-Saxon terms, but they catch the new phraseology as though the new casket must of course contain a new treasure. So tenacious are they of the novel dialect, that they do not even strive to seek out English idioms which are equivalent or nearly so, but either ignorantly or affectedly display on all occasions their newly acquired terminology. Many even reverse our rule, and instead of asking whether the new dress does not clothe familiar thoughts, seek to invest their old thoughts in the

clothing of the newly found language. We do not forget that there is a great advantage in a precise terminology, and that often novelty of phrase may attract attention to unobserved distinctions of thought. Nor do we object to the private use of any philosophical or theological dialect which may serve the convenience of the student. But we do insist that the student should test the clearness of his own conceptions by expressing them in his accustomed language, and that he should apply this test with perseverance and rigor. We do not believe that there are two kinds of thinking, the English and the German. Nor do we belive that the processes and results which are expressed in German, cannot be conveyed in English. The effort may require an awkward and uncouth phraseology, but we are sure it may be successfully made. We are sure it ought to be made not merely from the regard which the student should have for the clearness and satisfaction of his own thinking, but in order that he may guard himself against certain salient peculiarities of the German language itself, when employed for philosophical and theological uses. These peculiarities may be described in a word. They arise from its very richness and flexibility. On the one side it is capable of a precise, abundant and most expressive terminology; and this whether used for physical, philosophical or theological science. It approaches far more nearly to the ideal of a philosophical language than the English. No language is before it in the capacity of easily expressing the distinctions which are made by the exactest thinker. None yield with more plastic readiness to the desire to form terms for distinctions not already expressed. It can be compressed into compact and pointed sentences, and can conduct processes of close and rigorous logic. On the other side it is the most imaginative of all the modern tongues, presenting single pictures with every word and weaving a group of imagery into one artistic whole by a single word-combination. Its pages are literally *illustrated* by the pictures that start from every line. Its margins are *illuminated* by colors that play by the side

of every sentence. In such a language, abstractions can be personified most easily and the most impalpable products of the subtlest logic can become concrete into forms of angelic beauty. Hence in the use of no language, do philosophers more readily become poets. In none do we find so subtle a mixture and interchange of poetry and philosophy. Hence its attractiveness. For what is more agreeable than to look for an abstraction and to be surprised with an image, to toil after some generalized and comprehensive law and to be greeted with a personification? But for this very reason it is seductive and uncertain. The image may withdraw the attention from the abstraction. The personified generalization may play with the earnest thinker like the frolicksome Puck, or when fairly caught in his logical grasp may change his form like a provoking Proteus. We open a page in Schelling and begin to toil up the steeps of thought that lead from nature to God, and lo! it is as though the ladder of the Patriarch were reached from Heaven and the angels of God were ascending and descending upon it. We do not wonder that such a language has seduced its own thinkers, if it be not rather the thinkers who have bewitched the language. In how much greater danger is the foreigner, upon whose amazed eyes are lifted all these splendors, and before whose vision, as he reads, gods seem to be all the while ascending from the earth. Hence our rule, that he purge his eye sight by bringing back his new thoughts to the simplicity and clearness of familiar prose, and translate them into the homlier English dialect. Would that those who have professed to translate books from the German into English, had followed this rule. What a mercy would it have been to our befogged understanding, what a saving of time and of patience to all their readers; what a saving of reputation to the poor Germans themselves; what a saving to the purity of our mother tongue, now burthened by uncouth phrases, *transported* rather than translated, and exciting the wrath of old fashioned thinkers and writers. What a mercy to the disturbed spirits of those philosophers and theologians,

who must often have been moved in their graves for very vexation at the unsightly caricatures that have been palmed off as representatives of their clear thoughts and reasonings. What a relief were it to our theology, also, if certain theologians had followed our rule of translating into plain English, the dogmas which they import, (literally raw material,) and of defending them by the accustomed modes of proof instead of speaking in parables whenever it is convenient, and of dodging the force of an argument by slipping beyond a phrase or a figure. If they had only done this, we should not see so many new fashions in theology. Least of all should we see certain exploded dogmas raised from the grave, and wearing "singing robes about them" instead of the appropriate and offensive robes of the sepulchre from which they have been dragged.

Were their rule observed, it would be hardly needful for us to add another, that when our students return from a course in German philosophy and theology, it becomes them to be modest. If they would diligently practice the lessons which we have ventured to prescribe, it would not be necessary to mention this. It is bad enough that some of us can not enrich ourselves at the fountain of science. It is quite too bad to be too often reminded of our poverty of thought. Too often all that occasions this supercilious demeanor, is the product of gossiping rather than of study and thought. A familiarity has been gained with men and books, rather than with thoughts and truths. It were most unfortunate if the younger school of theologians should be divided into two separate classes, the Germanizers and the Anti-Germanizers, between whom there should be little interchange of opinion, sympathy and feeling. Still more unfortunate would it be if the pulpit should suffer from German studies, in respect of simplicity and directness, in respect of manly reasoning and warm appeals. It need not be so. We believe most earnestly that our theology and our philosophy, our preaching and our practical religion, may gain not a little, if the students who go to Germany go at the right time and pursue wise methods of study.

We venture to add as a prime condition of success, great moral earnestness and warm religious sympathies. The earnestness which is conscientious will cause the mind, like magnetized iron, to attract to itself the good, and to discern the true from the false. Those Christian feelings which kindle into lively sympathy towards all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, will urgently impel a man to scrutinize seductive error, and to discern its imposing sophistry. Seeing it he will reject it, because he uses his intellect vigorously from using it with a pure heart. In this sense only, is that much abused principle true or trustworthy, "*Pectus est quod theologum facit.*

ART. VI.—SYNODICAL CHURCH AUTHORITY.

In the October number, 1858, of this Review, we furnished a historical contribution on Reformed Synods. That our article might be unembarrassed as a historical review, we did not enter into the question of the authority, or divine right, of Synods. We propose now a brief exegetical inquiry into this part of the subject. Where ultimately lies the source of Church authority?

Every investigation of the origin and nature of ecclesiastical government and Church authority must begin with two passages in the Gospel by St. Matthew. The first passage spoken to Peter, reads thus:

And I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church: and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. (St. Matthew 16: 18, 19.)

The second passage, of precisely the same import, spoken to all the Apostles, is as follows:

Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven. (St. Matthew 18: 18.)

Examining the second passage first, we find that these are words spoken by our Saviour to his disciples—those disciples whom He had chosen and commissioned to go forth in His name. Their meaning is fixed and clear from the context.

He is instructing them in regard to the course to be pursued with a trespassing brother. He points out a process involving several clearly defined steps. In the *first* step the offender and the offended stand on a level with each other: "Go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone." If this does not effect a reconciliation, by causing the offender to confess and yield, then, *secondly*, an advantage is allowed to the offended party. It is this: "Then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established." Be established where? At the tribunal involved in the next stage of the process, toward which all these preparatory steps looked. If the offender refuses now to confess and repent, and remains still refractory and incorrigible, the offended has now the advantage of proof. This prepares him for the next step—for the tribunal. "If he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church." Here is the last resort. This is his last chance. "If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican." That is, let him, by the judgment and sentence of the Church, be banished beyond her pale out of the brotherhood of saints, as are heathen and publicans.

What will be the effect of this act and sentence of the Church? Will he only be separated from the kingdom of saints on earth, and no more? May he still claim God and his favor, and bring him an acceptable service in his isolated position?—Can he, thus sundered from the saints, claim the sympathies of God against the judgment of the

Church, and flying to His bosom, cry intolerance and tyranny against the Church? No. God turns away from him to the Church with words of solemn approbation: "Verily, I say unto you, Whatsover ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven!" God will spurn him that spurns His Church. He that shuts the doors of the Church against himself on earth, does, *by that same act*, shut against himself the kingdom of heaven. The solemn sentence of separation, pronounced by the Church, against him who rebels against the divine order and authority of the Church, calls back from the highest heaven the responsive Amen!—"loosed in Heaven!"

This passage teaches us, that the Head of the Church has given to it an authority and power, which He has not given to any one, or any number of individuals, and it defines the extent of that authority.

The theory of ecclesiastical government, as held in the Reformed Church, may be briefly stated thus: The Synod is for it the highest earthly authority. It is the final judge of error in doctrine, and error in conduct. The Classes have only such power as the Synod has delegated to them, and all their acts are subject to the review of Synod. Consistories and congregations have only such power as the Classes have given, and still approve. The Synod is over the Classes—the Classes are over the Consistories—the Consistories are over the members. The Synod is the culmination of authority; and it exercises the binding and loosing power over all the departments which lie beneath it.

Is this idea of Church authority, which places the individual under the power of the general, a correct—a scriptural one? This question we must answer in the affirmative, if the doctrine we have just elicited from the passage in Matthew 18: 18, is in accordance with the word of God. Let us see.

This passage teaches, that the Head of the Church has given to it an authority and power, which He has not given to any one, or to any number of individuals.

It is not necessary to our present purpose to discuss widely the nature of the Church, as the kingdom of God on earth. Our Saviour seems here, to use the word Church as synonymous with the college of disciples. This is evident from the fact, that He speaks to them in the whole Chapter. He fixes this meaning upon the word "Church," when He says that the offending brother shall be brought before the Church, and then immediately adds: Verily I say unto *you*, Whatsoever *ye* shall bind on earth, &c. The two allusions seem only to designate different phases of the Church: The first, the Church as *tribunal;* the second, the Church as *executive* power.

It is the Church then, exhibiting its authority in the collective tribunal of its ministers, which has this power of binding and loosing. Some have claimed something different from this. The Roman Church, *on the one side*, has claimed that this power, instead of culminating in the Synodical council, culminates ultimately in one man, as Christ's vicar on earth. This claim they have built upon the first passage quoted at the beginning of our article, where the binding and loosing power seems to be given to Peter: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church: and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Matth. 16: 18, 19. We need no better evidence that Christ did not intend to confer this power on Peter exclusively, than the fact that He immediately confers the same power upon all. The truth seems to be this: As Peter was the mouth-piece of all the disciples, to answer our Saviour's question directed to all, "Whom say *ye* that I am?" by the confession, "Thou art the Christ," so our Saviour responded to him for all of them, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Sure it is, if the first delegation of authority made Peter Pope, then this second one, by the same logic, made all the disciples Popes—a conclusion we cannot entertain, since it is not only destructive of itself, but positively set

aside by what follows, where He requires "two or three" to "agree." It is perhaps significant, in this connection, that but four verses after this pretended Papal authority was conferred upon Peter, our Saviour found it necessary severely to rebuke him. "The Lord turned, and said unto Peter, Get thee behind me Satan; thou art an offence unto me; for thou savorest not the things that be of God, but those that be of man." This is certainly strange language to be addressed to a newly created vicar.

This claim, then, that this power culminates in one seems to be a false claim. There is, *on the other side*, a claim equally false and unscriptural: It is that which makes this power culminate in the people—in all the members, as claimed in the scheme of Congregational Independency. It is not necessary to pursue this point in the way of single controversy; as both these erroneous extremes will pass away of themselves, if it can be shown that the culmination of power lies between these extremes; not in *one*, nor in *all*, but in the Synodical council of those whom Christ selected and invested with ruling power—that our Saviour spake to the apostles all, and through them to all the ministerial succession: "I say unto *you*, Whatsoever *ye* shall bind," &c.

To this point let us address ourselves.

We will now for a moment leave this passage, as well as our Saviour's times and teachings, and seek for a commentary on this passage in the acts and doings of the apostles, after He had left the interests of the Church in their hands. We may safely assume, that they understood our Saviour, and knew, after He had left them, what their mission involved. If He taught them, that Church authority culminated in one man, Peter, we will find them act upon that principle. If He intended and taught that it should culminate in the people, we will find them acting out *that* principle; and if He taught them that this authority was lodged in them Synodically, we will, no doubt, find them, with humble boldness, assuming and exercising that power.

What is the fact? What say the earliest records of the acts of the apostles?

1. We find that soon after our Saviour's ascension one of the disciples suggested that the place in the apostolic college, vacated by the fall of Judas, should be filled. Did Peter make this appointment? No. For he puts himself on a level with the rest, and says, there "must one be ordained to be a witness *with us* of his resurrection." It is distinctly said, not he, but "*they*, appointed two,"—and *they* gave forth their lots," and Matthias was, by the designation of all these jointly, as expressed in their lot or vote, "numbered with the eleven apostles."

"They appointed—they gave forth their lots"—Who? "The disciples (the number of the names together were about an hundred and twenty.)" Were these just believing brethren, or were they commissioned messengers? It is evident from the scope of the language that they were not the company of the believers in general, but of those that He had from time to time commissioned to go forth and preach in His name. This company of 120 included perhaps those 70 which He sent out two and two, and to whom He said: "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me." (Luke 10.) These, together with the eleven, and some others which from time to time had been commissioned, would make out the number. That reference is had to these commissioned disciples is evident from the language of Peter. Does he not speak to a company commissioned like himself, when he says of Judas, "For he was numbered with *us*, and had obtained part of *this* ministry. Wherefore of *these men*, which have *companied with us*, all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out *among us*, beginning *from the baptism of John*, unto *that same day that He was taken up* from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection. And *they* appointed two."

These men, then, whom Peter addresses, and from among whom, and by whom, this vacancy was to be filled, were such as had companied with the Saviour from the beginning, and among whom He had gone "in and out," in a sense which implies their official relation to Him.

That this company who made this appointment, were those who were the Lord's commissioned, is still farther evident from the fact that in the first verse of the next chapter—where the transactions of Pentecost are related—the same pronoun "*they*" is continued. "*They* were all with one accord in one place"—there appeared unto "*them*" cloven tongues—"*they*" were filled with the Holy Ghost—that is, the same persons who appointed Matthias in the place of Judas, received the miraculous endowment of the Holy Ghost, and spake with tongues. Whether this Synodical council was, as we have sought to show, composed of the whole of His commissioned ones, or confined in its substance to the eleven—the rest only being present—is all the same to our argument. It is perfectly clear that it was neither done by *one* disciple nor by *all* the people. So far, then, we find Church authority lodged in the Synodical council of the Apostles.

2. In the sixth chapter of Acts we have an account of a difficulty that arose between the Grecians and the Hebrews. The Grecians complained that there was partiality shown in the distributions which were made to the poor; and that their widows were neglected. The matter came before the apostles. It was felt at once that the apostles could not take this labor of making distributions upon themselves, as it would take too much of their time from the more important duty of preaching. This can be arranged by the institution of a new office—that of Deacons. Who shall do this? The history shows: *The people may designate but the apostles must invest.* "Then *the twelve* called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables. Wherefore, brethren, *look ye out among you* seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom *we may appoint* over this business." The people chose the seven, "Whom they set *before the apostles*: and when they had prayed, *they laid their hands on them.*"

In this instance it is easy to see where the power culminates. The apostles direct the multitude to choose men—

the apostles designate the number—the apostles specify the character and qualifications which they must possess—the apostles have the chosen men set before *them*—the apostles say "whom *we* may appoint"—and the apostles impart to them official power, by the laying on of their hands. Here neither the idea of *one Pope*, or of *all Popes* can claim the least shadow of precedent. But here, again, do we find the culmination of power and Church authority in Synodical council.

3. Once more. When Paul and Barnabas were at Antioch, they met certain men who had come thither from Judea, and who taught the brethren there that they could not be saved except they were circumcised after the manner of Moses. Paul and Barnabas had "no small dissension and disputation with them" about this matter. What is to be done now? If there is any where *one* man in whom Christ has vested Church authority Pope or Bishop—let him be appealed to. Or if such power has been vested in the members of the Church, let them be appealed to, and let the matter be decided by the voice of the majority. It seems, however, that the Church at Antioch knew of no such way. "They"—that is, the brethren who had taken up this idea of the teachers from Judea, but who wished now to know the truth in regard to the disputed point—"They determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question." What! all the way to Jerusalem! Yes. A sure evidence that the congregation at Antioch did not believe in the judgment of majorities, or in the power of congregational self-rule after the scheme of Congregational Independency. Neither did they know of a Pope whom Christ had made the source of infallible wisdom. But they did know that to Synodical council Christ had given the power to bind and loose.

The rest of these proceedings are all natural, and easy of comprehension. Paul and Barnabas, and "certain other" delegates from Antioch went to Jerusalem. "They were recieved of the Church, and of the apostles and elders."

"The apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter." There was "much disputing" on the point in hand. Peter rose up and spoke. He took the ground that circumcision was not necessary to salvation in a Christian; and gave as evidence the fact that God had sent him to the Gentiles that they might be saved—that he had preached to them, and that they had believed and recieved the Holy Ghost without circumcision—that God had thus set his seal to the salvation of the uncircumcised. A conclusive argument. He was followed by Paul and Barnabas, who took the same ground with Peter, and testified that they had labored among the uncircumcised with the same results, and had recieved the same seal of the divine approbation to their ministry. James rose and took the same side, for the same reason; adding the important consideration that God's giving his seal to the ministry among the uncircumcised, had only fulfilled what He had promised in the prophets ages agone.

The reasons given by these different speakers "pleased the apostles and elders, with the whole Church;" and they concluded to send a delegation of "chosen men of their own company to Antioch, with Paul and Barnabas." They sent accordingly, along with those who came from Antioch, "Judas surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren: And they wrote letters by them after this manner: The apostles, and elders, and brethren, send greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia. Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us, (Schismatics of Judea) have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying, ye must be circumcised, and keep the law; to whom *we gave no such commandment:* It seemed good *unto us*, being *assembled with one accord*, to send chosen men unto you, with our beloved Barnabas and Paul: men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent, therefore, Judas and Silas, who shall also tell you the same things by mouth. For it seemed good to the *Holy Ghost, and to us*, to lay upon you no

greater burden than these *necessary* things; that ye abstain from meats," &c. This decision was laid before the Church at Antioch, collected in a meeting for that purpose, and was recieved by them with joy.

Here again beyond all dispute, we have an evidence that the Synodical council was looked to as the final arbiter in congregation difficulties and disputes.

4. There are references and allusions to the same facts, so clearly established in these precedents, in the Epistles. Paul reminds Timothy that he recieved a gift—the gift of ministerial authority—from the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. He had received his commission from the presbytery, or council of elders—this council was before him, and over him, from which he recieved his authority to be an officer in the Church, and to which he was responsible. All this points to the same principle, as those precedents which we found in the Acts of the Apostles—and all this is a plain commentary on our Saviour's words in St. Matthew. To the Synodical council of the apostles, and through them to their proper succession, He says: "Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven."

The question may arise: If the ministers and elders of Jesus Christ are the repositories of Church authority in Synodical council, do they sink back upon a level with members, in regard to authority, when they are not in such council. We answer no. This power is lodged in the office; and must be recognized and acknowledged there by the laity and by congregations.

That they have an authority which no private member has, is evident from the very names applied to them. Minister—from God to them. Ambasador—one having authority delegated to him. Bishop—or overseer. Elder —one who like an aged person is to be looked up to and reverenced. Pastor, or Shepherd—one who directs the the flock and whose directions they must follow. Watchman—one who is set as guard. All these names place the

minister between God and the people. They are to receive the word from his lips as God's words, and render him, who teaches and rules well, "double honor." Paul acknowledged this principle when he takes back his words to Ananias—words which to any other man would have been proper enough—when he was told that it was "God's high priest." "Then said Paul, I wist not brethren that he was the high priest: for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." Glorious magnanimity! It were well if those who make a virtue of bandying about the names and characters of ministers would remember this solemn divine order. They may one day see it written, in letters more terrible than those on the walls of Bellshazar's palace, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm?" Ps. 105: 15. Our Saviour says, to every one of His ministers, when He sends them forth in His name: "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me." Luke 10: 16.

The deep divine wisdom in this principle of Church government, and its admirable adaptation to the ends in view, are also apparent. The three offices of Christ as Prophet, Priest and King, He carries on, not separated from those for whose sake He exercises them, but in and by them. In the prophetic office, He teaches by and through His people. In the exercise of His priestly office, He makes His people priests. So His kingly office He carries on, exersising its powers, through and by, His people. The rule is not a power over them merely, but a power in them as well. Not a rod somewhere hidden to be slavishly feared—not a power afar off sending edicts—the authority is as near as the grace, and flows in the same channel.

The highest government is not the mere control of passive masses, but that of self-determining wills—the government, not of bondage, but of freedom. In the government of wills, the power must necessarily be in a degree mutual and reciprocal, between the rulers, as the representatives of God, and the universal kingship—which is ultimately to be realized, (Rev. 1: 6.)—of beleivers as the ruled in whom

it is to effect its gracious purposes. The members designate those who are to bear rule, as is done in every case in the precedents of the apostolic Church, while the ordained, for God, invest with the power to rule, and in all cases, if we may so say, hold the balance of power, so as to hold full, final authority—but hold it, not over slaves arbitrarily, but over freemen in the spirit of freedom. Thus the ruling power cannot be contracted and absorbed into a terrible and dangerous one-will unity (which is tyranny), nor yet expanded and diffused into disjoined multiplicity (which is the principle of anarchy). It avoids the danger, on the one hand, of power disowning freedom, as in the Romish Church; and on the other it escapes the equal danger of liberty disowning power, as in Congregational Independency. The rule is not by *one* man, nor by *all* men ; but by Synodical co-operation, where there is first counsel and then power, and where the power of God and the response from men meet and act.

In regard to its ruling power, as in all other respects, the Symbol of the Church is a human body—the body of Christ. The power that rules is not over the members, but in them. The will as being in the head, does not handle the members, as the engine does the wheels which it propels; but it governs them by muscles, nerves, and blood, which it finds at hand in the members themselves. By powers in them, it governs the body. So does Christ govern the Church, by a power in the members, not merely a power over them. The human body, and so also the Church, is as far removed from a monarchy as it is from a democracy. The members do not rule the head, but are used by it. The head rules the members, and yet only by power exercised in them and by them. The body whose members can only be governed by an arbitrary power over them is a corpse, and not a living organism. Nor yet is the true government of the Church republican. Though nearer this, it is on a higher ground. In a republic, men *as they are*, rule by delegates *as they are*. But in the Synodical rule of the Church, though the people's voice and power

enters by representation into the ruling council, yet are the people themselves first enlightened by the pulpit and sanctified by the altar before their voice can be heard. Thus is it at last the voice of a higher power and of higher wisdom, which acts and speaks in them. Moreover the rulers designated by them are those who have not only been farthest advanced in light and holiness—for such alone are allowed to be chosen—but they also receive an investure from a higher power through ordination, which carries with it the warrant and promise of constant divine supervision. To them Christ says: "Lo, I am with you alway, even until the end of the world." They can publish the results of their councils with the words, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us." (Acts 15: 28.)

Thus too, it may be easily seen, that the ruling power in the Church is truly a means of grace; because it is a law working not over man merely, but in them and by them. The use of the keys has with God the honor, and with man the power, of a prayer and a blessing.

If we have established the proposition which we elicited from the passages in St. Matthew then we have ground for drawing from the subject several important inferences.

The Reformed Church seems to have a clear Scripture precedent and warrant for its order of Church government. We do right in obeying Synod which is placed over us, as the final power, and we do well to demand obedience from the Classes, Consistories and Congregations over which it is placed. It ought to be sufficient to us to know that it is a divine order—this is warrant of its goodness. Let us mantain it in good faith.

We may also learn from this subject, what a solemn thing it is to fall under the discipline, censure, and penalty of the Church. There are many who make but little of the anathama maranatha of the Church! They will not hear the Church when it calls them to an account for offences, neither will they repent when its penalty falls upon them. Some even turn round at Church censure in the spirit of fool-hardy independence, with a sneer: "Ye take too much upon yourselves, ye sons

of Levi." Against the growing insubordination to Church authority, and against the growing indifference to Church censures, we lift up the standard on which is inscribed the awful warrant: "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth is bound in heaven!" He that is wise will rather fall at the feet of the Church, and implore pardon for his offences, in tears of penitence, than hear pronounced over him that dreadful severing sentence which recieves response from on high—"Loosed in heaven!"

Moreover, what an honor, and incalculable blessing it is to have honorable and worthy standing in the Church, either as minister, elder, deacon, or private member. With these arms of everlasting love around us, who can shake our sure repose. Who shall condemn us, when the whole Church bears silent testimony for us. "Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem!" Housed in this blessed ark, let the world perish! She bears us in her bosom here, as a kind mother bears her child, and points us, with words of sweetest promise, to those bright and peaceful skies to which she will bear our happy spirits at last. Let it be our most ardent prayer: "Keep us in everlasting fellowship with the Church that waiteth for Thee; and with the Church which is in Thy presence!" As long as this fellowship is ours—as long as we are worthy of it, so long will every word of confirmation which the Church on earth speaks over us, recieve glorious response from beyond the stars: "*Bound in Heaven!*"

Lancaster, Pa. H. H.

ART. VII.—CANTATE DOMINO.

CANTATE DOMINO: A collection of Chants, Hymns and Tunes adapted to Church Service, by Lewis H. Steiner and Henry Schwing. Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co. pp. 324.

Of Hymn books there is already an abundance in the American Church. Every denomination has its own; and the Presbyterians and Congregationalists each have several. Why publish another?

Music books, too, are not wanting. The musical world is overflooded with them; each claiming to be better than the rest; yet few, if any, calling forth a warm response from the hearts of the people. The choir sings the tunes for the entertainment of the congregation. Why add another to the number?

If the *Cantate Domino* were one of the many works pervaded by the reigning unchurchly spirit of the age, we might properly dismiss it with a word of dubious commendation, and let it run a race with its numerous competitors for the favor of choirs. But it comes with the depth and glow of another spirit, and challenges our highest regard.

American theology is, for the most part, the product of logical reflection starting with some metaphysical idea, as the will of God or the will of man; and ignores Jesus Christ as the *principle*, substance and end of supernatural revelation scientifically apprehended. He becomes the glorious expedient only by which an almighty Sovereign fulfils His purposes; or the blessed medium by which sinners may be reconciled to God and get to Heaven. Though proclaimed to be "all and in all," He really holds a subordinate place in our prevailing systems of theological thinking. The result is, on the one hand, a religion of reflection, of definite intellectual apprehension of doctrines; and, on the other, a religion of emotion, of states of feeling and frames of mind. Though different and seemingly exclusive, these two forms of religion are nevertheless alike as

to general character. Both spring from a metaphysical idea instead of from Him who is God and Man; and deal rather with abstractions, human notions of divine things, than with divine-human realities, the immediate objects of faith and devotion.

The spirit of this unchristological method of thought, dealing with speculative abstractions rather than with the concrete facts of faith, has wrought itself out, and is bearing ripe fruit after its kind, in all the relations of religious life. It is unchurchly. It denies even the existence of the Church, considered as a supernatural order of spiritual authority and power on earth. It is unsacramental. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are admitted to be signs, but only empty signs; they represent an invisible grace, but no present grace operating efficaciously in and through these ordinances. Modern Calvinism argues consistently from its principle, that the sovereign will of God is not bound in the communication of grace to certain divinely-instituted forms or rites administered by His own ministers. Arminianism argues just as logically from its principle, that the sacramental theory contradicts the freedom of the human will. Starting in opposite metaphysical ideas, both systems, when logically developed, reject the christological doctrine of the Sacraments.

An unchristological theology is also directly connected with the character of public worship. The union of a public assembly of God's people in prayer, both as to spirit and outward form, is the legitimate product of the communion of saints—of a sense of common participation by the Holy Ghost in the life of Christ as the Head of His mystical body. Substitute any metaphysical theory for a sound christology, and public worship becomes the individual act of associated believers, who, desiring to be *free* from the bond of internal and external oneness, approach God independently, each one, minister and laymen, as his state of mind and heart may prompt.

In no department, however, of religious life has the unchurchly tendency of an unchristological theology been

more marked than in the praises of the sanctuary. A living faith in Christ as really present among His people by the Spirit; faith in the Church, and in the communion of saints, has given birth to hymns of lofty praise, in every age of the Christian Church, in which the profound adoration, the humble thanksgiving, the penitential sorrow for sin, and the earnest aspirations after grace, of God's chosen people, have found sublime expression. The product of the genuine spirit of Christian devotion and pervaded by it, the pious heart catches these inspiring strains instinctively, and rises, as in a chariot of the Spirit, to hold joyous communion with God. The most perfect flowers of the sacred muse are ever fragrant and fresh; no matter in what age of the Church they have bloomed, whether in the primitive, mediæval or modern. Such hymns as the "Te Deum laudamus," the "Gloria in excelsis," "Dies iræ," "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," "Lobe den Herrn, den mächtigen König der Ehren," "Ein' feste Burg is unser Gott," "Before Jehovah's awful throne," "Rock of Ages cleft for me," "I love Thy kingdom, Lord," and many others of similar character, will be sung with undiminished delight by the waiting Church on earth until their notes of praise are lost in the triumphant shouts of the resurrection morning. They are but the outward forms in which a simple, unreasoning, child-like faith has wrought out its apprehension "of things hoped for" and "things not seen," in the language of holy song. They give utterance to the "powers of the world to come." Hence the true believer in every age responds to them from the depths of his heart. Freely he pours forth his individual longings, joys and sorrows in the very words which, because they breathe the true spirit of Christian worship, are equally adapted to the inmost wants of the people of God in all ages of the world.

Such are the hymns our fathers sang; and such hymns the Church will sing so long as she possesses their spirit. But so soon as a metaphysical theology supplants a sound christology—so soon as an unchurchly habit of Christian

life takes the place of one that is churchly, a sense of contradiction will manifest itself. A churchly hymnology does not suit an unchurchly mind. Yet the old devotional hymns and the old tunes may hold their places in books and in worhsip long after the peculiar life from which they sprang has died out; for there is a secret power in the classic forms of sacred song which no class of Christians can entirely resist. But as the unchurchly tendency becomes more general and intense, the old hymns and tunes, become less and less congenial, and, with some exceptions, are either changed or set aside; and a different kind of music and hymns are introduced.

This has been the experience of the American Church. For the last decade or two one Collection of Church music has been following another in rapid succession. But they are not what they profess to be. They do not contain *Church* music. The hymn-tunes and anthems are generally ill-fitted for the people and still less fitted for the sanctuary. Light, airy, fantastic, sentimental scraps from the opera, pruned of a few grace notes and cut to suit the measure of "Old Hundred" or "Mear," they lose the beauty which they possess in the concert-room without gaining any of the features characteristic of sacred music. The old chorals, so full of devotional feeling, are very generally thrown aside; or if retained, they are so mutilated in the attempt to adapt them to the times, that they can scarcely be recognized any longer. The result is a collection of hymns and set tunes which, if skillfully sung by a trained choir, may do to entertain an audience for a short time on a Sunday, but are by no means able to bear heavenward the praises of God's people. They are of the earth, earthy.

"Music is a kind of language by which the heart expresses its feelings and emotions. Every style is an embodiment of a peculiar spirit. There is a style suited to the ball-room; another to the battle-field; another to the Church. To transfer to the Church any style which is only suited to the world—on the ground of Wesley's re-

remark, that the Devil ought not to have all the good tunes —is to manifest a total want of true Church feeling. 'Old Dog Tray' and 'Annie Laurie,' however good in their place, can never become a permanent substitute for the hymns of praise our fathers sang. And yet in one form or another they are constantly being substituted. The spirit of song in the Church of the present day is widely different from the spirit of song in the Church of the past. Only think of the tune of 'Katy Darling' or 'Lily Dale,' or the tune of the negro song 'Susanna,' being sung to solemn words in the presence of Luther! and that, too, in the House of God! Why, he would have chanted the old Gregorian strains the remainder of his life by way of penance."

An unchristological theology has begotten an unchurchly spirit. And our unchurchly age has given birth to unchurchly music. This is coming to be more and more felt. The more earnest and pious portion of Christians have not been, and can not be, satisfied with the unmeaning, flippant style of our prevailing Church music, performed, in Romish style, by the choir to the exclusion of the people. And as sounder views of Christ and of public worship become more general, the feeling of dissatisfaction will become deeper and stronger. Already is the desire awakened to revive congregational singing, and return to the old standard airs; and it is steadily increasing. There is a deep sense of the want of a style of Church music, that is higher, purer and more devotional.

The *Cantate Domino*, or Collection of Chants, Hymns, and Tunes, adapted to Church Service, by Dr. Lewis H. Steiner and Professor Schwing, is an earnest response to this general sense of want. And it affords us much pleasure to add, it is as successful as earnest.

The chief and fundamental excellence of the book is, that it proceeds upon the true principle of sacred song. It is objective; not subjective. The objective element is the ruling element; and subjective sentiments and emotions are held in proper subordination to it. All approach to

God, whether in prayer or praise, has its only warrant in His infinite grace. God has come down from Heaven in the person of Christ to miserable sinners; has embraced them with the "everlasting arms" of mercy; and in loving kindness drawn them to His paternal heart. The eye of faith beholds the glory of God. It beholds the eternal Son born of a Virgin, teaching and suffering persecution, working miracles, agonizing in Gethsemane, dying on the cross for the sins of the world, and descending amid the triumphs of wicked men and devils into the darkness of the tomb. It beholds Him bursting asunder the bands of death, ascending to Heaven, sitting at the right hand of God "Head over all things to the Church," and pouring out the Holy Ghost accompanied with many signs and wonders. Faith sees Him who is invisible in His suffering Church, ruling, defending, guiding and comforting her, as the Bride of the Lamb, in all the terrible conflicts and sorrows of her earthly pilgrimage—sees Him presenting her in that great and notable day of the Lord, "to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing." Looking thus by faith "at the things which are not seen" as certain and glorious realities, the Christian heart breaks forth spontaneously into singing: "Bless the Lord, O my soul: and all that is within me bless His holy name." "Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." The Christian sings of Jesus Christ; not of himself. He sings of the Church, the mystical body of Christ, her sufferings and triumphs, past, present and future; and not of human associations, human experiences, human notions, or the natural world. On this principle the Cantate Domino is constructed. The proper objects of adoration, thanksgiving and praise, constitute the rich themes of its sacred songs. And as these objects all centre in Christ, the person of Christ becomes the ruling idea of the book.

But its objective character does no violence to the claims of the subjective side of the Christian life. Just the reverse. It is the constant beholding of the Lamb of God in

His humiliation and glory, that awakens the liveliest sense of sin and the most earnest hungering and thirsting after righteousness. It is seeing Him, that stirs the deepest depths of the soul. The feelings of the believer are, therefore, never so profound and intense as when Jesus Christ is kept steadily before the eye of the mind. And never does the believing heart enjoy so free, unrestrained, and transporting an expression of all its emotions of sorrow and joy, as when, borne upward in divine strains, it forgets itself, and is lost in the contemplation of the transcendentally glorious *objects* of faith. We find, accordingly, the fullest justice done to the inner demands of the *subjects* of grace by the objective principle as it rules in this new Collection of hymns and tunes.

The book consists of two parts. The first is prepared with special reference to the needs of the new Liturgy published for the use of the German Reformed Church. It consists of the Sentences, inspired Hymns, Canticles, Creeds, in a word, of all those parts of the Liturgy which may be chanted or sung, set to music of the highest order. Indeed the whole work seems to have grown out of the special wants which the use of the Liturgy has created; and may be regarded as the spirit of this new Book of Christian Worship embodied in the form of music.

The Second Part consists of a choice collection of *three hundred and eighteen* Hymns. These have been selected mainly, as was most natural, from the hymnological literature of the English language. The selection is made with fine poetic taste, and nice appreciation of hymnological excellence. A sound objective tendency, as we may call it, rules, with a few exceptions, throughout;* in full harmony with the Creeds, Canticles and inspired Hymns of the First Part. The Person of our Lord Jesus Christ is the touch-stone of merit. He is Himself the great theme

* An exception to the general catholic character of the Hymns is the *Stabat Mater*, of which we have a translation (Hymn 276) from the pen of an accomplished poetess, the daughter of an eminent Presbyterian clergyman, from which, however, all objectionable features have been removed.

of holy song. Yet contrition of heart, humble trust in the crucified but risen Saviour, hope, joy, heavenly aspiration and all the emotions of the divine life in the soul, utter themselves in most appropriate forms of expression.

To these are added some admirable translations from the old Latin Hymns and German chorals, which of late the great activity in hymnological literature has produced. Among these, those furnished by Caswall and Alexander* are worthy of note. There is one from the Latin, on "The Cross of Christ," by Mr. Harbaugh; and several from the Latin and German by Professor T. C. Porter. There is a rich original sacramental Hymn by Rev. A. C. Coxe (53): "Body of Jesus, oh sweet food." With profound reverence for the past, the Editors combine an appreciative regard for what is good in the present.

Among the contributions by Professor Porter, is a new metrical version (301) of the Te Deum Laudamus, which, for literal rendering, rythm and easy versification, possesses great excellence. We believe that we do our readers a service by giving the Hymn in full.

1. Thee, O God, we humbly praise,
   Thee as Lord and King confessing;
   All the earth its homage pays—
   Honor, power, glory, blessing,
   Ever giveth unto Thee,
   Father of eternity.

2. All the angels join the hymn,
   All the powers of Heaven replying,
   Cherubim to Seraphim,
   With unwearied voices crying:
   Holy, Holy, Holy Lord,
   God of Hosts, be Thou adored.

3. Thee, the Apostles' glorious choir,
   Prophets ranked in goodly number,
   Martyrs robed in white attire,
   Praise, and never sleep nor slumber,

* In Dr. Alexander's translation of Paul Gerhard's Passion Hymn: "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," (263) we are sorry to see an unfortunate blunpor transferred from the new Liturgy. The ninth stanza is printed in *two* different translations, whilst the tenth is omitted.

Loud their hallelujahs rise
Rolling through the vaulted skies.

4. Father, Thee, the Church doth own,
Wide through every land and nation,
With Thy true and only Son,
Worthy of all adoration,
And the Holy Spirit—her
Everlasting Comforter.

5. King, O Christ, ere time began
In the Father's glory reigning,
Thou, to rescue fallen man
Neither birth nor death disdaining,
Hast to all believers given
Entrance through the gate of Heaven.

6. Seated now at God's right hand,
Thou shalt come as Judge. Before Thee,
When the quick and dead shall stand,
Help Thy servants, we implore Thee;
Make them with Thy saints to shine,
In eternal glory Thine.

7. Save Thy people, Lord, we pray;
Bless Thy heritage forever;
Rule and lift them up alway;
Thee we magnify, and never
Cease to praise Thy holy name,
Through all ages still the same.

8. Lord, this day, from every ill
Guard us till the evening closes;
Lord have mercy on us still,
As in Thee our hope reposes;
All my trust is stayed on Thee,
Let me ne'er confounded be.

The book is a collection of *Tunes* as well as of Chants and Hymns. In this respect it is a return to the old and better custom of our German fathers, of printing music with the hymns—an idea which the English Churches of this country have seized in advance of us. Henry Ward Beecher has adopted the principle in his "Plymouth Collection"—a good book. It is time for the German Churches to be waking up to a sense of what they have lost by allowing a foreign element to rule out a principle so impor-

tant to congregational singing. And undoubtedly they have only *lost* much and gained nothing by the change.

The English Churches* are generally mute. The people have no voice to praise God. And the German Churches are growing mute too. Old and young are disposed to sit and listen with closed lips to a performance by the choir. One cause of this is the fact, that the people have the hymn in their hands, but no music. Many cannot sing, even if they would. Give them music well adapted to the hymns, and congregational singing—so indispensable and solemn a part of divine worship—may soon be revived, with due attention by the Pastor and care on the part of a choir.

The old arrangement has another great advantage over the prevailing one. We get music adapted to the hymns. Each answers to the other; and singing produces its proper effect; for a tune only reaches its true power when rightly "married to immortal verse;" and the hymn, when it finds the tune that brings out its full expression. According to the prevailing custom, what congregation, even with a judicious leader of a sensible choir, is not liable to have the solemnity of worship marred by a tune which, though good, has no fitness whatever to express the meaning of the hymn. We thank the enterprising Editors for reviving an arrangement which is founded in the nature of things as well as on the judgment of our fathers; and must, therefore, sooner or later, assert its claim to general regard.

Of the music we are unable to judge. But we have requested a gentleman of fine musical talent and scientific knowledge of the subject, to give us his opinion in writing, which we subjoin, and commend to the confidence of our readers.

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* Even our Episcopal brethren—if they will permit us to call them such—though many of them arrogate so much of the true Church to themselves that they do not allow the name to their poor fellow Christians, form no exception to the *unchurchly* practice. They pray daily: "O Lord open thou our lips; and our mouth shall show forth thy praise;" yet the *ecclesia*,—or church—the *assembly* of the people, does not open its mouth in hymns of praise. Generally, the *praise* of God is conducted, as among other denominations, by proxy.

"The *Cantate Domino* is vastly superior to most music-books published in this country. Of course, the best music of the old world is republished here. It is not to this I refer, but to our common books of Church music, the number of which almost every music teacher considers it his special duty to increase. The amount of trash in this form is beyond conception. We have a few really meritorious works. The great majority, however, are utterly worthless as far as regards Church purposes. The hymn-tunes which they contain, are for the most part unmeaning. A single glance at them is enough to produce nausea in any one acquainted with the higher principles of the science. Of melody, there is none, and where anything more is attempted than a combination of the simplest chords, there is no harmony, but rather a series of the grossest violations of laws which are as binding in music, as the laws of language are in poetry. Many of our musical authors seem, to judge from their productions, not to have got beyond the precincts of the country Singing-school.

Not so Professor Schwing. His original contributions to the *Cantate Domino* will bear the closest scrutiny. He shows himself a perfect master of his science. It is not every one who can express his feelings in the form of music. The true musician, like the poet, is born. Of course, any man can string together notes which will have some kind of sound; but in most cases they will be as destitute of soul, as the babbling of the parrot is destitute of thought. After a pretty thorough examination of the *Cantate Domino*, I have no recollection of an unmeaning strain. The music from first to last is of the highest order. Indeed, it is refreshing to turn from the insipid *stuff* so often inflicted upon the musical world, to compositions so excellent as, for example, the three Sentences with which this work opens. They remind me of the noble strains of such masters as Mozart and Heydn in their Masses.

"It is unnecessary to enter into details. We shall simply indicate a few of such pieces as are particularly meri-

torious. 'The Lord is in His holy Temple' is good throughout. The fugue which is inwoven into it is artistic. The fugue,—that is, the constant recurrence of the same theme, in different voices and in different keys,—is a feature seldom seen in our music-books, unless in a selection from foreign composition; and yet it is this which adds so great a charm to the Choruses of Handel's Messiah, for example, or Haydn's Creation. Whilst the unity of idea is retained by the repetition of the same strain, there is a pleasing variety in the change of keys through which the strain is made to run. It is a source of unbounded effect in the hands of a skillful composer. 'Oh! come let us sing' is majestic; the passage, 'For the Lord is a great God,' &c, down to the closing strain, is particularly fine. If well sung, with a full organ accompaniment, it would be magnificent. 'O! come let us worship' may be pointed out for the sweet flow of its melody, which so well expresses the sense of the words. The Apostles' Creed is arranged to be sung. In our judgment, it should, like the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, be chanted. True, the air to which it is set has much of the freedom of the chant; still it is measured, and seems to render the repetition too mechanical. The music itself is worthy of praise. 'Gloria Patri,' No. 1, flows majestically. There is a typographical error, however, in the text. Where the words, 'As it was,' &c., occur, the second time, the prevailing chord is *B flat seventh*, and yet *A*, in the alto, is *natural*, producing an extremely harsh discord, which the ear must tolerate through a whole measure. It is, doubtless a misprint, *A flat* being necessary as a preparation for the chord of *E flat* in the next measure. 'Te Deum,' No. 2, is one of the best compositions in the book. The special emphasis which the word 'Lord,' at the close of the first strain, receives, from its peculiar position, is an artistic touch. But we specify no more. We had intended to furnish a criticism of the Second Part, but deem it altogether unnecessary."

The tunes of the Second Part are the sterling, standard airs of the past and present, all of which are adapted to

the purposes of Church worship. Indeed we know of but few old tunes that are wanting; whilst the unmeaning airs that now so generally afflict the sentuary are carefully excluded.

Some of the music in both Parts of the book is too difficult for the majority of congregations, perhaps for all. This, however, is no objection to the book. A book of hymns and tunes for public worship ought not to come down to the level of the musical ability of the mass of the people or even to that of the majority of choirs; but it should be judiciously constructed according to what is acknowledged to be the true standard of Church music; and then choirs, children and congregations should be educated and trained according to this standard. Just as we train children to read, to say the Apostles' Creed, to repeat the Catechism intelligently, and offer Christian prayers, so should we train them to sing the best music—music that will give suitable, solemn and elevated expression to the manifold themes of Christian thanksgiving and praise.

The principal objection we have to the book is the confusion of subjects in the Second Part. Had the order been followed which is given in the "Index of subjects," it would have gained very much. But it is alleged as a reason for the confusion by one of the gentlemen who have "given most acceptable and valuable assistance" in the preparation of the book, that the necessity of printing the tune and the hymn together on the same page, offered an insuperable obstacle to following an order of subjects. If the reason be valid, it appears that the least of two evils has been chosen.

Taken as a whole, we regard the *Cantate Domino* as a work of extraordinary merit. The music is of the highest order. It is skillfully adapted to different occasions, and to the endless variety of themes of sacred song. The Hymns have been selected on a principle that is purely Christian, and with nice critical discrimination. A living combination of these essential elements, it commends itself to general acceptance among all denominations. So much

of the good and old and rich English, German and Latin hymnology, with the best music of the Christian Church is now made available for the first time to the English public. E. V. G.

ART. IX.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST, in Chronological Tables; a Synchronistic View of the Events, Characteristics and Culture of each Period, including the History of Polity, Worship, Literature and Doctrines, together with Two Supplementary Tables upon the Church in America; and an Appendix containing the Series of Councils, Popes, Patriarchs, and other Bishops, and a Full Index, by Henry B. Smith, D. D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary of the city of New York. One Vol. folio. Price 6.00.

This is a work of immense labor, and a *momentum aere perennius* both to the esteemed author and to American scholarship. It is decidedly superior as to fullness of contents and beauty of typographical execution to the German works of the kind by Vater, Danz, Lange, Vorländer and Hagenbach, and also to the Oxford Chronological Tables of general history. It shows what American scholarship thoroughly trained in the German schools, can accomplish. I am sure if the late Dr. Gieseler had seen this book, he would not have written such foolish things of America, as those paragraphs in his last posthumous volume, which Dr. Add. Alexander recently translated for the amusement of the readers of the Princeton Review. Dr. Smith has done good service by his able revision of Davidson's Gieseler, but we thank him far more for this independent work. The last two Tables (XV and XVI) on the American Church History are especially valuable and condense an immense amount of information, relating to all the leading denominations, noticing even our Synod at Frederick, our new Liturgy and German Hymn book, Bomberger's Encyclopedia, Harbaugh's Future Life and Fathers of the German Reformed Church, etc., etc. The Appendix contains Chronological Lists of Councils, oecumenical, provincial, Greek, Roman, and Protestant; of Popes and Antipopes; of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople; of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of London; the present incumbents

of British and American sees; and the moderators of the General Assembly of the Old and New School Presbyterian Churches down to 1858. We have noticed several inaccuracies in names, dates and facts; but it would be almost pedantic even to mention them in a work of such intrinsic difficulty and such general reliableness. We only regret that the price, although very cheap in proportion to the value, the amount of labor and the uncommon expense of composition and mechanical outfit, places it beyond the reach of the ordinary theological student, to whom it would be of the greatest service as a book of constant reference. As such we commend it most heartily to all our readers who can afford to buy it. We append the publisher's notice, which gives, without exaggeration, a very clear statement of the contents and object of this great book.

"This work is an attempt to combine the advantages of a Manual and of Sychronistic Tables. It is a digest of Church History on the basis of the best treatises, and so arranged as to be convenient for study and reference.

No work of the kind has ever before been published in this country, and it is believed to be the most complete manual of Church History ever published, bringing the subject down to the present time, and containing the matter of several octavo volumes, so arranged as by help of the Index to be perfectly at the command of every intelligent person. It affords advantages of studying History by the Synchronistic method, by which all cotemporary subjects are brought together in their true relations.

The whole History of the Christian Church, ancient, mediæval and modern, is divided into Six General Periods, and subdivided into Sixteen Tables. Each Table occupies four folio pages, with exception of the 14th and 16th, which extend to five. The headings of each Table give, in a concise form, the main points that distinguish the period and the Table. The first column in each Table describes the Characteristics of the epoch; the second gives an outline of its Secular History, and the third is devoted to Literature and Culture. These three columns are an open introduction to the Ecclesiastical History, which is next exhibited in ten or twelve columns, each one of which comprises a distinct department of the history,—the whole Table synchronizing the History of the Church in different countries, and also its Literature, Polity, Worship, Discipline, Doctrines and Heresies.

Two Supplementary Tables are devoted to the History of the Church in America, from its first colonization. This has never before been attempted either in chronological tables or in the general histories of the Church. The history of each branch of the American Church is exhibited with a somewhat disproportionate fullness, in the hope of making a useful book

for ministers and students in all branches of the Christian Church. Here may also be found a summary of our chief ecclesiastical and doctrinal controversies, and a full bibliography of each denomination.

The General Index has more than 20,000 references. The whole work has the matter of four large octavo volumes.

The present statistics of the Church, in all its branches and denominations, are given according to the latest and best authorities.

These Chronological Tables are designed to be not merely a book of references, but also a manual for study and review. Thus, the first column in each Table, read consecutively, gives an outline of Church History under its general aspects and relations. In the same way, the columns on Literature, Polity, Doctrine, and Worship, contain a condensed history of these subjects, complete in itself."

P. S.

THE DIVINE HUMAN IN THE SCRIPTURES. By Tayler Lewis, LL. D., Prof. of Greek in Union College. New York: Robert Carter & Brotners.

Having just received this book from the respected author, we are hardly prepared for more than a very brief notice. Dr. Lewis is an eminent classical and Biblical scholar, and one of the strongest thinkers and ablest writers in this country. His contributions to this Review, though, like angel's visits, few and far between, are among the very best. A new work from his pen must excite attention and will be examined with respectful interest.

The one before us seems to be behind none of its predecessors from the same source. It treats of a subject of universal and vital importance. It is a fresh and vigorous argument for the divine inspiration and authority of the Scriptures from a point of view which is rather uncommon among our divines, but true and important in itself, and better calculated perhaps to meet the objections of modern infidelity than the old fashioned inspiration theory, which looks so exclusively at the divine agency as to resolve the human element in the Scriptures almost into a Gnostic delusion, like the consecrated bread and wine according to the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. We must believe in the *incarnation*, not only of the living Logos, but also of the spoken Word of God. It has assumed human flesh and blood, has a human body, soul and spirit. But from this veil of humanity shines forth the glory of divine, eternal and unerring truth. The perfect humanity of the Scriptures is a proof of their divinity. In this respect there is a parallel between the true doctrine of the Bible or the written Word, and the doctrine of Christ, the living Word of God. This is

not so stated by Dr. Lewis. But it would be easy to use his book for this purpose. It reminds us of the recent successful attempts of Ullmann (Sinlessness of Jesus), Young (The Christ of History), Bushnell (in the beautiful Christological chapters of his work on Nature and the Supernatural), and others, to construct from the unique perfection of Christ's humanity, in midst of a sinful and fallen race, a strong argument for his divine character. The notes contain some good specimens of exegesis.

P. S.

POEMS. By Henry Harbaugh. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakisten. 1860.

The first poet of the *German* Reformed Church in the *English* language. This is something of an event. Switzerland, the birth-place of the German Reformed Church and of Mr. Harbaugh's ancestors, is itself a magnificent poem, whether we look at the unrivalled beauty of its nature, or the rich traditions of its history. Zwingli was by no means opposed to art, as he is sometimes falsely represented, but was so fond of poetry and music, that the Papists called him the "evangelische Lautenschläger." His wife, after his heroic death on the battle-field of Cappel, gave utterance to her intense grief in a most touching poem. Next to the Lutheran Church, no denomination of Christians has so many and so distinguished hymn-writers as the German Reformed We need only mention the names of Johann Zwick, Joachim Neander (the author of the universal favorite: "Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren"), Louise Henriette, Electress of Brandenburg, (authoress of the celebrated Easter and resurrection hymn: "Jesus, meine Zuversicht"), Lampe, Tersteegen, Annoni, Zollikofer, Pauli, Lavater, Adolphus Krummacher and his son Frederick William, Hagenbach, G. P. Lange and Mrs. Meta Heusser-Schweizer, whom a celebrated Lutheran hymnologist calls the most gifted female poet of the German tongue.

That Mr. Harbaugh had the *ingenium poeticum* in him, was apparent long since to every careful reader of his prose works, especially those on the future life, and on the birds of the Bible. His prose is semi-poetic throughout. We were not a little amused the other day in reading the characteristic notice in the "Guardian," from the pen of his neighbor, our excellent friend, Prof W. N., himself a German Reformed poet, though of Scotch descent, who can say acute and smart things in a very innocent and quaint way. "We were apprehensive," he commences, "that it would turn out in this way. A certain rich vein of feeling and easy flow of imagination had we long ago observed in the prose writings of our author, which we feared, in the end, would burst forth into poetry. A dispo-

sition in him for some time had we remarked, with some concern, to introduce into his essays and other writings, as if merely to illustrate or embellish some of his thoughts, choice passages taken from the best old English and German poets, which, however, showed too plainly what was the natural bent of his mind, and with what sort of writings he was pleased. Nay, in the "Guardian," from its first appearance, little poetical pieces of his own had we been in the habit of observing every month, as it came out, few at first and far between, indeed, and as we thought, inserted merely for filling up some odd spaces; but, at length, we saw them swelling out into whole poems, extending sometimes over several pages. We were not taken aback, then, by this final enunciation. We had seen the determined tendency long before. We knew that this would be the end of it."

We confess to a similar want of surprise. The appearance of a volume of Poems by the Rev. H. Harbaugh, was to us simply a question of time. It had to come sooner or later by an unavoidable necessity. The bird will sing, and the poet will write poems, and if he finds a publisher, he will publish also, or others will publish him.

We have before us genuine lyric effusions, some of them of more than ordinary beauty and merit, all animated by a lovely spirit, which associates beauty with truth and goodness and makes this triad the worshipping handmaid of religion. Two or three pieces on page 191, 194, and 55, are fit to go into a hymn book without alteration.

As to originality of thought and artistic execution, the *Mystic Weaver* is the best and forms the ornamental doorgate to this flower garden. The management of metre and rhyme would do credit even to Tennyson, the poet laureate of England. There is music, the music of the mysterious weaving process of history in it, as Goethe says: "How all weaves itself into the whole; one works and lives in the other. How heavenly powers ascend and descend, and reach each other the golden buckets,—on bliss-exhaling pinions, press from heaven through earth, all ringing harmoniously through the All?" The poem, when we first read it in the "Guardian," and then in the "Mercersburg Review," reminded us at once of the *Erdgeist* in Goethe's Faust and struck us as a commentary on the words:

> "In Lebensfluthen, im Thatensturm
> Wall' ich auf und ab,
> Webe hin und her!
> Geburt und Grab
> Ein ewig Meer,
> Ein wechselnd Weben,
> Ein glühend Leben,
> So schaff ich am sausenden Webestuhl der Zeit,
> Und wirke der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid."

Several pieces, as the Aged Elm, the Roses, the Song of the Trees, betray that deep love of nature and sympathy with its life, which always characterize the true poet. Then we have genuine home-pictures, such as the Summer Visit to Grandpa and Grandma in Lewisburg, while the father sits in the study at Lancaster, anxiously waiting for the "fuss of the omnibus" and the kisses of returning wife and children. Quite a number (p. 21, 24, 29, 49, 110, 166, 196, 230), fall in admirably with the author's well known prose works on the future life, they are *Heimwehklänge* and *Heimathgrüsse*, the songs of a pilgrim who delights to meditate during his journey through the desert, on the beauties and enjoyments of the Heavenly Home, and is sure to get there by the grace of God.

Of the traslations at the close of the volume, we were especially pleased with Bonaventura's Passion hymn: *Recordare sanctae crucis*, which equals in merit the version of the late lamented Dr. James W. Alexander, as published in the Mercersburg Review, and with the elegy of Claudius, the so called Wandsbecker Bote, on the grave of his father, which retains here the touching simplicity and truthfulness of the original. But we can hardly conceive why he should have closed with a translation of what he unjustly calls "the *favorite* German hymn, Im Grabe ist Ruh." It is indeed found in many American, but in no good European German hymn book, and not even Knapp's Liederschatz, which contains over three thousand hymns, nor in Lange's, or in any other larger collection. It can hardly be called a hymn at all; the name of Christ is not even mentioned or distantly alluded to; it is at best a lyric poem, a sentimental effusion on the supposed rest of the grave for all men, such as a Deist or Rationalist could write and endorse. Out of Christ, the resurrection and the life, the immortality of the soul is a mere terror, and the grave of the body the gate to the land of curse. This the esteemed author knows as well as we. But he read the poem through Christian spectacles, when in fact it conveys no more than the delusive comfort of natural religion like the famous "Das Grab ist tief und stille," by Salis, which was likewise received into some sentimental hymn books, and which, as a lyric poem of deep feeling, admirably expressed, is far superior to the one here translated, especially the last stanzas. (we quote from memory):

"Doch sonst an keinem Orte
Wohnt die ersehnte Ruh',
Nur durch die dunkle Pforte
Geht man der Heimath zu.

Das arme Herz hienieden,
Von manchem Sturm bewegt,
Erlangt den wahren Frieden
Nur, wo es nicht mehr schlägt."

Now, we knew Sallis personally, we often saw him when a boy in our native place where he resided, and walked about twenty miles to his funeral at Seewis, in cold January, 1834, from mere admiration of his poems. But at the time when he wrote the above lines, he knew, like his friend Matthisson, only the airy and sentimental religion of nature, not of divine grace. As the German hymnology is especially rich in *Pilger-, Grab- and Sterbeliedern*, we confess we would greatly prefer to see another translation at the close of this beautiful volume as a finger-board pointing from the poetry of earth to the poetry of heaven,

Harbaugh's Poems will find a hearty welcome in many families in and outside of the German Reformed Church, and bring spring and sunshine in midst of winter.

P. S.

THE EVANGELICAL PSALMIST: A Collection of Tunes and Hymns for use in Congregational and Social Worship, Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1860.

This beautiful Hymn and Tune-Book was prepared, we understand, by three prominent Lutheran clergymen and offered in manuscript to the General Synod of the Lutheran Church, but on not being accepted at its last meeting in Pittsburg, it is published on private responsibility. We presume that it is a considerable improvement upon its immediate predecessor, which it is intended to supply and complete, if not to supplant. With many similar works which have recently appeared, it betrays a growing interest of the public in one of the most important parts of Christian worship and a desire for a return to the good old system of congregational singing.

Of the literary part of this work we cannot speak as well as we could wish. It may be better in this respect, far better for aught we know, than many other modern hymn books, but it is far from coming up to the true standard of hymnology. It is evidently not an independent critical selection from the primitive sources, but a mere compilation from other hymn-books. The order or arrangement of the contents is illogical and incomplete. We have, for instance, p. 87, under the caption of Works of God, a judgment hymn, and under Providence several morning hymns. No room is made in the Table of Contents for the Christian Festivals, which is certainly doubly objectionable in a Lutheran Hymn Book. There is no section devoted to the Church, but the "Ministry and the Church" together are simply mentioned among the "Means of Grace," and the Means of Grace are made to succeed, instead of preceding the hymns of "Christian Experience."

A more serious defect is the uncritical and unreliable condition of the text, and the absence of the most remote idea of

the sacredness of the original text. We are never sure here whether we have a hymn as it came from the inspiration of the writer to whom it is ascribed. The book may indeed be far superior, in this respect, to the General Synod's Collection which, we are told, presents hardly any hymn in its purity. But nothing short of a return to primitive sources can bring to an end the interminable hymnological confusion which is growing among us every year, as it did in Germany fifty years ago under the reign of rationalism.

We will give a few specimens. On page 52 we have, under the heading, *The Advent of Christ*, the well known hymn of Watts, "Join all the glorious names," which is no advent hymn at all, but represents the glory of the exalted Saviour under his threefold official character as prophet, priest and king. But the hymn, as here given, stops with the prophet, and leaves out the priest and king altogether, thus destroying the unity and completeness of the original hymn. As the work proceeds from the Lutheran Church, we hoped to find a good deal of the Anglo-German element introduced here, but we were doomed to disappointment. We have indeed a few translations of German hymns, but all mutilated. Of the *pentecostal* hymn of Schirmer: "O heil'ger Geist," etc., p. 181, which is here improperly arranged under *Trials*, four stanzas are lopped off like dead branches, and the others transposed. The admirable tune is retained, but under the improper name of Schirmer; it should rather be called Nicolai, who composed it to his famous hymn: "Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern," sixty years before Schirmer wrote his hymn to the same choral. Hymn 95 is falsely called "Luther's Hymn." The tune is the familiar German choral: "Est ist das Heil uns kommen her," by Paul Speratus, and the hymn is a translation of Gellert's "Wenn ich, o Schöpfer, deine Macht," taken, without credit, from Henry Mills' *Horae Germanicae* (No. 1), but likewise mutilated by omitting v. 1 & 4, so that one cannot recognize it from its beginning. Hymn 194 is a mutilation of the late Dr. James W. Alexander's elegant translation of P. Gerhart's noble passion hymn: "O sacred Head now (not *once* as the book changes for the worse) wounded," 5 stanzas being omitted altogether and the rest arbitrarily altered. Hymn 550 is a translation of Liebich's "God ist getreu," taken likewise from Mills' (Horae Germanicae p. 129), but with a serious blunder in the very first line (*Then* he will ne'er forsake, for *Them*), and an omission of no less than six stanzas, all of which might have been borrowed from Mills, who gives the hymn complete. These are fair specimens of the superficial and unscrupulous manner in which hymn books are manufactured now a days.

The above are all the hymns from the German. Luther's "Ein' feste Burg," of which there are so many translations, we

looked for in vain. No. 48 is falsely ascribed to Luther; it is from Ambrose and was translated into the German by Sal. Frank. The two series of Miss Cath. Winkworth's *Lyra Germanica*, The *Hymns from the Land of Luther*, *Massie's* Spiritual Songs of Luther, and similar modern hymnological works, not to speak of the large critical collections of Rambach, Bunsen, Daniel, Wackernagel, etc., etc., seem to have escaped the attention of the compilers altogether. But enough of the literary part which we expected to be far superior when we first saw the book.

We can speak more favorably of the musical part. Many of the tunes, it is true, lack simplicity and will hardly pass into congregational use. Music designed for public worship, should be of the most simple character, and never admits of difficult intervals. No melody for the people should pass above D (G clef). Triple time is unsuited to congregational singing, and should not be employed. Next to its great solemnity nothing has contributed so much to the popularity of "Old Hundred" (in this book ascribed to Luther, but certainly older and dating from the Middle Ages) as the fact that its key (generally G) time (2-2) and melody are such that the *people* can sing it. We have the finest examples of good Church music in the chorals in use in the Churches of Germany. Nothing can exceed the simplicity of these admirable tunes; and still they are never feeble, trifling or insipid. They are full of meaning, spirit and devotion. They are the tunes which a devout people will use in singing the praise of the Most High. In the volume before us, we notice a few of this class, prëeminent among which stand 'Old Hundred,' and what is improperly designated 'Schirmer.' Why are not more of them introduced to the American public? Dr. Heiner's recent work, noticed in another part of this number, has made much better use of the rich German sources.

The chants are the most interesting features of the book. They are all that could be desired. Many of the Psalms and primitive Christian hymns, the Magnificat, the Trisagion, the Gloria, the Te Deum, etc., are arranged for chanting. It is to be hoped that they may grow into popular use, and that, in this respect, we may revive the worship of the primitive Church. The anthems are quite excellent; some of them are classic. Our only regret is that they are so few.

The typographical execution, paper and binding, are most elegant and highly creditable to the publishers.

J. B. K.

DE TURCARUM LINGUAE INDOLE AC NATURA. Scripsit. F. L. C. Roehrig. Philadelphiae: MDCCCLX. pp. 30.

In this little treatise, written in a happy Latin style, the author sets forth a plea for the study of the Turkish language, which, he thinks, has always been too much neglected. Many languages, independent of their literature, are well deserving of being thoroughly studied on other accounts. To say nothing of the mental discipline required in their attainment, by searching, moreover, into the etymology of their words, a new light is often thrown upon the science of ethnology, and, by examining into the structure of their sentences, is reached a more intimate acquaintance with some of the laws of mind. Hitherto have philologists bestowed their attention almost exclusively upon that family of languages called the Indo-Germanic, to the great neglect of the Tartaric, which, though its literature is not so rich, it is true, yet is its philology equally interesting and important. Upon the study of the Turkish language, which belongs to the Tartaric, no one can enter without coming immediately into contact with some of the characteristics of this family.

Not in its words separately taken, as we meet with them in a lexicon, is the life and spirit of a language to be discovered, of course, but through the various modifications and positions of these as they are used in current discourse. In treating then of the nature and genius of the Turkish language, our writer has not so much to do with the derivation of its terms as with their peculiar modifications and arrangement. From a language, in time, may many of its words fall out, and into its nomenclature may many new and foreign ones be introduced, but, as long as its peculiar modes of inflexion and construction are preserved, its life remains uninjured. These the language cannot cast away, but must sooner perish than suffer any changes in these to be wrought upon it from abroad. Though for eighteen hundred years, in Spain, did the Arabs rule supreme, yet could they not destroy, of the Spanish and Portugese languages, the peculiar structure; nor could the Normans, though becoming one people with the English, ever prevent the language of the latter from keeping its Germanic soul. Though the Turks too owe to the Persians all their learning and hold with the Arabs a common religion, and, of course, have received into their use many of the words of both, yet do they still preserve in their language its characteristic structure.

What strikes us as a peculiarity in the Turkish language, as differing from those of the Indo-Germanic family, is that, in the declension of its nouns, to the stems, which remain unchanged throughout, the terminations, denoting the cases and numbers, so far as used, are added on to them so loosely that

they cannot be said to *cohere* but merely to *adhere*. Not unfrequently are they written as separate words. In the same way prepositions do not stand before their nouns but after them; on which account, rather than *pre*positions, should they be called *post*positions. Likewise in the inflexion of verbs the stems stand always first and then the various conditions or modifications of the verb, which are very extensive, including not only potential, causal, reciprocal, and passive, but also negative forms, which in our language are expressed by adverbs, or reflexive pronouns separately placed, or by auxiliary verbs, in the Turkish language are designated by certain peculiar syllables attached to the stem itself, in the same loose way as are the endings to the nouns. The infinitive present, for instance, ends in *mak* or *mek*. Take this off and you have the imperative mood, which is the stem of the verb. Between this termination *mak* or *mek* and the stem are to be inserted the modifying syllables. Thus:

Bakmak means *to observe.*

Negative Form: *Bak-*MA*mak, Observe not to.*
*Bak-*AMA*mak, Observe able to be not to.*
Transitive: *Bak-*DIR*mak, Observe make some one to.*
*Bak-*DIRMA*mak, Observe make some one not to.*
Passive: *Bak-*IL*mak, Observed be to.*
*Bak-*ILMA*mak, Observed be not to.*
Reflexive; *Bak-*IN*mak, Observe one's self to, &c.*

Thus a conjugation rendered literally into English, as above, would very much resemble a running alphabetical index. In the syntax, on the other hand, every word defining another more accurately is placed before it, with hardly an exception. Not only to the location of adjectives before their substances, of genitives before the nouns they limit, of the object before the verb that governs it, does this apply, but even to the relative, which is preceded by the other words of its own clause, and thus further separated from its antecedent. Without conjunctions this language is very concise. With perfect ease can its words be resolved into their elements, and, therefore, it is admirably adapted for showing us something of the philosophy of language in general and the laws of thought. The writer tells us a great deal more about it in a little space, but having just excited our interest and curiosity he stops short. I fear he has something of the trick of tale tellers about him, who publish in the papers just the first chapter of their tales and then refer us to other sources. If we wish to prosecute the study of this language further, we must apply ourselves diligently to its grammar and lexicon or write for information and instruction to the author. His address is F. L. O. *Roehrig, Teacher of Languages, Letter Box* 2238, Post office, Philadelphia.

W. M. N.

DEUTSCHES GESANGBUCH. Eine Auswahl Geistlicher Lieder aus allen Zeiten der christlichen Kirche. Nach den besten hymnologischen Quellen bearbeitet und mit erläuternden Bemerkungen über die Verfasser, den Inhalt und die Geschichte der Lieder versehen. Mit kirchlicher Genehmigung. Philadelphia: Lindsay und Blakiston. Schaefer und Koradi. Berlin: Wiegandt & Grieben. 1859.

It is a coincidence worthy of remark that two hymn-books have appeared in rapid succession in the German Reformed Church, the one in the English, the other in the German language, the one the result of personal energy and enterprize, the other prepared by the authority and direction of the Synods, and both in harmony with the devotional spirit of the Provisional Liturgy. Such a degree of activity looking towards the improvement of public worship, indicates the revival of spiritual life both in the hearts of the people and in the counsels of the highest judicatories of the Church.

This *Gesangbuch* has been prepared by a Committee of the Synod, the Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff being Chairman; and was adopted by it during its late sessions at Harrisburg. The preliminary action of the Synod appointing the Committee evinces the presence of a want in the Church that is not met by the other German Hymn books extant; and the adoption of the book after careful examination is a cordial approval by the highest ecclesiastical authority of the manner in which the difficult work has been performed. It is a declaration that the work is an advance upon similar publications, and well adapted to the present wants of the German Reformed Church.

Coming to us under such circumstances—originated by the Synod, prepared by a Committee combining an extensive knowledge of the hymnological treasures of all ages and languages with patient industry, critical judgment and literary taste, and then formally approved by the same ecclesiastical authority,—the book must commend itself at once to general respect and confidence. We must approach it with the presumption that it is a production of sound christological substratum, deep devotion and general excellence.

The presumption is justifiable. Can it be sustained? The future history of the book can alone give the best answer to the question. Yet the judgment of individuals meanwhile is not out of place. After a pretty careful study of its contents, we venture to say that it will not disappoint the high expectations of the Church. It is a beautiful collection, made on scientific principles, of the best spiritual hymns of the Church; commanding the resources of Christian hymnology in all languages; and governed throughout by a sound christology, comprehensive knowledge, an acute judgment and a refined taste.

We can not characterize this new Collection in detail; but must confine our notice to its principal merits.

The great excellence of the work is that it understands its mission. It knows what it ought to be. A *sine qua non* this. And whilst it is not perfectly what it would be, it is nevertheless what it professes to be. It professes to be a Hymn-book; and such it is; a book of Christian hymns for Christians of the German tongue. One great recommendation at least. It sings of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost: of the Father as declared by the Son: of the Son as the Son of God and Son of Man in one Person—the Alpha and Omega of revelation: of the Church, and of the faith of His people: of the Holy Ghost as purchased and given by the Son to abide in the Church to the end of time, and testify of Him. And it sings of these inspiring themes in the original order of the Apostles' Creed—an order that is not only logical, but also historical and real.

The book is not doctrinal; it is at no pains to define, and argue for, the faith once delivered to the saints; but it has a doctrinal substratum as solid as granite rock. It is not practical; it does not state and celebrate the duties of godly living; but there pervades it an unction of the Holy Ghost which prompts the unalterable resolution to live and suffer for Jesus Christ. It is not hortatory; it is not its chief end to awaken impenitent sinners; but it breathes so pure a spirit of heartfelt devotion to Jesus Christ that impenitence must feel rebuked and condemn itself, and the sinner, touched as by divine power, is drawn gently but in deep sorrow towards the Cross. It is not polemical; it does not defend the faith against the Devil and Antichrist; but rejoicing in the Lord only, it enkindles the joy of the Lord in the hearts of His people, and the joy of the Lord makes them stronger in body, soul and spirit for the conflict with the world, the flesh and the Devil.

The book has other minor excellencies. It is printed in clear type, on good white paper and in most beautiful style. It limits itself to the moderate number of five hundred hymns. No hymn is mutilated. We have it as it came fresh from the mold. The hymns are critically edited; and provided with interesting and instructive historical notes. For all these good things the Church should be thankful to the Committee and the Publishers. They enhance the value of the work as a scientific and literary production.

But we call them *minor* excellencies; not because they possess little value; but because all the value they do possess is derived from the fact that they are entirely subordinate to the true idea and mission of a Hymn-book for the Church of Christ. Such a subordinate relation these qualities sustain at every point. For this reason, whilst they are in themselves excel-

lencies as qualities of a Hymn-book, they are but minor excellencies. That is the chief excellence without which its scientific order, literary accuracy and external finish would be but trifles. It is in truth a *Gesangbuch:* a collection of spiritual hymns taken from every period of the Christian Church. It is a book of humble confession, and devout thanksgiving, and sublime praise, to the King of kings and Lord of lords: the law, contrition, regeneration, justification, good works, the Church, the sacraments, death, the grave, the resurrection, and the final judgment, all unite their various voices, like the sound of many waters, in ascribing honor and glory to the Lamb that was slain from the foundation of the world.

E. V. G.

MORAL PHILOSOPHY: including Theoretical and Practical Ethics. By Joseph Haven, D. D., Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary; author of "Mental Philosophy." Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859. pp. 366.

This volume, as the author informs us in the Preface, is the result of his studies while Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Amherst College, and was originally prepared as a course of Lectures to the Senior Class in that Institution. It is intended as a sequel to his treatise on Mental Philosophy, published two years ago.

Like its predecessor, the work now issued is based upon extensive reading in the department of philosophy. The author has studied the history of his subject. He occupies a position in consequence, from which he surveys with discriminating judgment the entire field of Ethics. And he thinks as well as reads. Acquainted with the theories which have successively been developed, he reviews them critically, and adopts his own as the result of independent reflection upon the processes of thought by which the present state of the Science has been reached. In addition to his easy, perspicuous and attractive style, these are great merits which we cheerfully accord to Dr. Haven's work.

The scientific and practical value of a work on Moral Philosophy depends, however, upon the answer it gives to the fundamental question: What is *the morally right?* or What is the *ground* of right? Here the work of Dr. Haven is at fault. Rejecting the false theories of Utility and Civil Law, and also the true one which holds the nature of God to be the ultimate principle of Right, he finds the Ground of Right in the Eternal and Immutable Nature of Things—an assumed principle that can have no objective truth, but, if God be God, can exist only as a metaphysical fancy in the mind of man. For, as contradistinguished from the being and character of God, the nature of

things is neither eternal nor immutable; but finite, mutable and temporal.—If time permit, we shall give this interesting subject a more thorough examination in a future number of the Review. E. V. G.

THE LIMITS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT examined in Eight Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, in the year MDCCCLVIII on the Bampton Foundation. By Henry Longueville Mansel., B. D., Reader in Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy at Magdalen College; Tutor and late Fellow of St. John's College. First American from the third London Edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

These Lectures of Professor Mansel have arrested the profound attention of the learned and scientific in England and America. The rapid sale of a work on so abstruse a theme indicates, on the one hand, the living interest taken in the conflict of belief with unbelief, of truth with error, in the sphere of philosophy, and, on the other, the ability and power with which the learned author addresses the thinking mind of the age.

The principal aim of the work is to disarm all infidel philosophy, whether rationalistic or pantheistic, of its weapons of warfare against Christianity, not by argument from the Word of God, nor so much by metaphysical reasoning aimed directly at the hand that wields them, but rather by turning the weapons of speculative unbelief upon its own heart, and thus causing every form of philosophy set in opposition to Christianity to destroy itself. To perform so difficult a task with any degree of success presupposes an acute judgment, thorough knowledge of all leading systems of philosophy, profound thought, and great skill in logical argumentation. These essential requisites the author possesses in an eminent degree. Firmly fixed in the faith of Jesus Christ and His infallible Word, and combining the power of original, comprehensive and logical thinking with an intimate acquaintance with the different ancient and modern systems of philosophic speculation, Prof. Mansel has given to the world a production which, as to its main position, will be of permanent value no less to sound philosophy than to Christian theology.

Yet, though it affords us pleasure to unite with others in bearing decided testimony to the scientific and literary merit of the work, we can nevertheless not refrain from expressing the opinion that the entire argument is invalid. The main position is correct: the human reason, because it must think in finite and relative forms of thought, can not by reflection or intuition rise to a true apprehension of the Absolute and Infinite; and can, therefore, not construct a consistent philosophy of the Absolute and Infinite. The attempt, as he affirms,

is self-contradictory, from beginning to end. But the argument by which the author endeavors to establish this position is, we venture to say, not only illogical, but involves also a method of thought which at bottom is dualistic—a metaphysical error which in its legitimate consequences is as fatal to Christianity as Pantheism itself.

At present we can do no more than venture to criticise the *Limits of Religious Thought* in general terms. We propose to take up this learned work hereafter in a more extended review. In regard to the argument we would only add, that it proceeds on a principle of reasoning which violates the Law of Negation—technically called the Law of Contradiction—a primary and fundamental law of thought. If so, it must be false. This principle is nowhere discussed, nor even named; but, every where silently assumed, it underlies the whole process of argumentation. If valid, the logical structure will stand; if not, it must fall.

E. V. G.

UNITY OF THE SCRIPTURES: A Discourse delivered before the Green County, Ohio, Bible Society, at its Forty-third Anniversary Meeting, Aug. 17th, 1859. By Rev. E. E. Higbee. Nicholas & Fairchild, Xenia, Ohio.

A fresh, vigorous, and solid discourse. The entire train of thought is based upon a sound view of the nature, relations and design of the Sacred Scriptures. The argument, however, goes to establish directly the organic unity of *Christianity*, rather than the organic unity of the *Scriptures*.

Mr. Higbee makes the Incarnation the "controlling centre" of the Christian system. We would think it better to say that that centre is the Person of Christ Himself, who was constituted by the incarnation. The incarnation is indeed primary and fundamental in its relations to Christianity; but He who, in virtue of the wonderful miracle of the incarnation, unites in His Person organically God and Man, is Himself the pivot on which the entire system, which is both supernatural and natural, revolves.

E. V. G.

IGDRASIL; or the Tree of Existence. By James Challen, author of the Cave of Macpelah, and other Poems. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1859.

"Igdrasil—the Ash Tree of Existence—has its roots down in the kingdoms of Hela, or death: its trunk reaches up heaven-high, spreads its boughs over the whole universe: it is the

tree of Existence. * * * Is not every leaf of it a biography, every fibre there an act, a word? Its boughs are histories of nations. The rustle of it is the noise of human existence,—onward from of old."

This extract from Carlyle suggests the general subject of the Poem. The author has a broad theme—that of life or existence under the figure of a Tree. He does not seem to have any particular point of observation from which he surveys the vast organism; but selects topics at will—a root, a branch, a leaf or flower on the great tree—on which he descants in metrical language. The versification is generally smooth; and some of the thoughts are striking; but the Poetry as a whole is ordinary.

The exterior workmanship is a beautiful specimen of the taste and skill for which the publishers are so justly celebrated.

E. V. G.

THE PROTESTANT THEOLOGICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA: being a condensed translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopedia. By Rev. Dr. Bomberger. Part X. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.

The publication of Dr. Bomberger's condensed translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopedia is steadily progressing. Part X carries us as far as *Heliodorus*. Herzog's Encyclopedia is one of the most comprehensive, thorough, critically accurate theological publications of the age. The aim of the translation is to give the marrow of the original; and the difficult undertaking has thus far been crowned with great success.

E. V. G.

ITALY AND THE WAR OF 1859. With Biographical notices of Sovereigns, Statesmen and Military Commanders; Description and Statistics of the Country; causes of the War, &c. By Julie De Marguerittes, author of "The Inns and Outs of Paris," "The Match Girl," etc. With an Introduction by Dr. R. Shelton Mackenzie. With Maps and Portraits. Philadelphia: George G. Evans. 1859.

Very interesting sketches of the principal actors in the Italian War. The book contains also a large amount of valuable information for the popular mind concerning Austria, Sardinia and the other Italian States; but it is not based on any profound views of the great political question that is agitating the five Powers.

E. V. G.

ANNA CLAYTON; or The Inquirer after Truth. By Rev. Francis Marion Dimmick, A. M. Phil. Lindsay and Blakiston, 1859, pp. 427,

This work, in the form of a tale, is devoted to the discussion of a theological question, namely, Baptism. Though written in a popular and easy style, it is earnestly controversial, and enters at all points into the questions at issue between Baptists and Pedo-Baptists. Several popular works, in a similar vein, have been published during late years by Baptist authors; and to these this book is intended to be an antidote from the other side. An extract from the Preface will give the reader the best idea of the immediate occassion, and the nature of the work. "The arguments contained in this work," says the author, "were mainly presented in a series of letters to a sister —Mrs. Diantha Dimmick Reynolds—who was then unsettled on the subjects herein discussed and was seeking how to know the Bible truth of the matter. She was flooded with Baptist documents but was unwilling to endorse their views until she had carefully and inteligently investigated the whole subject. She requested me to come to her assistance in meeting and examining the arguments and doctrines laid before her." The author did so—she was convinced by the views and arguments presented—and with her aid, they have been popularized and finally presented in this present treatise. It looks strange to see a book, which is in all respects a tale, richly sprinkled with Hebrew and Greek words and sentences; and yet even the unclassic reader will get a long pleasantly, as the English is always given. The nature of the subject required this sprinkling of the learned.

From its own stand-point the discussion is able. Any one who desires to examine this controversy, will find in this book a compact presentation of the arguments in favor of infant Baptism, and the objections usually made to it answered. It contains also a discussion of the subject of close communion.

With the author's views of the substance of baptism we have no sympathy. To us it seems strange that any one who does not believe that the sacrament bestows what it represents, can have zeal and spirit enough to contend for any form of it through hundreds of pages. It is a most sadly significant fact that, whilst we have shelves of books on the form of Baptism, we have scarcely a singly treatise on its substance and grace. Is not this fighting for the shells while the kernal lies untouched: and what is strangest of all is that this absence of all taste for the kernal is set forth as the very essence of all spirituality. But it is consistent; for the spirit separated from the body is properly regarded as a ghost to be feared We have not so learned Baptism—not from the holy Scriptures, not from the Fathers, not from the Reformers, Swiss, German, Dutch, French,

or English, nor yet, we may add American. We have not so learned it from the Augsburg Confession, Heidelberg Catechism, Thirty Nine Articles, Westminister Confession, or any other respectable symbol, or form of sound words. We observe with pain that as views of Baptism are new, they are ever worse. Who will re-introduce the whole question as to the subjects and mode of Baptism, with a work on its substance and grace?

Leaving out of view this, to our mind, serious defect, we must add, that the author writes in a clear and vigorous style, and presents his matter threaded on an interesting story which allures the reader very pleasantly along through even the most abstruse discussions. The book is very neatly done up by the enterprising Publishers, Lindsay & Blakiston, Philadelphia—a house whose style of publications is deservedly popular.

H. H.

THE

MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

APRIL, 1860.

Art. I.—CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

The name of Constantine the Great is identified with one of the most important epochs in the history of Christianity, when it ceased to be an oppressed and persecuted sect, and became the established religion of the Roman empire. A grateful posterity has given him the surname of the Great, and he may be said to be fully entitled to it, not, indeed, by his moral character which is far from approaching the ideal of a truly Christian ruler, but by his military and political ability, his far sighted statesmanship, and especially his liberal protection of the Church which he raised from a state of depression to well deserved honor and power.

Constantine, the first Christian Cæsar, the founder of Constantinople and the Byzantine empire and one of the most gifted, energetic, and successful of the Roman emperors, was the first representative of the imposing idea of a Christian theocracy, which assumes all subjects to be Christians, connects civil and religious rights and regards Church and State the two arms of one and the same divine government on earth. This idea was more fully developed by his successors, it animated the whole middle age, and is yet working under various forms in these latest times; though it has never been fully realized, whether in the Byzantine, the German, or the Russian empire, the Roman Church-State, the Calvinistic republic of Geneva, or the early Puritanic colonies of New England. At the same time, however, Constantine stands also as the type of

an undiscriminating and harmful conjunction of Christianity with politics, of the holy symbol of peace with the honors of war, of the spiritual interests of the kingdom of heaven with the earthly interests of a despotic monarchy.

In judging of this remarkable man and his reign, we must by all means keep to the great historical principle, that all representative characters act consciously or unconsciously as the free and responsible organs of the spirit of their age which moulds them first before they can mould it in turn, and that the spirit of the age itself whether good or bad or mixed, is but an instrument in the hands of divine Providence which rules and overrules all the actions and motives of men. Through a history of three centuries Christianity had already inwardly overcome the world, and thus had made such an outward revolution as has attached itself to the name of this prince both possible and unavoidble. It were extremely superficial, to refer so thorough and momentous a change to the personal motives of an individual, be they motives of policy, of piety, or of superstition. But unquestionably every age produces and shapes its own organs, as its own purposes require. So in the case of Constantine. He was distinguished by that genuine political wisdom, which, putting itself at the head of the age, clearly saw, that heathenism had outlived itself in the Roman empire, and that Christianity alone could breathe new vigor into it and furnish its moral support. Especially on the point of the external catholic unity his monarchical politics accorded with the hierarchical episcopacy of the Church. Hence from the year 313 he placed himself in close connection with the bishops, made peace and harmony his first object in the Donatist and Arian controversies, applied the predicate "catholic" to the Church in all official documents, and as his predecessors were supreme pontiffs of the heathen religions of the empire, so he desired to be looked upon as a sort of bishop, as universal bishop of the external affairs of the Church.*

* Ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἐκτὸς (πραγμάτων) τῆς ἐκκλησίας; in distinction from the proper bishops the ἐπίσκοποι τῶν ἔσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Vid. Eus. Vit. Const. IV, 24.

All this by no means from mere self-interest, but for the good of the empire, which, now shaken to its foundations and threatened by barbarians on every side, could only by some new bond of unity be consolidated and upheld until at last the seeds of Christianity and civilization should be planted among the barbarians themselves, the representatives of the future. His personal policy thus coincided with the interests of the State.

But with the political he united also a religious motive, not clear and deep indeed, yet honest, and strongly infused with the superstitious disposition to judge of a religion by its outward success and to ascribe a magical virtue to signs and ceremonies. He adopted Christianity first as a superstition, and put it by the side of his heathen superstition, till finally the Christian vanquished the pagan, though without itself developing into a pure and enlightened faith.§

At first Constantine, like his father, in the spirit of the Neo-Platonic syncretism of dying heathendom, reverenced all the gods as mysterious powers; especially Apollo, the god of the sun, to whom in the year 308 he presented munificent gifts. Nay, so late as the year 321 he enjoined regular consultation of the soothsayers* in public misfortunes, according to ancient heathen usage; even later, he placed his new residence, Byzantium, under the protection of the God of the Martyrs and the heathen goddess of Fortune;† and down to the end of his life he retained the title and the dignity of a Pontifex Maximus, or high-priest of the heathen hierarchy.‡ Ofcourse these inconsistencies

§ Mosheim, in his work on the first three centuries p. 965 sqq. (Murdock's transl. II. 460 sqq.) labors to prove at length that Constantine was no hypocrite, but sincerely believed, during the greater part of his life, that the Christian religion was the only true religion.

* The *haruspices* or interpreters of sacrifices who foretold future events from the entrails of victims.

† According to Eusebius (Vit. Const. l. III, c. 48) he dedicated Constantinople to "the God of the martyrs," but according to Zosimus (Hist. II, c. 31), to two goddesses. Subsequently the city stood under the special protection of the Virgin Mary.

‡ His successors also did the same, down to Gratian, 375, who renounced the title then become quiet empty.

may be referred also to policy and accomodation to the toleration ediet of 313. But with his every victory over his pagan rivals, Galerius, Maxentius, and Licinius, his personal leaning to Christianity and his confidence in the magic power of the sign of the cross increased; though he did not formally renounce heathenism, and did not receive baptism until, in 337, he was laid upon the bed of death.

He had an imposing and winning person. His moral character was not without noble traits, among which temperance, a chastity rare for the time, and a liberality and beneficence bordering on wastefulness were prominent. Many of his laws and regulations breathe the spirit of Christian justice and humanity, promoted the elevation of the female sex, improved the condition of slaves and of unfortunates and gave free play to the efficiency of the Church throughout the whole empire. Altogether he was one of the best, the most fortunate, and the most influential of the Roman emperors. Yet he had great faults. He was far from being so pure and so venerable as Eusebius, blinded by his favor to the Church, depicts him. It must, with all regret, be conceded, that his progress in the knowledge of Christianity was not a progress in the practice of its virtues. His love of display and his prodigality, his suspiciousness and his despotism, increased with his power. The very brightest period of his reign is stained with gross crimes, which even the spirit of the age and the policy of an absolute monarch cannot excuse. After having reached, upon the bloody path of war, the goal of his ambition, the sole possession of the empire, yea, in the very year in which he summoned the great council of Nice he ordered the execution of his conquered rival and brother-in-law, Licinius, in breach of a solemn promise of mercy.* Still later, in 326, he caused the death of his eldest son Crispus, who had incurred suspicion of conspiracy and of adulterous and incestuous purposes towards his step-mother, Fausta, but is

* Eusebius justifies this procedure towards an enemy of the Christians by the laws of war. But what becomes of the breach of a solemn pledge? The murder of Crispus, he passes over in prudent silence in violation of the highest duty of the historian to relate the truth and the whole truth.

generally regarded as innocent. Later authors assert, though gratuitously, that the emperor, like David, bitterly repented of this sin. He has been frequently charged besides, though it would seem altogether unjustly, with the death of his second wife Fausta (326 ?), who, after twenty years of happy wedlock, is said to have been convicted of slandering her step-son, Crispus, and of adultery with a slave, and then to have been suffocated in the vapor of an over-heated bath.†

At all events Christianity did not produce in Constantine a thorough moral transformation. He was concerned more to advance the outward, social position of the Christian religion, than to further its inward mission. Not a decided, pure, and consistent character, he stands on the line of transition between two ages and two religions; and his life bears plain marks of both.‡

† This is doubted even by Gibbon, who bears generally no special favor to Constantine; and still more decidedly by Niebuhr (Vorträge über röm. Gesch., v. Isler, Berl. 1848, III, 302), who is also inclined to think, that Crispus deserved death. As to the alleged murder of Fausta, the accounts are rather late and discordant; Zosimus, certainly in heathen prejudice and slanderous extravagance, ascribing to Constantine the death of two women, the innocent Fausta, and an adulteress, the supposed mother of his three successors; Philostorgius, on the contrary, declaring Fausta guilty (H. E. II, 4; only fragmentary). Then again older witnesses indirectly contradict this view; two orations, namely, of the next following reign, which imply, that Fausta survived the death of her son, the younger Constantine, who outlived his father by three years. Comp. Julian. Orat. I, and Monod in Const. Jun. c 4, ad Calcem Eutrop., cited by Gibbon, c. XVIII, notes 25 and 26. Evagrius denies both the murder of Crispus and of Fausta, though only on account of the silence of Eusebius which proves no more than the inexcusable partiality of this distinguished historian for his imperial friend.

‡ The heathen historians extol the earlier part of his reign, and depreciate the later. Thus Eutropius, X, 6: In primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus. With this judgment Gibbon agrees (c. XVIII), presenting in Constantine an inverted Augustus: "In the life of Augustus we behold the tyrant of the republic, converted, almost by imperceptible degrees, into the father of his country and of human kind. In that of Constantine, we may contemplate a hero, who had so long inspired his subjects with love, and his enemies with terror, degenerating into a cruel and dissolute monarch, corrupted by his fortune, or raised by conquest above the necessity of dissimulation." But this theory of progressive degeneracy, adopted also by F. C. Schlosser in his Weltgeschichte, while ecclesiastical historians, e. g., Mosheim, generally hold the opposite view of a progressive improvement, is hardly tenable. For, on the one hand, the earlier life of Constantine has such features of cruelty as the surrender of the conquered barbarian kings to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Trier in 310 or 311, for which he was lauded by a heathen orator, the ungenerous conduct

From these general remarks we turn to the leading features of his life and reign, so far as they bear upon the history of the Church.

Constantine, son of the co-emperor Constantius Chlorus, who reigned over Gaul, Spain, and Britain till his death in 306, was born probably at Naissus in Dacia, in the year 272. His mother was Helena, daughter of an inn-keeper, the first wife of Constantius, afterwards divorced. Constantine distinguished himself in the service of Diocletian in the Egyptian and Persian wars; went afterwards to Gaul and Britain, and at York was proclaimed Emperor by his dying father and by the Roman troops. His father before him held a favorable opinion of the Christians as peaceable and honorable citizens, and protected them in the West, during the Diocletian persecution in the East. This respectful tolerant regard descended to Constantine, and the good effect of it, compared with the evil results of the opposite course of his antagonist Galerius, could but encourage him to pursue it. He reasoned, as Eusebius reports from his own mouth, in the following manner: My father revered the Christian God and uniformly prospered, while the emperors who worshipped the heathen gods died a miserable death; therefore, that I may enjoy a happy life and reign, I will imitate the example of my father and join myself to the cause of the Christians, who are growing daily, while the heathen are diminishing. This low utilitarian consideration weighed heavily in the mind of an ambitious captain who looked forward to the highest seat of power within the gift of his age. Whether his mother, whom he always revered, and who made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in her eightieth year, planted the germ of the Christian faith in her son, as Theodoret supposes, or herself became a Christian through his influence, as Eusebius asserts, must remain undecided. According to the heathen Zosimus, whose statement is unquestionably false and

toward Herculius his father-in-law, the murder of the infant son of Maxentius, and the triumphal exhibition of the head of Maxentius on his entrance into Rome in 312. On the other hand his most humane laws, such as the abolition of the gladiatorial shows, date from his later reign.

malicious, an Egyptian, who came out of Spain (probably the bishop Hosius of Cordova, a native of Egypt, is intended), persuaded him, after the murder of Crispus, (which did not occur before 326), that by converting to Christianity he might obtain forgiveness of his sins.

The first public evidence of a positive leaning towards the Christian religion, he gave in his contest with the pagan Maxentius, who had usurped the government of Italy and Africa, and is universally represented as a cruel, dissolute tyrant, hated by heathens and Christians alike.* Called by the Roman people to their aid, Constantine marched from Gaul across the Alps with an army of ninety-eight thousand soldiers of every nationality, and defeated Maxentius in three battles; the last in October, 312, at the Milvian bridge near Rome, where Maxentius found a disgraceful death in the waters of the Tiber.

Before this victory belongs the familiar story of the miraculous cross, which marks for us on the one hand the victory of Christianity, and on the other the ominous admixture of foreign political and military interests with it. The occurrence, however, is variously described. Lactantius, the earliest witness, some three years after the battle, speaks only of a dream by night, in which the emperor was directed (it is not stated by whom, whether by Christ, or by an angel) to stamp on the shields of his soldiers "the heavenly sign of God," that is the cross with the name of Christ, and thus to go forth against his enemy.† Eusebius, on the contrary, gives the more minute account, and gives it on the authority of a subsequent statement of Constantine himself under oath—not, however, till the year 338,

* Even Zosimus gives the most unfavorable account of him.

† De mort. persec. c. 44. p. 278 sq.: "Commonitus est in quiete Constantinus, ut coeleste signum Dei notaret in scutis, atque ita proelium committeret. Fecit ut jussus est, et transversa X litera, summo capite circumflexo (the *labarum*, as it was called under the successors of Constantine) Christum in sentis notat. Quo signo armatus exercitus capit ferrum." This work is indeed by many denied to Lactantius, but was at all events composed soon after the event, perhaps about 315, while Constantine was as yet on good terms with Licinius, to whom the author, c. 46, ascribes a similar vision of an angel, who is said to have taught him a form of prayer on his expedition against the heathen tyrant Maximin.

a year after the death of the Emperor, his only witness, and twenty-six years after the event‡—that to him (and to his army also)§ on his march from Gaul to Italy (the spot is not specified), in clear noon-day, while at prayer, therefore awake, there appeared a shining cross in the heavens with the inscription : "By this conquer,"‖ and in the following night Christ himself, directing him to have a standard prepared in the form of this sign of the cross, and with that to proceed against Maxentius and all other enemies. According to Rufinus,¶ a later writer, the sign of the cross appeared to Constantine in a dream (which agrees with the account of Lactantius), and upon his awaking in terror, an angel exclaimed to him : "Hoc vince."

The skeptical question might here arise : What has the sacred symbol of redemption to do with the bloody standard of war, the gentle Prince of peace with the god of battle? But there was nothing in this unnatural union offensive to the religious character of Constantine and his age. The miraculous element of the phenomenon agrees likewise very well with the prevailing idea of antiquity respecting the supernatural origin of dreams and visions. The pagan Julian was much more superstitious in this matter, than his Christian uncle, and on his expedition to the Persians he was supposed by Libanius to have been accompanied by a host of gods, which, however, in the view of Gregory of Nazianzen was rather an army of demons. Besides, to deny the whole event and to resolve it either into a mere military stratagem, or a pious fraud, * would compel us either to impute to the emperor, at a ven-

‡ In his Vita Constant. (composed about 338) I, 27–30. But in his Church History (written after 324), though he has good occasion (l. IX, c. 8, 9), Eusebius says nothing of the occurrence, whether through oversight or ignorance, or of purpose, it is hard to decide. In any case the silence casts suspicion on the details of his subsequent story.

§ This is certainly a mistake. For if a whole army consisting of more than ninety thousand soldiers of every nation had seen the vision of the cross, Eusebius might have cited many witnesses, and Constantine might have dispensed with a solemn oath.

‖ Τοῦτῳ (τῷ σημείῳ) νίκα ; Hac (or Hoc, sc. signo) vince, or vinces.

¶ Hist. eccl. IX, 9.

* As Hornbeck, Thomacius, Arnold, Gibbon(?) and Manso did.

erable age, willful falsehood and solemn perjury, or to refuse all credibility to the celebrated Church historian and bishop of Caesarea. Somewhat of fact must, therefore, no doubt be supposed. The more so as the testimony of Lactantius is independent both of Constantine and Eusebius. But then we have still the choice between a proper miracle,† a natural phenomenon or optical illusion,¶ and a nocturnal dream or psychological illusion.‡ A divine miracle of the kind described by Eusebius is hardly worthy of the character of Christ who, if he had actually appeared to Constantine either personally (according to Eusebius), or through an angel (as Rufinus has it), would have revealed to him the saving truth and directed him to repent and be baptized rather than to construct a military banner for a bloody battle. In no case can we ascribe to this experience, as Eusebius does, the character of a sudden and thorough conversion, as to Paul's vision on the way to Damascus. For, on the one hand, Constantine was never hostile to Christianity, but most probably favorable to it from early youth; and on the other, he put off full conversion and baptism quite five and twenty years, almost to the very hour of death. A natural phenomenon in the skies, a solar halo around the sun, or a peculiar formation of the clouds, such as would answer the case in hand, has no parallel in the annals of astronomy and would not explain at all the inscription: "Hoc vince." The facts in the case will, therefore, probably resolve themselves into this: that before the battle he prayed earnestly to the God of the Christians for assistance, while Maxentius, as Zosimus also testifies,* sacrificed to the heathen gods, and placed his

† This is the view generally entertained by the older and the Roman Catholic historians.

¶ So Fabricius, Schroeckh (vol. V. p. 83) Gieseler (1 ¶ 56 note 29 where he refers us to similar cross-like clouds in 1517 and 1552, which were mistaken by the cötemporary Lutherans for supernatural signs), and even Neander.

‡ Mosheim (although after a lengthy discussion in his large work he comes to no definite conclusion), and more recent writers, also Neander, who thinks that the natural phenomenon in the skies was perhaps followed by a dream.

* Histor. II, 16.

superstitious trust in them ; and that Constantine, already familiar with the general use of the sign of the cross among the Christians and with their faith in its protecting power, on this occasion first used, with superstitious trust, the Labarum,† afterwards so called : that is the sacred standard of the Christian cross with the Greek monogram of the name of Christ.‡ Probably this was suggested, not by a visible figure in the heavens (which rests merely on the testimony of Eusebius and may be a subsequent exaggeration or mistake), but as all other authorities suggest, by a dream or inward vision which took in Constantine's view, especially after his happy success, the character of a supernatural revelation. To this cross-standard he attributed his victory over his heathen enemies.

After his triumphant entrance into Rome, he had his statue erected upon the forum with the Labarum in his right hand, and the inscription beneath : "By this saving sign, the true token of bravery, I have delivered your city from the yoke of the tyrant."§ Three years afterwards the senate erected to him a triumphal arch of marble, which, to this day, within sight of the sublime views of

† Λάβωρον, also λάβουρον ; derived not from *labor*, nor from λάφυρον, nor from λαβεῖν, but probably from a barbarian root, otherwise unknown, and introduced into the Roman terminology, even before Constantine, by the Celtic or Germanic recruits. Comp. Du Cange, Glossar., and Suicer, Thesaur., s. h. v.

‡ XP, the first two letters of the name of Christ, so written upon one another as to make the form of the cross, of which Münter (Sinnbilder der alten Christen, p. 36 sqq.) has collected from ancient coins, vessels, and tombstones more than twenty different forms. The monogram, as well as the sign of the cross, was in use among the Christians long before Constantine, probably as early as the Antonines and Hadrian. Yea, the standards and trophies of victory generally had the appearance of a cross, as Minucius Felix, Tertullian, Justin and other apologists of the second century told the heathens. According to Killen (Ancient Church, p. 317, note) who quotes Aringhus, Roma subterranea II p. 567, as his authority, the famous monogram (of course in a different sense) is found already before Christ on coins of the Ptolemies. The only thing new, therefore, is the *union* of this symbol in its Christian sense and application with the Roman *military standard*, which was richly adorned, besides, with the crown and the likeness of the emperor, and with gold and precious stones.

§ Eus. H. E IX, 9 : Τούτῳ τῷ σωτηριώδει (*salutari*, not *singulari*, as Rufinus has it) σημείῳ, τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἐλέγχῳ τῆς ἀνδρίας, τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν ἀπὸ ζυγοῦ τοῦ τυράννου διασωθεῖσαν ἐλευθέρωσα, κ. τ. λ. Gibbon, however, thinks it more probable, that at last the labarum and the inscription date only from the second or third visit of Constantine to Rome.

the pagan Colosseum, indicates at once the decay of ancient art, and the downfall of heathenism; as the neighboring arch of Titus commemorates the downfall of Judaism and the destruction of the temple. The inscription on this arch of Constantine, however, ascribes his victory over the hated tyrant, not only to his master mind, but indefinitely also to the impulse of Deity (instinctu Divinitatis); by which a Christian would naturally understand the true God, while a heathen, like the orator Nazarius, in a eulogy pronounced on Constantine in the year 321, might take it for the celestial guardian power of the "urbs aeterna."

At all events the victory of Constantine over Maxentius was a military and political victory of Christianity over heathenism. The emblem of ignominy and oppression* became thenceforward the badge of honor and dominion, and was invested, in the emperor's view, according to the spirit of the Church of his day, with a magic virtue.† It now took the place of the eagle and other field-badges, under which the heathen Romans had conquered the world. It was stamped on the imperial coin, and on the standards, helmets, and shields of the soldiers. Among the standards the *labarum* shone above all in the richest decorations of gold and gems; was entrusted to the truest and bravest fifty of the body-guard; filled the Christians with the spirit of victory, and spread fear and terror among their enemies; until, under the weak successors of Theo-

* Cicero says, pro Raberio, c. 5: Nomen ipsum *crucis* absit non modo a corpore civium Romanorum, sed etiam a cogitatione, oculis, auribus. With other ancient heathens, however, the Egyptians, the Buddhists, and even the Aborigines of Mexico the cross seems to have been in use as a religious symbol. Socrates relates (H. E. V. 1717) that at the destruction of the temple of Serapis among the hieroglyphic inscriptions forms of crosses were found which pagans and Christians alike referred to their respective religions. According to Prescott (Conquest of Mexico, III, 338–340) the Spaniards found the cross among the objects of worship in the idol temples of Anahuac.

† Even church teachers, long before Constantine, Justin, Tertullian, Minucius Felix in downright opposition to this pagan antipathy, had found the sign of the cross everywhere on the face of nature and of human life; in the military banners and trophies of victory, in the ship with swelling sails and extended oars, in the plow, in the flying bird, in man swimming or praying, in the features of the face and the form of the body with outstretched arms. Hence the daily use of the sign of the cross by the early Christians.

dosius II., it fell out of use, and was lodged as a venerable relic in the imperial palace at Constantinople.

Before this victory at Rome, either in the spring or summer of 312, Constantine, in conjunction with his Eastern colleague, Licinius, had published an edict of religious toleration, now not extant, but probably a step beyond the edict of the still anti-Christian Galerius in 311, which was likewise subscribed by Constantine and Licinius, as co-regents. Soon after, in January, 313, the two emperors issued from Milan a new edict (the third) on religion, in which, in the spirit of religious eclecticism, they granted full freedom to all existing forms of worship with special reference to the Christian. This religion the edict not only recognized in its existing limits, but also—what neither the first nor perhaps the second edict had done—allowed every heathen subject to adopt it with impunity.* At the same time the church buildings and property confiscated in the Diocletian persecution were ordered to be restored, and private property-owners to be indemnified from the imperial treasury.

In this notable edict, however, we should look in vain for the modern Protestant and Anglo-American theory of religious liberty as one of the universal, inalienable rights of man. Sundry voices, it is true, in the Christian Church itself, at that time and even before, declared firmly against all compulsion in religion.† But the spirit of the Roman

* Haec ordinanda esse credidimus, ut daremus et Christianis et omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem, quam quisque voluisset . . . ut nulli omnino facultatem obnegandam putaremus, qui vel observationi Christianorum, vel ei religioni mentem suam dederet, quam ipse sibi aptissimam esse sentiret . . . ut amotis omnibus omnino conditionibus (by which are meant, no doubt, the restrictions of toleration in the two former edicts)—nunc libere ac simpliciter unusquisque eorum qui eandem observandae religioni Christianorum gerunt voluntatem, citra ullam inquietudinem et molestiam sui id ipsum observare contendant. Lact.: De mort. persec. c. 48 (p. 282 ed. Fritzsche). Eusebius gives the edict in a stiff and and obscure Greek translation, with some variations, H. E. X, 5. Comp. also Niceph. H. E. VIII, 41.

† Here comes in some remarkable passages of Tertullian, and Justin Martyr. Lactantius likewise, in the beginning of the fourth century, says, Instit. div. l. V, c. 19 (I, p. 267 sq. ed. Lips.): Non est opus vi et injuria, quia religio cogi non potest; verbis potius, quam verberibus res agenda est, ut sit voluntas. . . . Defendenda religio est, non occidendo, sed moriendo; non saevitia,

empire was too absolutistic to abandon the prerogative of a supervision of public worship. The Constantinian toleration was a temporary measure of state policy which, as indeed the edict expressly states the motive, promised the greatest security to the public peace and the protection of all the heavenly powers for emperor and empire. It was, as the result teaches, but the necessary transition-step to a new order of things. It opened the door to the elevation of Christianity, and specifically of Catholic hierachical Christianity, with its exclusiveness towards heretical and schismatic sects, to be the religion of the State. For, once put on equal footing with heathenism, it must soon, in spite of numerical minority, bear away the victory from a religion, which had already inwardly outlived itself.

From this time Constantine decidedly favored the Church, though without persecuting or forbidding the pagan religions. He always mentions the Christian Church with reverence in his imperial edicts, and uniformly applies to it, as we have already observed, the predicate of catholic. For only as a catholic, thoroughly organized, firmly compacted, and conservative institution did it meet his rigid monarchical interest, and afford the splendid state and court dress he wished for his empire. So early as the year 313 we find the bishop Hosius of Cordova among his counsellors, and heathen writers ascribe to the bishop even a magical influence over the emperor. Lactantius, also, and Eusebius of Caesarea belonged to his confidential circle. He exempted the Christian clergy from military and municipal duty (March, 313); abolished various customs and ordinances offensive to the Christians (315); facilitated the emancipation of Christian slaves (before 316); legalized bequests to Catholic churches (321); enjoined the civil observance of Sunday, though not as dies Domini, but as dies Solis, in conformity to his worship of Apollo, and in

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sed patientia; non scelere, sed fide. . . Nam si sanguine, si tormentis, si malo religionem defendere velis, jam non defendetur illa, sed polluetur atque violabitur. Nihil est enim tam voluntarium, quam religio, in qua si animus sacrificantis aversus est, jam sublata, jam nulla est. Comp. c. 26.

company with an ordinance for the regular consulting of the haruspex (321); contributed liberally to the building of churches and the support of the clergy; erased the heathen symbols of Jupiter and Apollo, Mars and Hercules from the imperial coins (323); and gave his sons a Christian education. This mighty example was followed, as might be expected, by a general transition of those subjects, who were more influenced in their conduct by outward circumstances, than by inward conviction and principle. The story that in one year (324) twelve thousand men, with women and children in proportion, were baptized in Rome, and that the emperor had promised to each convert a white garment and twenty pieces of gold, is at least in accordance with the spirit of that reign, though the fact itself, in all probability, is greatly exaggerated.*

Constantine came out with still greater decision when, by his victory over his Eastern colleague and brother-in-law, Licinius, he became sole head of the whole Roman empire. To strengthen his position, Licinius had gradually placed himself at the head of the heathen party, still very numerous and had vexed the Christians first with wanton ridicule,† then with exclusion from civil and military office, with banishment, and in some instances perhaps even with bloody persecution. This gave the political strife for the monarchy, between himself and Constantine, the character also of a war of religions; and the defeat of Licinius in the battle of Adrianople in July, 324, and at Chalcedon in September, was a new triumph of the standard of the cross over the sacrifices of the gods. Save that Constantine dishonored himself and his cause by the execution of Licinius and his son.

The emperor now issued a general exhortation to his subjects to embrace the Christian religion, still leaving them, however, to their own free conviction. In the year 325,

* For the Acta S. Silvestri and the H. Eccl. of Nicephorus Callist. VII, 34 (in Baronius, ad ann. 324) are of course not reliable authority on this point.

† He commanded the Christians, for example, to hold their large assemblies in open fields, instead of in the churches, because the fresh air was more wholesome for them than the close atmosphere in a building.

as patron of the Church, he summoned the council of Nice, and himself attended it; banished the Arians, though he afterwards recalled them; and, in his monarchical spirit of uniformity, showed great zeal for the settlement of all theological disputes, while he was blind to their deep significance. In the year 325–329, in connection with his mother, Helena, he erected magnificent Churches on the sacred spots in Jerusalem.

As heathenism had still the preponderance in Rome, where it was hallowed by its great traditions, Constantine, by divine command as he supposed,* in the year 330 transferred the seat of his government to Byzantium, and thus fixed the policy, already initiated by Domitian, of orientalizing and dividing the empire. With incredible rapidity, and by all the means within reach of an absolute monarch, he turned this nobly situated town, connecting two seas and two continents, into a splendid residence and a new Christian Rome, "for which now," as Gregory of Nazianzen expresses it, "sea and land emulate each other, to load it with their treasures, and crown it queen of cities," Here instead of idol temples and altars, churches and crucifixes rose; though among them the statues of patron deities from all over Greece, mutilated by all sorts of tasteless adaptations, were also gathered in the new metropolis.† The main hall in the palace was adorned with representations of the crucifixion and other biblical scenes. The gladiatorial shows, so popular in Rome, were forbidden here, though theatres, amphitheatres, and hippodromes kept their place. It could nowhere be mistaken, that the

* "Jubente Deo," says he in one of his laws. Cod. Theodos. l. XIII. tit. V. leg. 7. Later writers ascribe the founding of Constantinople to a nocturnal vision of the emperor, and an injunction of the Virgin Mary, who was revered as patroness, one might almost suppose as goddess, of the city.

† The most offensive of these is the colossal bronze statue of Apollo, pretended to be the work of Phidias, which Constantine set up in the middle of the forum on a pillar of porphyry, a hundred and twenty feet high, and which, at least, according to later interpretations, served to represent the emperor himself with the attributes of Christ and the god of the sun! So says the author of Antiquit. Constant. in Banduri, and J. v. Hammer: Constantinopolis u. der Bosphorus, I, 162 (cited by Milman on Gibbon). Nothing now remains of the pillar, but a mutilated piece.

new imperial residence was as to all outward appearances a Christian city.

The emperor diligently attended divine worship, and is portrayed upon medals in the posture of prayer. He kept the Easter vigils with great devotion. He would stand during the longest sermons of his bishops, who always surrounded him, and unfortunately flattered him only too much. And he even himself composed and delivered discourses to his court. One of these productions is still extant,‡ in which he recommends Christianity in a characteristic strain and in proof of its divine origin cites especially the fulfillment of prophecy, including the Sibylline books and the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil, with the contrast between his own happy and brilliant reign and the tragical fate of his persecuting predecessors and colleagues.

Nevertheless he continued in his later years quite true to the toleration principles of the edict of 313, protected the pagan priests and temples in their privileges, and wisely abstained from all violent measures against heathenism, in the persuasion, that it would in time die out. Save that he prohibited idolatry, in cases where it sanctioned scandalous immorality, as in the obscene worship of Venus in Phenicia; or in places, which were specially sacred to the Christians, as the sepulchre of Christ and the grove of Mamre; and he caused a number of deserted temples and images to be destroyed or turned into Christian Churches. Though he loved to promote Christians to honorable positions, yet he retained many heathens at court and in public office. In his later years he seems, indeed, to have issued a general prohibition of idolatrous sacrifice; his sons in 341 refer to such an edict; but the repetition of it by his successors proves, that, if issued, it was not carried into execution under his reign.

With this shrewd, cautious, and moderate policy of Constantine, which contrasts well with the violent fanaticism of his sons, accords perhaps his postponement of his

‡ Const. Oratio ad sanctos.

own baptism to his last sickness.§ For this he had the further motives of a superstitious desire, which he himself expresses, to be baptized in the Jordan, whose waters were sanctified by the Saviour, and no doubt also a fear, that he might by relapse forfeit the sacramental remission of sins. It is therefore the more striking, that the court bishops, from false prudence, relaxed in his favor the otherwise strict discipline of the Church and admitted him, at least tacitly, to the enjoyment of nearly all the privileges of believers, before he had taken upon himself even a single obligation of a catechumen. But when after a life of almost uninterrupted health, he felt the approach of death, he was received into the number of catechumens by laying on of hands, and then formally admitted by baptism into the full communion of the Church in the year 337, the sixty-fifth year of his age, by the Arian (or properly Semi-Arian) bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia.‖ He promised to live thenceforth worthily of a disciple of Jesus; refused to wear again the imperial mantle of cunningly woven silk richly ornamented with gold; retained the white baptismal robe; and died a few days after, on Pentecost (May 22, 337), trusting in the mercy of God, and leaving a long, a fortunate, and a brilliant reign, such as none but Augustus of all his predecessors had enjoyed. His remains were

§ The pretended baptism of Constantine by the Roman bishop Sylvester in 324, and his bestowment of lands on the pope in connection with it, is a mediæval fiction, still unblushingly defended indeed by Baronius (ad ann. 324, No. 43–49), but long since given up by other Roman Catholic historians, such as Noris, Tillemont, and Valesius. It is sufficiently refuted by the contemporary testimony of Eusebius alone [Vit. Const. IV, 61, 62] who places the baptism of Constantine at the end of his life, and minutely describes it; and Socrates, Sozomen, Ambrose and Jerome coincide with him.

‖ Hence Jerome says, Constantine was baptized into Arianism. But Eusebius [not the Church historian] was probably the nearest bishop, and acted here not as a party leader; Constantine, too, in spite of the influence, which the Arians had over him in his later years, considered himself constantly a true adherent of the Nicene faith. The deeper significance of the dogmatic controversy was entirely beyond his sphere. Gibbon is right in this matter: "The credulous monarch, unskilled in the stratagems of theological warfare, might be deceived by the modest and specious professions of the heretics, whose sentiments he never perfectly understood; and while he protected Arius, and persecuted Athanasius, he still considered the council of Nice as the bulwark of the Christian faith, and the peculiar glory of his own reign." C. XXI.

removed from Nicomedia to Constantinople, and deposited, with the highest Christian honors, in the Church of the Apostles, while the Roman senate, after its ancient pagan custom, enrolled him among the gods. Soon after his death, Eusebius set him above the greatest princes of all times; from the fifth century he began to be recognized in the East as a saint; and the Greek and Russian Church to this day celebrates his memory under the extravagant title of the "equal of the apostles."¶ The Latin Church, on the contrary, with truer tact, has never placed him among the saints, but has been content with naming him "the Great."

P. S.

ART. II.—THE OLD DOCTRINE OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.

I. *An Extract from the Twelfth Homily of St. John Chrysostom on the Gospel of St. Matthew.*

"And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water; and lo, the heavens were opened unto him." Why were the heavens opened? In order that thou mightest learn, that when thou also art baptized the same thing takes place, God calling thee to the country above and urging thee to forsake the fellowship of earth. That thou seest it not, is no reason why thou shouldst not believe it. For it is the general rule, that in the beginning of extraordinary spiritual dispensations such sensible visions and signs should appear, because men are so slow to perceive spiritual realities, and require to have their attention roused by things which strike the senses; in order that even without the same signs afterwards, the

¶ Comp. the Acta Sanct. ad 21 Maii, p. 18 sq.

things once certified by them may be accepted as sure by faith. Thus upon the apostles, we are told, there came the sound of a mighty rushing wind and the appearance of cloven tongues of fire; not for their sake, however, but on account of the Jews then present. Though there be then no visible signs, let us still receive what they have once served to reveal. For the dove also appeared at this time, that it might as a seal designate to those present, and to John, the Son of God. And not for this only, but to teach thee also that the Spirit descends upon thee in like manner at thy baptism. We have no longer need of the sensible vision, faith answering for all; for signs are "not for them that believe, but for them that believe not."

But why in the form of a dove? It is a gentle and pure animal. And so the Holy Ghost, as a spirit of meekness, takes its appearance. There is regard in it besides to ancient history. For when the general flood was upon the earth, threatening to make full shipwreck of the human race this bird appeared, announcing the end of the storm, and with the olive branch proclaimed the glad tidings of peace upon the earth; all which was a type of things to come.

As then indeed matters were in much worse state than now, and men deserving of far greater punishment. That thou mayest, not despair then, call to mind that history. For even in that desperate extremity there was a certain relief and restoration; then however through punishment, whereas it is now through grace and unspeakable gift. On which account also the dove appears, not bearing a branch of olive, but pointing out to us the deliverer from all evils, and holding forth to us heavenly hopes. A messenger, not to bring one man out from the ark, but to conduct the whole world to heaven, offering to the race at large instead of an olive branch the precious boon of adoption. Considering then the greatness of the gift, let not the dignity of the giver seem any less great in thine eyes from his appearing in such form. For I hear some say, that as much difference as there is between a man and a dove, so much there is also between Christ and the Spirit, since the

one appeared in our nature and the other in the form of a dove. But what must we say now in answer to this? That the Son of God did indeed take upon him the nature of man; but that the Spirit did *not* assume the nature of the dove. Hence the evangelist also does not say, in the nature of a dove, but in the form of a dove; in which form, accordingly, the Spirit appeared only at that time, and not afterwards. But if this be taken to imply inferiority, the cherubim by parity of reasoning will be found to be likewise of higher dignity, in proportion as an eagle is superior to a dove; as being fashioned to such likeness; and the angels again must be counted higher also, since they have often appeared in human form. The truth, however, is widely different from all this. The reality of a dispensation is one thing, the accommodation of a transient vision altogether another. Be not ungrateful, therefore, toward thy benefactor, and think not poorly of him who has bestowed upon thee the fountain of blessedness. For where the dignity of sonship is, there the removal of all evil is also, and the gift of all good.

The completion of the Jewish baptism thus is the beginning of ours; and what took place in the case of the passover, happens also in this case. For there one transaction is made to embrace both the old and the new, in such a way as to abolish the one and introduce the other; and here, having fulfilled the Jewish baptism, he at the same time opens the doors of the Church, as in one table there, so in one river here, filling out at once the shadow and adding to it the truth. For this baptism alone has the grace of the Spirit; that of John was destitute of this gift. Hence nothing of the sort occurred in the case of the others who came to his baptism, but only in the case of him who was to bestow this; showing it to be thus, not from the sanctity of the baptizer, but from the power of the person baptized. Then also, accordingly, the heavens were opened, and the Spirit descended. For from this time he leads us forth from the old into the new order of life, both opening for us the celestial gates, and sending his Spirit from

thence to call us to the country above; and not simply to call us, but to do this also with the most exalted honor. For he has not made us angels and archangels, but constituting us sons and beloved of God, he draws us thus toward that inheritance.

Considering then all these things, show a life worthy at once of him that calls thee, and of the heavenly citizenship, and of the honor thou hast received. Being crucified to the world, and having it crucified for thyself, cultivate the life of heaven with all diligence; neither suffer thyself to think, that because thy body has not yet passed into that higher world thou hast anything in common with this earth; for thou hast thy head seated above. And for this reason, the Lord, having come here first attended with angels, when he had taken thee into union with himself afterwards returned on high, in order that thou mighst learn even before thy ascent thither, how it is possible for thee to occupy the earth as heaven. Let us continue then to hold fast the nobility which we have received from the beginning, and let us seek every day those royal abodes, holding all things here as a mere shadow and dream. For if only an earthly king, finding thee poor and begging, should suddenly make thee his son, thou wouldst not surely make account of thy hovel and its mean provision; although the difference in that case would not be so very great. Here then also make no account of things before; since thou hast been called to far greater things. For he that calls is the Lord of angels, and the benefits given exceed all utterance and thought. He doth not translate thee from earth to earth, as a king might do, but from earth to heaven, and from a mortal nature to immortality and glory unspeakable, which can only then fully appear when we come into its possession. Being about to partake of such blessings, then, dost thou make mention to me of riches, and cleave to the show of this world? And canst thou refuse to look upon all things visible as more mean than the beggar's rags? How then shalt thou appear worthy of that honor; and what defence shalt thou have to make or rather what

punishment shalt thou not endure, having returned from such a gift to thy former vomit. For not now as a man simply shalt thou be punished, but as a son of God falling into sin, and the greatness of thy dignity will be for thee the passport to greater indignation. As we ourselves also do not inflict the same punishment on offending servants, as upon our children offending in the same way; especially if these have received large favors at our hands. If he who possessed paradise, was made to suffer so many dire evils, for one disobedience, after such high distinction, what indulgence shall *we* have—we who have possessed heaven and have been made fellow heirs with the Beloved—if after the dove we betake ourselves to the serpent? We shall not hear any more, "Dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return," "Till the ground," and those other words of the former curse, but things much more grievous than these, outer darkness, eternal chains, the undying worm, the gnashing of teeth. And with good reason. For he that is not made better by so great favor, should of right suffer the last and heaviest punishment.

Elias of old opened and shut heaven, so as to bring down and to hold back rain; but for thee heaven is opened not thus, but so as that thou mayest thyself ascend thither; and what is still greater, so as that thou canst not only thyself ascend, but if thou wilt mayest bring others there also, such liberty and power hath he given unto thee in all that is his own. Since then our home is there, let us there lay up all things and leave nothing here, that we may not suffer loss. For here, though thou mayest apply keys, and use bolted doors, and have thousands of servants to watch, and though thou shouldst surmount the arts of the dishonest and avoid the eyes of the envious, and though thou shouldst escape the moth and the decay that comes by time, which is impossible—still thou wilt not therefore escape death at last, and all these things shall be taken from thee in the twinkling of an eye; and not only taken away, but often so left as to pass into unfriendly hands. But pass all into that higher home, and thou shall be master of all. No

keys, no doors no bolts are needed there; such is the strength of that city; so inviolable is the region, and so completely beyond the reach of all corruption and evil.

How is it not then the extreme of folly, to heap up all where that which is laid away is sure to dissolve and perish while not even the smallest part is placed there, where what is stored is not only safe but certain to become more—and this too, when we are to spend there our whole future life! Hence it is, that the Greeks also refuse to believe the things spoken by us; for they choose to make account of what we do, rather than of what we say; and when they see us building splendid houses, constructing gardens and baths, and buying fields, they will not believe that we are preparing for removal to another country. Since if that were the case, they say, we would see them converting all things here into money, and sending it there beforehand; and this they infer from what is usual in the present world. For we find always that those who have means employ them to purchase houses, and fields, and all other things, in those countries especially where they expect to remain. But we act differently; the earth, which we are to leave in a little while, is sought with the greatest diligence, not only money but blood itself being sacrificed for some acres of land and a few houses; whereas for the purchase of heaven we grudge to spend even our superfluous means, though we can have it at low price, and if we buy it are to hold it forever. For this reason the heaviest punishment awaits us if we pass into the other world naked and poor; and not for our own poverty simply, but for what we do also to make others poor, shall we meet severe retribution. For when the Greeks see those who have enjoyed such mysteries taken up with these things, they will much more cleave to the present world themselves. In this way we heap much fire on our own heads. For when we, who ought to teach them to despise all visible things, ourselves most of all encourage them in the love of these things, when may we hope to be saved, being held accountable for the destruction of others? Dost thou

not hear Christ saying, that he has sent us forth to be for salt and as lights in this world, that we may exert a preserving power in the midst of its corruption, and shine in the midst of its darkness. But if, instead of this, we help to draw men into darkness, and promote their corruption, what hope can there be of our salvation? None whatever; but with wailing and gnashing of teeth, bound hand and foot, we shall go away into hell-fire, after having been thoroughly consumed by the care of riches here. Considering then all these things, let us break the bands of such present delusion, that we may not fall into those which shall consign us to unquenchable fire hereafter. For whosoever serveth riches, shall be subjected to bonds both in this world and eternally in the next; but he that is freed from this desire, shall find liberty both here and there. Which that we also may obtain, breaking the heavy yoke of avarice, let us wing our souls for heaven, through the merciful kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom be glory and power through all ages. Amen.

II. PRACTICAL REFLECTIONS.

It is easy to see from this passage, that Christian Baptism was held by Chrysostom to be an actual regeneration, by the grace of God, to the power of a new and heavenly life. It was no sign simply of a spiritual fact, supposed to have place at some other time or in some other way; the token of an inward change already past, or the pledge of an inward change which was yet to come. It was not an act of profession merely, by which the catechumen became bound to the service of Christ, in the sense of what is called a church covenant among modern Congregationalists. The force of the sacrament was not subjective only, holding in the convictions and purposes, the views and feelings generally, of the human parties engaged in the transaction; it was at the same time most really and truly objective also, carrying with it the power of God's grace, and making what it signified to be actually at hand for its subjects, and available for their use thenceforward, as it had not been before.

All this is regarded as flowing necessarily from the relation, which the baptism of Christ himself sustained to the Jewish use of the ordinance, advanced to its highest meaning in the ministry of John. The whole Jewish system was typical and prefigurative of things to come; it was not itself the substance of what it exhibited in the way of grace, but only its shadow and promise; and this character it retained on to the very last. Even in the person of its last and greatest representative, the immediate forerunner of the Messiah, its mission was still that of preparation only, showing the kingdom of heaven to be indeed at hand, but at hand after all in a form wholly different from itself. Greater than all born before him in the old order of things, the Baptist was at the same time, we are told, less than the least in the new order which was now about to take its place. His baptism thus had no power answerable to the proper spiritual significance of all such washing; it ended in being nothing more than a sign and type; there was no efficacy in it to take away sin. Of this no one was more sensible than John himself. "I indeed baptize you with water," he says, "unto repentance"—engaging you to confession of sin, and to such change of mind as may fit you to receive the grace by which sin is to be pardoned and taken out of the way—"but he that cometh after me," whose way I am sent to prepare, in whom all my ministry is to find its full sense and end, "is mightier than I; whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." In other words, his baptism shall be in full effect what mine is in shadow only and outward form; it will be not the symbolical washing of water only, but along with this the power of inward purification also by the Holy Ghost, which is needed to make the symbol complete. This relation of the two different kinds of baptism, that of the Baptist and that for which it was to prepare the way, comes strikingly into view in the history of what took place, when Jesus came to be himself baptized of John in the river Jordan.

It became him thus "to fulfil all righteousness," to take

up into his own person the last sense of the Old Testament, and so to complete it and bring it to an end, while at the same time he brought in the higher reality itself in the presence of which the preparatory shadow was to pass away. Such is the general relation of the New Testament to the Old; Christianity appears in one view as the true historical continuation of Judaism, its legitimate outbirth, in which the peculiar significance of it is carried forward finally to its last result, and yet in another view it is the introduction of an absolutely new creation, transcending the measure of that old economy altogether, and turning it into mere figure and show. The baptism of John became thus, in the case of Christ, something far more than it had been in its own nature previously as applied to others. The Baptist saw his work as it were taken out of his hands, and carried forward by the intervention of another ministry infinitely higher than his own. The coming down of the Holy Ghost was the inauguration of a new baptism, a new order of truth and grace, which served to proclaim at once the advent of him whose way he was sent to prepare. "I knew him not," we hear him saying, "but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." The new dispensation joins itself historically with the old, in the earthly ministration of John; but it is at once borne immeasurably above it, and beyond it, by another ministration, which comes not from earth at all, but directly and wholly from heaven. So much the transaction itself was clearly intended to signify and represent. "The heavens were *opened*," it is said—making way for a supernatural revelation which was not in the world before—"and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him"—entering into his person and abiding with him: "and lo, a voice from heaven saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

The relation between the old and the new here, according to Chrysostom, is parallel with what had place at the

institution of the Lord's Supper, the other Christian sacrament; when the celebration of the Jewish Passover was made the occasion of substituting for the type, the glorious reality which it foreshadowed from the beginning. As that transaction was made to embrace both the Jewish feast and the Christian, abolishing the one by completion, and introducing the other as a new and higher fact; so here also, "having fulfilled the Jewish baptism, he at the same time opens the doors of the Church, as in one table there, so in one river here, filling out at once the shadow and adding to it the truth."

It is easy enough, however, to own this difference between the baptism of John and what was superadded to it in the case of Christ, without any faith after all in the divine power of the Christian sacrament in its ordinary form. It may be allowed, that our Saviour's baptism did indeed inaugurate the kingdom of heaven, showing that the way was now open for spiritual influences to descend upon men as they had not been known before; but this may be regarded at the same time as having place, mainly if not exclusively, under the form of a purely inward baptism, which is then taken to be the proper sense of the Christian sacrament as analogically set forth in the transaction of Jordan, while the outward rite of the sacrament is considered to be only the symbol of this grace, having no more necessary connection with the real presence of the grace itself, in the end, than the Old Testament baptism of John. But no such Gnostic apprehension as this was admitted in the mind of Chrysostom. He sees in the transaction of Jordan a revelation, not only of the power of the Holy Ghost, as it was to be exercised by Christ in a general spiritual way for the salvation of his people, but of this power as it was supposed to enter now into the constitution of all Christian baptism, making the sacrament to be as a whole something altogether different from what he depreciates in his own ministry as being a baptism of water only and nothing more. The Christian sacrament includes in itself really and truly, according to St. Chrysostom, what the

other served only to prefigure as a weak outward sign; it carries with it the power of the Holy Ghost, answering in full to what took place at our Saviour's baptism, when the heavens were opened, and the Spirit came down in bodily shape upon his person.

The opening of the heavens on this grand occasion, he tells us, is to be regarded as a representation of what takes place in the sacrament of Christian baptism through all time. It matters not that the visibility of the fact is not repeated; that, like the sensible manifestations of the Day of Pentecost, was only to verify the commencement of the dispensation; for faith now, the mystery, once evidenced in this way, remains permanently sure, without the help of sense. In all Christian Baptism then, there is a real rending of the heavens—the canopy that separates the world of nature from the world of grace; way is made for the saving presence of the Spirit as it was not at hand before; an adoption takes place into the family of God—the constitution of a new filial relation, or sonship, which did not exist previously; and along with this goes the power of a divine vocation, a "voice from heaven," calling the favored subject of the ordinance to forsake the present world and seek the heavenly inheritance, and offering at the same time all the grace that is required to obey the call.

It will not do to say, that these high sounding representations are with Chrysostom mere rhetorical figures, employed to set forth the general privilege of those to whom the Gospel comes with its offers of mercy; the meaning of which must be reduced simply to this, that baptism certifies to men the great fact of the Christian salvation, and the possibility of their having part in it by repentance, faith, and new obedience—a possibility, however, which is in no sense conditioned by what takes place in this sacrament itself, but is to be considered equally open and nigh in fact to all who have the gospel preached to them, whether baptized or not. What is here affirmed, or rather we may say taken for granted, of the Christian sacrament, goes

most manifestly very far beyond all that. The privileges and prerogatives of its subjects, while they are taken to be of the highest supernatural significance and most real objective force, are viewed at the same time as exclusively peculiar, the result strictly of that new position to which the baptized have come by means of the sacrament itself, and in no sort something common to them with the unbaptized world around. All men to whom the gospel is preached have the opportunity of being saved, and may be said to be placed thus within the range of the heavenly economy, by which it is made possible for sinners to become the children of God, and to enter into everlasting life; and this undoubtedly is a great distinction and privilege, which it must ever be a sin like that of Esau to undervalue or neglect. But here we have the idea of vastly more than this. Baptism is for its subjects not simply an expressive sign, picturing to the mind the sense of that general grace, which is offered to all, and which all are bound to receive; it is an actual election and vocation of God to gracious privileges, heavenly relations, special possibilities and powers of salvation, which are not at once comprehended in the general presence of Christianity. The subjects of it are brought into a new condition or state, broadly different from that of the general world around them. For others the presence of the Gospel is simply the opportunity of coming into the Christian fold in this way, and thus securing to themselves the rights and faculties of the kingdom of heaven; but for those who are in the fold by baptism these rights and faculties are already actually possessed; they have the power of being saved, not mediately only and through something else, as in the other case, but immediately in their position itself; a difference exactly like that of being in the ark, in the days of Noah, and of being only warned and called to take refuge in it from the impending flood.

It never could have entered into the mind of Chrysostom, to address the world at large in the language of Christian instruction and exhortation. His homilies are not for men

in general, congregations composed promiscuously of baptized and unbaptized; they are properly speaking for the baptized alone; regard being had to others at best only as they had already become catechumens and candidates for baptism; while all besides were viewed as unbelievers, for whom the doctrines, promises, and precepts of Christianity could not be said to be of any practical account whatever. For all such it could have but one message still, as on the Day of Pentecost: "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." Without this first great act of submission to the heavenly constitution of the Church, they must be held to be spiritually incompetent for all the privileges and duties of Christianity beyond this; so that it could be only a sort of profane mockery to make such duties and privileges the matter of homiletic exhortation for them in any way. Full earnest is made thus with the distinction, between being in the Church and being out of the Church. The difference is taken to be not simply nominal, but in the most material sense actual and real.

Baptism, in the view of Chrysostom, is not merely a public profession of faith in Christ, but the act of putting on Christ and entering into the fellowship of his kingdom; a translation from the power of darkness into the marvellous light of the Gospel; a new birth, bringing with it the title and power of sonship in the family of God; which is such a dignity again as brings with it, we are told, "the removal of all evil and the gift of all good"—the remission of sin, in other words, and whatever of grace is needed for securing everlasting life.

But with all the account which is thus made of the sacrament, as being the gate of paradise, the mystery of regeneration, and the very power of God unto salvation, we do not find the opinion entertained for a moment that it was sufficient of itself to insure the salvation of those who were its subjects. On the contrary, it is everywhere taken for

granted, that it carried with it no such assurance whatever. Every homily of St. Chrysostom proceeds upon the assumption, that those who were baptized, and thus made the children of God and the heirs of eternal life, might notwithstanding abuse this grace, allow themselves to continue still in the service of sin, and so come short of heaven at the last. It is painfully apparent indeed from his own discourses, that the great body of those to whom he himself preached, as the regenerated subjects of Christian baptism, were Christians in outward form and name only, whose walk and conversation, instead of adorning the doctrine of Christ, brought reproach upon it every day. He goes even so far as to say in one place, that too generally they were not to be distinguished from the unconverted world around them at all, except when they were seen to approach the sacramental altar. Hence in our present extract also, we find him turning what he conceives to be the unspeakable gift that goes along with Christian baptism, into an occasion for apprehension and alarm for those who enjoy it, in view of the possibility of its not being properly improved. As partakers of the heavenly adoption, they may still destroy themselves by sin; in which case, however, their perdition must be something worse than that of men who perish without having enjoyed the same high distinction. "What defence shalt thou have to make, or rather what punishment shalt thou not endure, having returned from such a gift to thy former vomit? For not now as a man simply shalt thou be punished, but as a son of God falling into sin, and the greatness of that dignity will be for thee the passport to greater indignation." "If he who possessed paradise was made to suffer so many dire evils for one disobedience, after such high distinction, what indulgence shall *we* have—we who have possessed heaven, and have been made fellow heirs with the Beloved—if after the dove we betake ourselves to the serpent?" The entire exhortation proceeds throughout on the supposition, not only that it was possible for those who were thus constituted the children of God to lose the benefit of

their supernatural birthright, and to make shipwreck of their souls, but that there was in truth great danger always of such disaster, that it was sadly frequent and common, and that it needed all diligence to avoid it, so as to make the Christian calling and election finally sure.

But still this view of the matter is not allowed in the least to discredit, or bring into doubt, the objective reality and significance of the grace conferred by baptism. This it is precisely that is taken to be the ground of special condemnation, in the case of those who have enjoyed that grace and yet yield themselves to the power of sin. What aggravates their guilt, is not just that they have had the gospel preached to them, that they have been placed under a general dispensation of mercy, that they have enjoyed the opportunity of embracing and using the means of salvation; nor yet, farther than this, that they have taken upon them the profession of Christianity, assumed its engagements, and joined in its solemn acts of worship; but that they have been made actually to possess the gift of righteousness, the power of salvation, that a price to purchase heaven has been fairly placed in their hands, and that notwithstanding all this they have forced their way down to everlasting death. This is the condemnation. Having been constituted the children of God, by adoption in Christ, they have despised that glorious birthright, and allowed themselves to become again the children of the Devil. Having been washed from their sins, they have returned to wallowing in the mire. Having been called to holiness, and endowed with power from on high to follow after it to the end, they have turned aside to unrighteousness, and profaned the heavenly gift in the service of sin.

What is particularly remarkable, is the facility with which these contrary and seemingly inconsistent conceptions are thus constantly held together in the same system of thought, over against such an order of things as is known to have prevailed at the time in the outward Church. The notion of baptismal grace was apparently contradicted every day by the notorious fact, that the greater part of the

baptized gave no evidence whatever of being in any better condition for the purposes of Christian piety, than multitudes around them who had never enjoyed the same heavenly privilege. How could that be a supernatural regeneration in any sense, a birth into God's family by the power of the Holy Ghost, which allowed its subjects to continue still the willing slaves of Satan and sin? Was not the lie given continually to Chrysostom's theory of sacramental saintship, by the crowd of professed believers, called in this way to be saints, whom he himself describes as patterns of selfishness and covetousness; examples of all worldliness; pleasure seekers, who could run from the church to the theatre, and there feast their eyes, and pollute their imagination, with licentious heathen spectacles and shows; brawlers, profane swearers, worshippers that carried the poison of asps under their tongues even in the sanctuary itself, blessing God and cursing man almost in the same breath, and filling the temple with noise and confusion in the very midst of the sacred services which were going forward at the altar? Such monstrous practice might indeed go along with a simply human profession. But did it not show, that the profession at last was human only, an act on the part of those who made it, and sealed it by the rite of baptism, and nothing more? Did it not make void at once the idea of any properly objective force in the sacrament, and demonstrate in the most convincing manner that the established ecclesiastical style of speaking on this subject—with its terminology of regeneration, illumination, initiation, divine filiation, donation of the Spirit, remission of sins, and other such high sounding benefits—was in truth rhetorical only, and in no sense in strict agreement with the truth? Must not Chrysostom himself have known, in full view of the facts before him, that his way of dealing with such terms was more oratorical than logical; that he was discoursing of what ought to be in the case rather than of what existed in fact; that the outward symbols of the Christian salvation were made in his view, for the moment, to pass for the proper spiritual

verities which it was their office only to represent? So it is natural to feel, in looking at the matter from the standpoint of what is considered to be spiritual Christianity at the present time. The case is found to involve a difficulty, at all events, which seems to demand some explanation; and we are apt to think, that such a man as Chrysostom must have felt himself constrained to take notice of it in some way. But, strange to say, it does not appear to give him any sort of embarrassment whatever. He moves along in his didactic and paraenetic course, as though no such obstruction crossed his path, or as though he at least had no eyes to note its presence. The modern dilemma in regard to baptismal regeneration, gore whom it may with its merciless horns, comes not at all apparently into his view. Both sides of the supposed difficulty are embraced in his thinking at once; and he passes back and forth from one to the other continually, without experiencing, as it would seem, the slightest sense of contradiction.

There is not the shadow of evidence anywhere, that the stress which he lays upon the heavenly side of Christian baptism was in his own mind a figure of speech only, substituting the sign for the thing signified, or allowing outward profession to pass for inward fact. Such a supposition would stultify his entire system of theological thought. In one view it might have been a relief to look at the matter in this light; as it would have served to show that the divine pretensions of Christianity were not to be tried or measured in any way by the unfruitful lives of bad nominal Christians, who as such must be considered hypocrites only, and not partakers at all of the proper supernatural power of the Gospel. But Chrysostom has no thought of saving the credit of the Church in this way. On the contrary, in full face of the acknowledged fact that thousands were all the time receiving the benefit in vain, he only insists the more upon the reality of the heavenly gift which was supposed to be conferred in baptism. That was not to be doubted or called in question, let it fare as it might with those who had received it. Let God be true, though all the world

should be found false; his faith was not to be made of no effect, however widely it might be met with unfaithfulness on the part of men. The objective presence of the grace which was lodged in the Christian sacraments, must not be measured by mere outward observation of any kind; it belonged to the sphere of faith, and was to be owned, therefore, independently of all experimental tests. To make it contingent on the purely subjective operations of the human mind, was necessarily to set aside the idea of its objective force altogether, and in the end to reduce Christianity to the character of a simply natural religion. If it might seem to be for the credit of the Gospel, to say that hypocrites and false professors had no part in its proper supernatural grace, and that *therefore* no argument could hold rightly against the reality and power of this grace, because it was found to have no salutary effect on their lives; it was undoubtedly for the true credit of the Gospel much more, that it should not itself be shorn of its own heavenly prerogative, as a system whose province it was, not merely to shadow forth, but to embody and exhibit in a real way, the blessings of salvation. This was an interest which lay much nearer to the faith of Chrysostom than the other. The Gospel, in his view, was the power of a new order of life always actually at hand in the Church. Christian Baptism was in full effect, what the Baptism of John had been only in figure and sign; it answered strictly to the contrast drawn by the Baptist himself, as being a baptism with the Holy Ghost and with fire in distinction from a baptism with water only. It opened the heavens; brought down the Spirit; wrought the remission of sins; regenerated its subjects, by a divine adoption, into the state and dignity of children of God. And yet this grace, transcending as it did the whole course of nature, might be abused, wasted, and utterly thrown away by men, just like the common blessings of nature itself. Chrysostom finds no more difficulty apparently, in supposing it possible for the subjects of such supernatural calling and election to miss the end of their heavenly qualification, than in conceiving

it possible for those who are called and chosen, by real opportunity, to any simply worldly good, to come short of it in the same way; a failure, which does not show then that there was no qualification in their circumstances for securing the benefit, but only that there was no care to turn the qualification to right account. So we have the two conceptions continually moving, as we have said before, hand in hand together; without any sense of contradiction; without any thought of explanation.

It will be borne in mind, that we are not at present sitting in judgment, in any way, on this view of Christian Baptism. Our object is simply to exhibit it as the view that was held by St. Chrysostom, without any argument upon its theological merits.

The view, however, be its merits as they may, was in no sense peculiar to this eminently pious Church Father. It belonged to the universal orthodox Christian thinking of the age. And as we look farther, we find it in the thinking of previous ages also, back to the first Christian times. The ancient ecclesiastical Fathers are everywhere full of testimony on the subject. It is idle to quote particular authorities in the case; for the authorities are all one way. The universal Church in these first centuries held and taught, that Christian Baptism was not simply "unto repentance," like that of John, not merely a sign to represent the profession of Christianity, on the one side, and the power of its cleansing and renovating grace on the other; but that it was the very sacrament of this grace itself, the form of its first actual exhibition for the use of sinners, the power of God really and truly unto salvation, carrying with it the remission of sins, the gift of adoption, and the full possibility of eternal life. It was not pretended, that it secured the salvation of its subjects; they might prove unfaithful to their heavenly calling, and destroy themselves still by a life of sin; multitudes, it was too plain, were constantly falling into this condemnation; but no consideration of this sort was allowed to disparage the supernatural

force of the sacrament itself. That remained an article of faith, under all circumstances, and in the face of all difficulties.

An article of faith, we say; which as such, accordingly, entered with a kind of inward necessity into the whole system of theological thought with which it was joined. In this view it is especially, that the old ecclesiastical doctrine challenges serious attention. If it appeared as a mere accidental opinion simply, sustaining only an outward relation to the general faith of the Church, it might be comparatively easy to dispose of it as being the result in some way of a wrong use of terms. But for any one who is willing to examine the matter for himself, it is impossible not to see that the very reverse of this is the truth. The idea of baptismal regeneration, as involving a real translation from the kingdom of Satan into the family of God, underlies the universal religious thinking of the ancient Church. The old Patristic doctrine of Christian Baptism is clearly enough revealed, in particular passages bearing directly on the point. But such separate and special testimonies form in truth by far the smallest and least weighty part of the evidence, that properly belongs to the case. This comes out fully, only in the way in which all Christian truth and life are made to include the tacit assumption of the doctrine, as being a sort of fundamental axiom in Christianity. We can hardly read for instance a single homily of Chrysostom, without feeling that his view of the Gospel, as a scheme of redemption and salvation, is conditioned throughout by the conception of supernatural privileges and powers conferred upon men through the sacrament of Baptism. His theology is constructed, in all its parts, in the most perfect harmony with this thought. It is everywhere sacramental and churchly, in the fullest sense of the terms. And the same thing is true manifestly of the theology and religious life of the first Christian ages generally.

Have we not this fact, indeed, plainly exhibited in the structure of the ancient Creeds? They were in one view

many; but the general tenor of them is always the same. They are in power and substance a single Creed; and this so constructed, as to be in itself a single whole, the organic evolution of one and the same grand fact from beginning to end. And here we find, conspicuous among its other articles, the doctrine of the Church and of "one Baptism for the remission of sins." What else is this than the sacramental theory of Chrysostom, and the old ecclesiastial writers generally? In no other view, indeed, could Christian Baptism be made an object of faith at all, in the sense of the Creed. For faith here, by its very conception, has to do with what is supernatural in Christianity, the objective presence and power of the new creation proceeding from Christ, in distinction from all subjective apprehension of it on the part of men. If Baptism then were not taken to be a mystery, hiding under its visible form, in the sphere of nature, the agency of God's Spirit working, at the same time, in a higher sphere, it could have no place properly in the Creed. The simple fact of its being there, as an article of faith, a primary constituent in the Christian salvation, is one of the clearest proofs we could well have of its being regarded all along in this light by the early Church.

That the view taken of Christian Baptism at the present time, in a very large part of the Protestant Church, is something broadly different from this, another theory of the sacrament in truth altogether, is too plain to admit of any question or to call for any proof. In the midst of much confusion in regard to what the ordinance positively does mean, there is a very general agreement in rejecting the meaning attributed to it by the Church of the first ages. The doctrine of St. Chrysostom on the subject is held to be unevangelical, and if he were alive to preach it now, would bring him into general discredit with all our evangelical sects. Whatever honor we may be bound to put upon the sacrament as a divine appointment, it must ever be a monstrous wrong, according to this reigning

modern view, to make it of one order in any way with the operation of God's Spirit, by ascribing to it effects that are supernatural, and such as it is the province of the Holy Ghost alone to produce.

It is absurd, we are told, and something at war with the true idea of religion, to suppose that any external rite of this sort should take away sin, or carry with it the power of regeneration. The proper spirituality of the Gospel, it is taken for granted, must always suffer, where Christianity is made to be thus formal and sacramental. Religion after all is an inward, spiritual transaction, between God and the soul; which, as such, may go along with the outward forms of worship, imparting to them energy and life; but which, at the same time, is not bound to them, or conditioned by them, in any really necessary way.

Baptism thus as an outward ceremony is one thing, and what it is used to represent is another thing altogether, which is supposed to have place fully on the outside of the sacrament, and apart from all virtue in it whatever. Christian baptism is indeed more than the baptism of John; it regards as an accomplished fact, what this last anticipated only as something which was then still to come. It represents the grace of Christ as now actually at work in the world, through the Spirit, for the remission of sins and the conversion of souls. But in its relation to this grace, it is itself still only an outward washing with water, as much as was formerly the baptism of John. It has no saving efficacy in its own constitution; no power to remove the guilt of past sin, or to regenerate children of Satan into children of God. It signifies this; but only as a fact which must be spiritually experienced under another form. In the case of adults it should of right follow this experience, showing that it has already taken place—that the subjects of the ordinance, in other words, have already secured the spiritual reality of which it is the outward profession, are regenerated, justified, adopted into the household of faith, the citizenship of heaven, and in virtue of all this are entitled now to enter the visible Church in this

way, and so to become Christians in name as they are already Christians in fact. In the case of infants, the change may be supposed to precede the ordinance occasionally, or in some instances possibly to accompany it, by an act of sovereign power on the part of God; but more commonly it is to be considered as being still a sort of covenant possibility only, which is hopefully expected to issue in actual conversion at some future time. In any case, however, there may be no inward change at all, answering either prospectively or retrospectively to the outward sign. So with adults, who often profess religion in this way without any sense of its proper power; and so also with infants, vast numbers of whom, after baptism, grow up, and pass through life, plainly impenitent and unconverted to the end. In all such instances, the relation between the sacrament and the grace signified by it, is clearly shown to be nominal only and nothing more; and the broad example, with which we are thus continually confronted in such form, is held sufficient to show that this is in truth the character of the relation universally, and that it must ever be idle, therefore, to speak of baptism as being itself, in any real sense, the vehicle of grace or the power of a new birth to righteousness and life.

We merely state this view here, in general terms; as we have tried to state before the doctrine of the ancient Church. Our business is not now to discuss the actual merits of either theory. We wish only to place them in contrast, and to fix attention on the plain fact of their difference and contradiction. Such a difference, in a case whose bearings are so broad and profound, is justly entitled, we are very sure, to thoughtful consideration. It must ever argue a great want of seriousness, to regard it without interest or concern. It is not a matter, that we should be willing to have covered over with the mantle of historical ignorance. We are bound, in duty to ourselves, as well as in fidelity to the cause of religion, to bring the subject forward into the broad light of day, to converse

with it fairly and openly in its own form, to see and acknowledge in regard to it what is the actual truth. When this is done honestly and candidly, we can hardly fail to perceive that the fact thus brought into view, is one which demands explanation; and it will be felt at the same time, that what needs to be explained in the case is a question, not merely of theoretical curiosity, but of the greatest practical significance and account. Here are two widely different constructions of the religion of Jesus Christ. The sacramental system of the early Church, stands broadly opposed to the self-styled evangelical system of the present day, each protesting loudly against the other as an utter perversion of the true sense of the Gospel. Are they after all different versions only of the same faith? If so, how are their opposing modes of thought to be adjusted, so that we may have a right to be quiet and at rest in the modern theory, not ignoring the old, but looking it as a part of past history steadily in the face?

It will not do to say, there is no difficulty in the case; that the old view stands clearly condemned by the judgment of history itself; and that the truth is so plainly with the modern view, as to make it unnecessary for us to trouble ourselves with its justification. All *such* superiority to the claims of the problem is too easy, to deserve either confidence or respect. It demands a different solution. The conflict here is between forces, that are not simply imaginary but real. There are formidable difficulties on both sides. If the ecclesiastical system seem dangerous in one direction, we may not close our eyes to the fact that the evangelical system has its dangers also in another.

Without going into any wider view at present, it is easy enough to see, for example, what questionable consequences thrust themselves upon us, as naturally flowing from the modern purely spiritualistic theory of Christian Baptism. If the sacrament be only the outward sign of a spiritual transaction, which is in its own nature complete under another form altogether—which has no inward connection with the sign whatever, and which indeed as related to the

sign is purely ideal to such an extent that it may never become fact at all—it would seem certainly that no great stress should be laid upon the use of it in any way, and that it must always involve some jeopardy to the cause of true piety to suppose it dependent in the least upon any such form. Thus the Quakers, consistently enough, reject the outward sacrament altogether; it is for them a mere baptism of water; they will have only the baptism of the Spirit, which is a process that belongs by its very nature to the soul. This is an affectation of the highest order of spirituality; the dialectic counterpart and natural end of which, as we all know, is Socinian or Deistic Rationalism. Another less extreme, but for this very reason also less consistent, undervaluation of the outward sacrament, is exhibited in the ecclesiastical practice of the Baptists; who refuse to baptize infants, on the ground that they have no power to repent and believe in Christ, so as to be the subjects of that inward spiritual conversion of which baptism is the profession and sign, and without which it can have no meaning. What conclusion, indeed, can well be more logical, if we are to believe that there is no objective power, no supernatural grace, in the sacrament itself, and that the whole virtue of it resolves itself at last into what goes forward in the minds of its subjects themselves under a purely subjective form? With such a theory of the institution, it is perfectly certain that the practice of infant baptism never could have prevailed as it did in the ancient Church. It belongs to the old order of thinking on the subject, as we have it in St. Chrysostom and the Christian fathers generally, which made baptism to be the sacrament of a real regeneration by the power of the Holy Ghost into the family of God. Why then should it not be given up, along with this, as an obsolete superstition? It is becoming but too plain, that the Paedobaptist part of the so-called Evangelical Christianity of the present day is not able to hold its ground steadily, at this point, against the Baptist wing of the same interest. The Baptistic sentiment grows and spreads in every direction. It infects more and more, the secret thinking even of those sects which

still retain, in a traditional way, the old practice. The question of infant baptism is sunk in many quarters, as by general consent, into the category of *adiaphora*—things indifferent; as though it lay wholly on the outside of the proper sense and true actual substance of the Christian life. Some of our evangelical sects, it is easy to see, could at once part with the usage altogether, and not miss it in their scheme of practical religion. Hence, as a general thing, it appears to have fallen into very alarming neglect. Some of our more respectable denominations, or rather some thoughtful persons in these denominations, have in fact begun to take alarm from this cause, and are showing a disposition to lift the whole doctrine of Christian Baptism again, if possible, into a higher sphere, such as may correspond, in part at least, with the sacramental worth assigned to it in past ages. This, as far as it goes, is matter for congratulation. But it remains to be seen, how far any such reactionary feeling shall be able to stay and turn the tide, which still threatens to sweep all before it in the opposite direction. And who can say, what perils, not merely for the doctrine of Christian Baptism, but for the whole idea of the Christian Sacraments, for the very being of the Church, and in the end for the universal interest of Christianity itself, may not be involved in the full triumph of what claims to be the perfection of religion in such spiritualistic form!

What we mean by all this, is simply to show that the problem of settling the difference between the old doctrine of Christian Baptism and the view which has taken the place of it so widely in modern times—a difference which involves in the end two different schemes of Christianity,—is not just to be disposed of satisfactorily by the simple assumption, that the difficulty of the question lies wholly on the one side, the doctrine namely of the ancient Church, and not at all on the other. There are real difficulties of the most embarrassing kind on both sides; and it must ever be an argument of the most superficial thinking, not to perceive them, or not to acknowledge their force.

Lancaster, Pa. J. W. N.

ART. III.—THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

It is our purpose in the present article to give an account of the rise and progress of the English Language, and its present position, and close by a glance at what may be its destiny.

Language is the gift of God to man. The use of it is to be regarded as one of those peculiar powers which exalt man above the lower orders of creation, and ally him to the higher intelligences. The theory of Horace,—that man at first existed in a state of barbarism, isolated from his fellows, and only by slow degrees, under the stimulus of his social instincts, found out words and names by which to express his sensations and thoughts*—may serve for a heathen philosopher, but is not worthy of consideration by those who believe in God, and accept the Bible as a revelation from Him. Man was created in the possession of language so as to be able to express feeling and thought; for without language, thought, or continuous reflection, is impossible.

Languages, like the nations that speak them, may have a youth, and slowly grow to maturity, and may then exhibit a decline and old age, and finally may die out altogether as vehicles of speech or thought among men; but this is due to the circumstances under which they are developed, or to the character or fortune of those who speak them. Moreover, any theory built up from an inspection of derived tongues, or their peculiar history, will necessarily fail when we come to the consideration of language

* Quum prorepserunt primis animalia terris
Mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter
Unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis, quæ post fabricaverat usus,
Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
Nominaque invenere.—Sat. III. 99–104.

in its origin. Neither may we conclude that the growth of a language involves any addition to its grammatical forms. The progress is rather an expansion of its original life, which molds, governs and vivifies every phase of its development according to general laws, under the control of God only.

The English is one of the youngest in the family of spoken languages; and it exhibits in its history a progress from weakness to strength, from paucity and roughness to copiousness and refinement. The steps in its progress are so evident that its history is on this account worthy of our attention.

The history of the English language is of course intimately connected with the history of the English people. It begins, properly, at that point in English history, when, at the invitation of the Britons, A. D. 449, the Saxon chiefs, Hengist and Horsa entered the Island. The Saxons, having driven back the Picts and Scots, conquered also the Britons, whom they came to defend, and subdued them so thoroughly, that but little trace of their language, which was of Celtic origin, remained; the Anglo Saxon, the language of the conquerors, taking its place.

The Anglo Saxon is one of the dialects of the ancient Gothic, which prevailed over all the countries of Europe denominated as barbarous by the Greeks and Romans, except those in which the Celtic, or Sclavonian, were spoken. The three immediate descendants of the Gothic were the Anglo Saxon, the Franco-Theotisc, and the old Icelandic. Of the Gothic itself but a single monument remains, an imperfect copy of the Gospels, preserved in the library, at Upsala, in Sweden. From the silver with which its characters are adorned, it has long been called the *Codex Argenteus.*

The precise form of the Saxon when Hengist and Horsa entered Britain, it is impossible to discover. The Saxons were evidently, at that time, a people without learning, and there is every probability that they were even without an alphabet.

From the period of the subjugation of the Britons by the Saxons, the language suffered no remarkable change during a period of several hundred years. From the remains of it that have come down to modern times, it seems to have been capable of meeting all the necessities of the people; but this is saying very little, for, at the time of the Norman conquest, there is reason to believe that literature was in a very low condition. A cotemporary writer, a native of England, describes his countrymen generally as having been found by the Normans, in the eleventh century, a rustic and illiterate people. No names eminent for learning are recorded in this age of the Saxon Church.

At the battle of Hasting, in 1066, William of Normandy conquered the Saxons on their own soil; and following up his success, in the course of six or seven years, he subdued the whole Island. But he did not subdue the language; nor do we believe that he attempted to, though a tradition runs to that effect. The use of the Norman-French, as the language of the court and the higher classes generally, was a matter of course. Some of its words, indeed, soon found their way into the language of the common people, but they did not materially modify it.

A gradual, but considerable, change did take place in the Anglo Saxon during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It then began to take on a form in which we may discover the beginning of the present English. "But that these mutations," says a late writer, "were a consequence of the Norman invasion, or were even accelerated by that event, is wholly incapable of proof; and nothing rests upon a firmer principle of induction than that the same effects would have ensued, if William and his followers had remained upon their native soil." The substance of the changes consists in the suppression of those grammatical intricacies occasioned by the inflection of nouns, the arbitrary distinctions of gender, the government of prepositions, &c. How far this may be considered as the result of an innate law of the language, or some general law in the organization of those who spoke it, we may leave un-

determined; but that it was in no way dependent on external circumstances, upon foreign influence or political disturbances, is established by this undeniable fact—that every branch of the Low German stock, whence the Anglo Saxon sprang, displays the same simplification of its grammar. In all these languages there has been a constant tendency to relieve themselves of that precision which chooses a fresh symbol for every shade of meaning to lessen the amount of nice distinctions, and detect as it were a royal road to the interchange of thought.*

This change may be regarded as the first step in the passage of the Anglo Saxon into the modern English; the next was the change made in the vocabulary of the language by the introduction of numerous terms borrowed from the French. Of this latter innovation, however, we find little trace till long after the completion of the former. For nearly two hundred years after the conquest, the Saxon seems to have been spoken and written with scarcely any intermixture of Norman. It only, in fact, began to receive such adulteration after it came to be adopted as the speech of that part of the nation which had previously spoken French. And this adoption by those of Norman descent was plainly the cause, and the sole cause, of the intermixture. The corruption of the Saxon by the intermingling of French vocables must have proceeded from those whose original language was French, and who were familiar with French customs and literature, at the same time that they spoke Saxon. And this supposition is in perfect accordance with the historical fact. So long as the Saxon was the language of only a part of the people, and the French struggled with it for the mastery, it remained comparatively pure; when it became the speech of the whole people, the higher classes as well as the lower, it lost its old Teutonic purity, and received a large alien admixture from the alien lips through which it passed. For the subsequent changes of this character and the continued

* Warton's Hist. Eng. Poetry, p. 110.

introduction of large numbers of new words from the French and the Latin, numerous reasons will suggest themselves; such as the Latin serviee in the churches, its use as a common language among the learned, the French dominions attached to the English crown, and the consequent intercourse either in commerce or war between the two nations. Besides in this middle period, though the Norman settlers had become amalgamated with the people, genteel education was still considered incomplete without French. "Also gentilmens children," says Trevisa, "ben lerned and taught from their yongth to speke Frenssh, and up londissh men will counterfete and likene hem selfe to gentilmen, and arn bèsy to speke Frenssh for to be more sette by. Wherefore it is said by a common proverb, Jack would be a gentilman if he coude speke Frenssh."* Whether this were a fortunate circumstance or otherwise, we will not now discuss.

The pestilence of 1349 forms a remarkable era in the history of the language; before that time, as we have remarked, the nobility and gentry affected to converse in French, "but from the time of the first moreyn this maner was somdel ychaungide." This marks the point when the language began to digest its various elements into "English," and to take on that form which it retains to the present day. It is worthy of note that Edward III ordered the pleadings in the courts to "be carried on in English" in 1362.

The translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular by Wickliffe, was the most important literary work of this period, as it had an immense influence upon the subsequent history of the language. It was finished in the year 1382. We select as a specimen a few verses from the last chapter of Luke:—

But in o day of the woke ful eerli thei camen to the grave, and broughten swete smelling spiees that thei hadden arayed. And thei founden the stoon turnyd awey fro the grave. And thei geden in and founden not the bodi of the Lord Jhesus.

*Pict. Hist. England, Vol. II, pp. 211.

And it was don the while thei weren astonyed in thought of this thing, lo twey men stoden bisidis hem in schynyng cloth. And whanne thei dredden and bowiden her semblaunt into erthe, thei seiden to hem, what seeken ye him that lyueth with deede men?

The most eminent literary names of this period are Gower and Chaucer. The latter being justly regarded as the father of English literature, in a much higher sense than merely standing at its head, as our language owes the foundation of its enduring constitution principally to him. From Gower's *Confessio Amantis* we give a short extract:—

In a Cronig I fynde thus,
How that Caius Fabricius
Wich whilome was consul of Rome,
By whome the lawes yede and come,
Whan the Sampnitees to him brouht
A somme of golde, and hym by souht
To done hem favoure in the lawe,
Towarde the golde he gan hym drawe:
Wherof, in alles menne loke,
A part in to his honde he tooke,
Wich to his mouthe in alle haste
He put hit for to smelle and taste,
And to his ihe and to his ere,
Bot he ne fonde no comfort there:
And thanne he be gan hit to despise,
And tolde vnto hem in this wise:
"I not what is with golde to thryve
When none of alle my wittes fyve
Fynt savour ne delite ther inne."

The reader may judge of Chaucer's prose from the following extract from the Canterbury Tales:—

. . . . . Now as to the outragious array of women, God wote that though the visages of som of hem semen ful chaste and debonaire, yet notifien they in hir array of attire likerousnesse and pride. I say not that honestee in clothing of man or woman is unconvenable, but certes the superfluitee or disordinat scarcitee of clothing is reprevable. Also the sinne

of ornement or of apparaile is in thinges that appertaine to riding, as in to many delicat hors that ben holden for delit, that ben so faire, fatte, and costlewe; and also in many a vicious knave that is susteined because of hem; in curious harneis, as in sadler, cropers, peitrels, and bridles covered with precious cloth and rich, barred and plated of gold and of silver; for which God sayth by Zacharie the prophet, I wol confounde the riders of swiche hors.

The art of printing, though it had been practised in Germany for nearly thirty years, at length was introduced into England, about 1470, by William Caxton. The introduction of this "art preservative of all arts," had a great effect in advancing the literature and fixing the form of the language. Our specimen of the English of this age is from a book translated from the French by Caxton himself, and printed in 1483.

I wold ye knewe wel the tale and example of the lady which daygned not to come to her dyner for ony commaundement that her lord coud make to her, and so many tyme he sent for her that at the last whanne he sawe she wold not come at his commaundement he made to com be fore hym his swyneherd, he that kept his swynes, whiche was foule and ouermoche hydous, and bad hym fetche the clowte of the kechyn wherewith men wype dysshes and platers. And thenne he made a table or bord to be dressyd be fore hys wyf and made it to be couerd with the sayde cloute. . . . . And whenne she that thenne was sore ashamed and more wrothe than she was tofore, sawe and knewe that her lord mocked her, refreyned her proude herte and knewe her foly. Therfor a woman ought not in no wyse to refuse to come at the commaundement of her lord, yf she wylle have and kepe his loue and pees.

The English language in the course of the sixteenth century, as regards both its vocabulary and its syntax, reached very nearly the state in which it still exists; and which may, therefore, be assumed to be the full and final development of its formative genius and tendencies.

The letter, which Sir Thomas More wrote to his wife in 1528, after the burning of his house in Chelsea, affords a good specimen of epistolary English at this period:—

Maistres Alyce, in my most harty wise, I recommend me to you; and whereas I am enfourmed by my son Heron of the losse of our barnes and of our neighbors also, with all the corn that was therein, albeit (saving God's pleasure) it is gret pitie of so much good corne lost, yet sith it hath liked hym to sende us such a chaunce, we must and are bounden, not only to be content, but also to be glad of his visitacion. He sente us all that we have loste; and sith he hath by such a chaunce taken it away againe, his pleasure be fulfilled. Let us never grudge ther at, but take it in good worth, and hartely thank him, as well for adversitie as for prosperitie. And peradventure we have more cause to thank him for our losse, then for our winning; for his wisdome better seeth what is good for vs than we do our selves. Therfor I pray you be of good chere, and take all the howseld with you to church, and there thanke God, both for that he hath given us, and for that he hath taken from us, and for that he hath left us, which if it please hym he can encrease when he will. And if it please hym to leave us yet lesse, at his pleasure be it . . . .

The following is an extract from Latimer's third sermon before Edward VI. 1549:—

For it is *consolatio miserorum*, it is the comfort of the wretched to have companye. When I was in trouble, it was objected and sayed unto me that I was syngular, that no man thought as I thought, that I love a syngularyte in all that I dyd, and that I tooke a way, contrarye to the kyng and the whole parliamente, and that I was travayled wyth them that had better wyttes than I, that I was contrary to them al. Marye syr thys was a sore thunder bolte. I thought it an yrkesome thynge to be a lone, and to have no fellowe. I thoughte it was possyble it myghte not be true that they tolde me. In the vii. of John the Priestes sente out certayne of the Jewes to bring Chryst unto them vyolentlye. When they came into the Temple and harde hym preache, they were so moved wyth his preachyng that they returned home agayne, and sayed to them that sente them, *Nunquam sic locutus est homo ut hic homo*, there was never man spake lyke thys man.

Our last example is from "Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique," published in 1553. The following describes

By what means Eloquence is obtained.

First, nedefull it is that he which desireth to excell in this

gift of Oratorie, and longeth to prove an eloquent man, must naturally have a wit and aptnesse thereunto: then must he to his boke, and learne to be well stored with knowledge, that he maie be able to minister matter for all causes necessarie. The which when he hath gotte plentifully, he must use muche exercise, bothe in writyng and also in speakyng. For though he have a wit and learnyng together, yet shall thei bothe litle availe without muche practise. What maketh the Lawyer to have such utterance? Practise. What maketh the Preacher to speake so roundly? Practise. Yea, what maketh women go so fast awai with their wordes? Marie, Practise, I warraunt you.

Edmund Spencer was born in 1553, and published the earlier portion of his great poem in 1590. William Shakspeare, born in 1564, appeared in print as early as 1593. Each of these great masters of the English tongue can be read with ease by any well-educated person at home in the English of the present day. So little has the language changed in almost three centuries.

The present authorized version of the Scriptures was first published in 1613. Considered merely in a literary point of view, it is a most remarkable production, honorable to the translators and to the character of the language at that period of its history. The subjects of this volume are "vast as eternity, sublime as the throne of God;" its variety is almost without limit; and although it was designed to be a literal translation of the original Hebrew and Greek, it must have been no common language which could have preserved the precision, force and beauty of the originals it so strikingly displays. It is, indeed, an English classic, where many an orator has kindled the fire of his eloquence and many a poet has gained that strength of wing by which he has soared to

"———the highest heaven of invention."

"One of the chiefest among the minor and secondary blessings which that Version has conferred on the nation or nations drawing spiritual life from it,—a blessing not small in itself, but only small by comparison with the in-

finitely higher blessings whereof it is the vehicle to them, —is the happy wisdom, the instinctive tact with which its authors have steered between any futile mischievous attempt to ignore the full rights of the Latin part of the language on the one side, and on the other any burdening of their Version with such a multitude of learned Latin terms as should cause it to forfeit its homely character, and shut up great portions of it from the understanding of plain and unlearned men. There is a remarkable confession to this effect, to the wisdom, in fact, which guided them from above, to the providence that overruled their work, an honorable acknowledgment of the immense superiority in this respect of our English Version over the Romish or Douay, made by one now unhappily familiar with the latter, as once he was with our own. These are his words: "Who will not say that the uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country? It lives on the ear like a music that can never be forgotten, like the sounds of church bells, which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind; and the anchor of national seriousness. The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments, and all that there has been about him of soft and gentle, and pure and penitent and good, speaks to him forever out of his English Bible. It is his sacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed, and controversy never soiled. In the length and breadth of the land there is not a Protestant with one spark of religiousness about him, whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible."*

The period we have now reached in the history of the language marks the commencement of that wonderful literary activity which carried the English tongue to the high-

* Trench's English past and present, pp. 34, 35.

est degree of excellence; we can, of course, merely allude to that mighty galaxy of intellectual stars, which during the 17th and 18th centuries made the language the vehicle of light and pleasure for the whole world.

In 1755 Dr. Samuel Johnson earned the gratitude of every lover of the language by the publication of his "Complete English Dictionary," which furnished what had long been greatly needed, an authoritative standard, drawn from the usage of the best writers; for reputable custom is that use, which Horace long since considered the fountain of authority in language.

"———usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi."

The grammatical structure of the English is more simple than that of any other language, if we except the Hebrew, without the points; and the facility with which its grammatical construction may be acquired, is not the least of its advantages. The *article* has no variation. The *adjective* is only varied to express the degrees of comparison. With regard to the *noun*, grammatical gender, with one or two fragmentary exceptions, is altogether foregone. The *verb* has but one conjugation; and the original verb remains mostly unchanged in all its moods and tenses. He, who, with great labor, has mastered the various inflections of the Latin, Greek and French verbs, will know how to estimate this advantage. The order of the words in the construction of sentences is the order of nature; nor does the idiom of the language allow extensively of inversion, except in poetry. This gives it a logical and philosophical character. The language is also wonderfully copious, and it is growing in this respect continually. This arises:—1st. From its obtaining its words from many sources; the Saxon readily admitted new words, and it has borrowed from the Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Gaelic, Danish, and all the languages of modern Europe.—2nd. From its facility of compounding words; although it is inferior in this respect to the German.—3rd. From the possession of a large class of words purely poetic; in which respect it is the equal of the German, and immeasurably superior to the French.

Variety and flexibility are secured by dispensing with the uniform terminology of the ancient tongues, and richness is gained by adopting from all sources whatever the necessities of the millions who read and speak it demand.

The English language, while it has neither the *esprit* of the French, nor the *gemüthlichkeit* of the German, is superior to either in the untold wealth of its noble literature. Far superior, indeed, in this respect to any other language ever written or spoken in the world.

Although no tongue, probably, will ever be a language for the world, nor are we sure that this is desirable, yet the English has certainly the best prospect for becoming nearly so. Upon the Empire of Britain the sun never sets; and her language is a familiar sound in every quarter of the globe. It is the common speech of the two most powerful, enterprising, commercial nations known to history. British and American commerce cannot fail to carry it, as on the wings of the wind, to the utmost ends of the earth. These nations also are more influenced by the missionary spirit of the Gospel of Christ than any other; and the heralds they are sending forth to the benighted and waste places of the earth appear to be destined in the providence of God to be the principle instruments in diffusing Christianity throughout the world. The introduction of their language accompanies this mighty work almost as a matter of course. Who then can say when the triumphs of the English tongue shall cease? Who can limit its power to direct and control the interests of the human race?

ART. IV.—GERMAN HYMNOLOGY.

The following article, translated from the German of Dr. Philip Schaff, was published in the Deutsche Kirchenfreund of December last, and intended as an introduction for the new Gesangbuch by the same author.* Of late years the interest in hymnology has been steadily growing among the English Churches of America, and many will no doubt be glad to learn what our German brethren have done, and are now doing, in this important field. A like fate has befallen the treasures of sacred song in both languages, although the English have not suffered to as great an extent as the German. Yet they too have been sadly curtailed and mutilated by rude, unskillful hands, and, worse than all, forced to give up the utterances of faith and devotion, and in too many cases receive, instead, the bald, prosaic substitutions of a rationalistic age. A revival and restoration of the old, pure unaltered originals (few classic hymns have become antiquated in our tongue) is loudly called for, and he will perform a truly good work, who takes the pains to collect, compile and publish a complete *thesaurus* of English hymns, as given to the world by the poets who wrote them. This would form a solid basis for all future hymn-books and relieve coming generations from endless confusion.

The Gesangbuch of Dr. Schaff is a model of its kind. Its order is clear, simple, artistic, churchly; its selection of hymns, made in accordance with sound taste and fervid piety, embraces the finest productions of the Christian Muse of all ages; its critical, historical and biographical annotations are of great value, especially to the English scholar, and its style of publication corresponds in every respect with the demands of the age and the excellent character of its contents.

THE TRANSLATOR.

"O sing unto the Lord a new song: sing unto the Lord, all the earth. Sing unto the Lord, bless his name; show

* *Deutsches Gesangbuch.* Eine Auswahl geistlicher Lieder aus allen Zeiten der Christlichen Kirche. Nach den besten hymnologischen Quellen bearbeitet und mit erläuternden Bemerkungen über die Verfasser, der Inhalt, und die Geschichte der Lieder versehen, von *Philipp Schaff*, Prof. und Dr. der Theol. Philadelphia. 1859.

forth his salvation from day to day. Declare his glory among the heathen, his wonders among all people." Such was the appeal made by the sweet singer of Israel, in the 96th Psalm, to the church of the Old Testament. "Be filled with the Spirit; speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord; giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." Thus the apostle of the New Testament exhorted "the saints and faithful brethren" at Ephesus and Colosse.

Here we find that God himself has consecrated the two noblest of the fine arts to his service, and assigned them an enduring place of honor in the worship of his sanctuary. Christianity, which entered the world amid the anthem of the heavenly host: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men," contains an inexhaustible store of the richest material for the fairest and grandest creations of poetry and music, suited to the tongues both of men and of angels.

Among the various kinds of religious poetry, the hymn exerts by far the greatest influence upon the Christian life in the church, the school and the family. Lyrical in its structure, it differs from other forms of lyrical poetry, as the ode, the elegy and the sonnet, in its religious contents and the ease with which it may be understood and sung. What the popular song (volks-lied) is to the nation that the hymn is to the Church. It embodies the profound and living ideas of Holy Writ in plain, pure, melodious language, and, representing in its own subjective experience the experience of all Christendom, is equally at home in the house of God and in the exercises of private devotion. The most sacred kind of poetry and glorified by its use in worship, it rises as a sweet-smelling sacrifice from the earthly altar to the throne of God. It is the highest flower of the Christian life, arrayed in a festal garb of beauty.

The church-hymn is one of the most powerful means for promoting the *unity* of the faith and the *communion* of

saints. In the general chorus the voice of the individual is lost, only to be borne up heavenward on the wings of the common devotion. Genuine spiritual songs contain nothing dogmatically exclusive, are not denominational or sectarian in the bad sense of the word, but truly Christian and catholic, a popular expression of the simplest and deepest religious feelings of the heart. What a Luther or Paul Gerhardt, a Joachim Neander or Tersteegen have produced, can be sung and prayed by Reformed and Lutheran congregations with equal fervor. When such hymns as "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott," "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," "Nun danket Alle Gott," "Lobe den Herrn, den mächtigen König der Ehren," "Gott ist gegenwärtig" are sung, the Evangelical Church forgets all her internal strifes and party interests and feels herself to be one heart and one soul. Even the strong antagonism between the Catholic and the Protestant is drowned amid the harmonies of the "Gloria in excelsis" and the "Te Deum." In this respect the hymns of the Christian Church are like the psalms—the common property of all. They find an echo in all pious hearts, and possess an imperishable power and freshness, like the sun in his daily rising and the spring in its annual return. Instead of being worn out by age and use, their influence is extended and deepened every year and every century. They resemble those healing herbs, which the more they are rubbed give out richer odors. The 23rd, 51st, and 103rd psalms of David, the hymn of the Virgin Mary, and the Te Deum of the ancient Church can not be read and sung to-day, without bringing home to us the communion of numberless saints, whom they have edified in past ages and who from the heights of heaven sympathize in the worship of the militant Church as she sings and prays on earth.

Not only does the hymn serve to enkindle the fires of devotion in the sanctuary, but it also accompanies the *individual* members of the congregation, in the domestic circle and the quiet chamber, as a protecting and comforting angel, in their pilgrimage from the cradle to the grave. It

awakens them from the sleep of sin, strengthens them in the faith, fills them with holy emotions, inspires them to divine thoughts and deeds, arms them for conflict and victory against all enemies, hallows their joys, sweetens their sorrows, encourages them to patience and resignation and comforts them in the last hour with a foretaste of the perfect worship of Heaven, where the innumerable host of the redeemed, of all ages, lands and tongues, together with angels and archangels, never grow weary of extolling, as with one mouth and heart and in ever new ways, the wonderful works of almighty wisdom and love in the realms of nature and grace.

Thus psalms and spiritual songs continue from generation to generation the true benefactors of struggling and suffering humanity, ministering angels "sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation." The history of their blessed influence may be traced in the biographies of the most pious and enlightened Christians, but will only fully appear on that day when all that is hidden shall be revealed. If Scaliger, the celebrated scholar, declared that he would rather be the author of a certain ode of Horace than king of Aragon, the pious Gellert said, with still better reason, that he would rather have composed a few of the old classic church-hymns than all the odes of Pindar and Horace, and added, that if by his own he could contribute in any measure to the edification of God's people it would give him more joy than to possess "the fame of the greatest epic-poet and the most eloquent philosopher of all nations."*

Hence, next to the Sacred Scriptures, at least for the German nation, with its love of poetry and music, no religious aid is more indispensable in church, school and family than a book of hymns, which are not only heard and read, but also prayed and sung, which live not only in the mouths, but in the hearts of the people and carry their awakening, sanctifying and consoling power into the daily affairs of life.

* Preface to his Geistlichen Oden and Liedern. Leipzig. 1757.

The *history* of hymnology is one of the most interesting branches of church-history, and equally important for the development of Christian life and Christian worship (cultus). It is like a garden filled with fragrant flowers that bloom in unfading beauty. It shows us piety in its purest forms, severest conflicts, most precious experiences, most blessed enjoyments, and in its essential unity, despite all the variations of language and race. The tears of penitence, the joys of faith, the glow of love, the consolations of hope, the strength of patience are the same in all ages and here assemble around the altar of devotion as an offering of praise and thanksgiving to the Triune God, who has created, redeemed and sanctified us and is alone worthy to receive honor, glory and adoration from everlasting to everlasting.

The *Psalms* of the *Old* Testament form the most ancient book of church-poetry extant. The religious lyric poetry of the Hebrews reached its highest point in the age of David and Solomon and lent to the temple-service an extraordinary solemnity. The royal psalmist, from whom the whole collection takes its name, appointed no fewer than four thousand singers, arranged in twenty four courses, under two hundred and eighty-eight leaders (1 Chron. 16: 6, and ch. 25). Accompanied by the music of trumpets, cymbals, harps and other instruments they sang the psalms whilst the people chimed in responsively or sang after them. Stamped with the seal of divine authority and confirmed by the example of the Saviour at the institution of the Holy Supper, (Matth. 26, 30.) these psalms are used to this day in all lands and confessions of Christendom, partly in the form of literal translations, and partly in the form of metrical reproductions, in which the language of the New Testament is often substituted for that of the Old. In versions of this kind the English Church is particularly rich.

Next to the Psalms, we find, on the threshhold of the New Dispensation, the glorious hymns of the Virgin Mary (the so-called Magnificat, Luke 1: 46 ff.), of Zacharias (the

Benedictus, 1 : 68 ff.), of the heavenly host (the Gloria, 2 : 14), of Simeon (2: 29), and those songs of the early church, of which at least traces and hints exist in the apostolic writings*). But the New Testament contains everywhere the most fruitful germs of poetry and many of the finest church-hymns are merely variations of single words of Christ and the Apostles.

The *Greek* Church was the first to inaugurate church-hymnology as distinguished from that which is purely biblical or divine. Her first attempts were doxologies, or, at most, ascriptions of praise to God or Christ, compiled from passages of the Bible. The heathen governor, Pliny, testifies, in the beginning of the second century, that the Christians in their assemblies were accustomed to sing hymns to Christ as their God, and Eusebius, the church-historian, speaks, in the beginning of the fourth, of many Christian psalms and odes, which glorify Christ as the divine Word (Logos). To the ancient Greek Church we are indebted for two grand, psalm-like anthems, the "Gloria in excelsis," which arose from the song of the angels in Luke 2 : 14, and the "Te Deum," which was afterwards translated into Latin and enlarged by Ambrose. Almost contemporaneous with the Greek hymnology stands that of the *Syrian* Church, in which the deacon, Ephraim of Edessa (†378) plays the chief part. Its influence, however, was confined to the land of its birth.

With the fourth century begins the history of the *Latin* hymnology, among whose poets the names of Ambrose (†367), Hilary (†368), Prudentius (†405), Augustine (†430), Fortunatus (†600), Notker (†912), Bernard of Clairvaux (†1153), Thomas von Celano († about 1250), Bonaventura (†1274), Thomas Aquinas (†1274), and Jacobus de Benedictis (†1306) occupy the most prominent place.

The ancient Latin and mediæval Church produced many immortal hymns and sequences, full of majesty, dignity

* See Acts 4: 24–30. Eph. 5 : 14, 19. Col. 3 : 16. 1 Tim. 3 : 16. 2 Tim. 2 : 11. James 1 : 17. Rev. 1 : 4–8, 5 : 9–14, 11 : 15–19, 15 : 3 f., 21 : 1–8, 22 : 10–17, 20.

and power, which served as models to the oldest evangelical writers. Thus more than half of Luther's six and thirty hymns are free translations and poetical paraphrases of psalms and Latin originals†; Gerhardt's touching passion-hymn: "O Haupt, voll Blut und Wunden," is based on St. Bernard's "Salve caput cruentatum," and several of the finest judgment-hymns, both in German and English, are for the most part echoes of the terrible "Dies irae," which will no doubt retain its power to shake the human soul, until the last day, the day of wrath itself, shall come. The Evangelical Church has not broken with history in a radical manner, but here also, as in retaining the oecumenical creeds, holds firmly to her connection with all that is true and good in the Christianity of past ages.

And yet the *Evangelical Protestant* Church has far surpassed both the Greek and the Latin in the variety and number of her hymnological creations. The Reformation had the peculiar honor of giving birth to the genuine popular church-hymn in the vernacular tongue, as well as singing by the whole congregation. This stood in bold contrast with the mediæval practice, in which the priest and choir alone sang, and that in the Latin language, an unknown tongue to the majority of the people. The doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers came thus to be recognized in the family and in the public worship of the sanctuary. Among the different Protestant Churches, that of Germany, beyond all question, holds the first rank in the history of hymnology. Her treasures of this kind are by far the richest, and furnish a brilliant proof of the poetic and religious endowments of the German nation and the inward power of her evangelical faith. German hymnology, if we except a few imperfect beginnings in the middle ages, started into life with the Reformation, and accom-

† Twelve are translations of old-catholic hymns, of which ten had been translated into German before; seven are versions of Latin psalms; four, improvements of older German originals; eight, elaborations of particular passages of the Bible, and five, altogether from his own pen. See the modern works of *Crusius*, *Pasig*, *Ph. Wackernagal* and *Schircks* on "Luther's geistliche Lieder," and *E. E. Koch's* "Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs" (V. I. p. 80 f. of the 2d ed. of 1852).

panied it as a herald in its swift and victorious career through German lands, whilst the Protestant Churches of Switzerland, France, Holland and England, for a long time after, contented themselves with metrical versions of the Psalms. The first German evangelical hymn-book, the so-called Wittenberg Enchiridion, appeared in the year 1523 and contained eight hymns (four by Luther, three by Speratus and one by an unknown author); the Erfurt Enchiridon of 1524 could boast already of twenty five (of which eighteen were from Luther); the hymn-book of Walter, of the same year, numbered thirty-two; Klug's of 1529 had fifty-four; Babst's of 1545, eighty-nine, and the second edition, of 1566, as many as four hundred hymns. Since then the German hymnology has received accessions with the lapse of almost every decade, and now counts, as the result of three hundred years' activity, about eighty thousand spiritual songs.* Of these at least several hundred are classical, and, as far as the German language extends, have come into general use, whilst the fifteen centuries before the Reformation can scarcely show one thousand hymns in all, of which only about one hundred and fifty, at most, have attained a living power in the Church, or, more properly, among the clergy.

To this treasury of German song, several hundred men and women of all ranks and conditions,—theologians and pastors, princes and princesses, generals and statesmen, physicians and jurists, merchants and travellers, laborers and private persons—have made contributions, laying them on the common altar of devotion. Many of these hymns, and just those possessed of the greatest vigor and unction, full of the most exulting faith and the richest comfort, had their origin amid the conflicts and storms of the Reformation, or the fearful devastations and nameless misery of the Thirty Years' War; others belong to the revival-period of Spenerian Pietism and the Moravian Brotherhood, and re-

* The Leiderlexicon of C. L. v. Hardenberg (5 vol.), in the public library atHalberstadt, stops with the year 1786, yet contains 72,782 hymns with an index of the first lines.

flect its earnest struggle after holiness, the fire of first love and the sweet enjoyment of the soul's intercourse with her Heavenly Bridegroom; not a few of them sprang up even in the unbelieving age of "illumination" and rationalism, like flowers from dry ground, or alpine roses on fields of snow; others, again, proclaim, in fresh and joyous tones, the dawn of reviving faith in the land where the Reformation had its birth. Thus these hymns constitute a most graphic book of confession for German evangelical Christianity, a sacred band which encircles its various periods, an abiding memorial of its victories, its sorrows and its joys, a clear mirror showing its deepest experiences, and an eloquent witness for the all-conquering and invincible life-power of the evangelical Christian faith.

The period of decay in the Protestant Church of Germany, which began about the middle of the last century and continued far into the present, laid, alas! its thankless and profane hands upon the treasures of sacred song and buried them under heaps of rubbish for several generations. And yet, during this very time German poetry and music were soaring in their highest flights; but the greatest poets and musical composers—we need only name Goethe and Schiller, Mozart and Beethoven—felt themselves repelled from a cold and degenerate Church and devoted their brilliant powers almost exclusively to profane art, which may, however, be regarded as the forerunner of a new age of religious art.

The beginning of this unfortunate *hymnological revolution* was made with well-meaning zeal and without any presentiment of its mischievous consequences, by gifted poets and worthy men like Klopstock, who, in the year 1758, along with his own spiritual odes, published twenty-nine of the old hymns in an altered form. Soon after appeared modernized hymn-books by Andreas Cramer, John Adolph Schlegel, John Samuel Diterich, and G. Joachim Zollikoffer. The aim of these men was not so much to injure the doctrinal contents as to soften down the frequent rude phrases of the old hymns, in order to make them run more

smoothly to suit the taste of the age, but they knew not how to value their venerable quaintness and genial simplicity and very often by new modes of expression weakened the power of the thought. Thus, for example, Schlegel (1765) ventured even to convert Luther's "Ein' feste Burg," because of the wholly innocent and admissible elision in the article, into "Ein starker Shutz," and the lines of Hermann:

> "Fällt mir etwas Arges ein,
> Denk ich gleich an Deine Pein,
> Die erlaubet meinem Herzen
> Mit der Sünde nicht zu scherzen."

merely on account of the unusual position of the negative, into:

> "Mich sollt' ich durch Sünd' entweih'n?
> Nein, ich denk, an Deine Pein
> Ach, den ganzen Gräu'l der Sünden
> Lässt mich die mit Gräu'n empfinden."

—a change for the worse, viewed simply from an aesthetic stand-point. Diterich acted with still more freedom and caprice, since, in his hymn-book of 1765, which was first brought out as an appendix to that of Porst in Berlin, he altered and re-wrought in part not only the older hymns, but also those selected from the writings of Gellert.

After him came a whole swarm of officious hymnological tinkers, whose very names are now almost forgotten, neological counsellors of the consistory, court-preachers, general superintendents and poetasters, utterly devoid of sympathy with the spirit of the old hymns, as well as of poetic sense and taste. In their hands, under the growing influence of rationalism, the desire for reform, at first well-meant and in some respects not altogether unjustifiable, degenerated more and more into an Erostratic mania for mutilating, weakening and diluting, which sometimes approached the borders of profanity. The glorious classic productions of an age of faith were wantonly deprived of their specifically Christian contents and poetic beauty, so as scarcely to be recognized, or cast overboard as antiquated and offensive, in order to make room for the tedious rhymings of a pro-

saic religion of reason and virtue, or a sickly and mawkish sentimentalism. Penitence was now converted into improvement, sanctification into self-ennoblement, piety into virtue, faith into religion, eternal life into the better world and the joys of reunion; yea, the living Christ himself had to make room for Christianity in the abstract, and the personal God, for the Deity, Providence or even Fate. Instead of hymns of faith and salvation, the congregations were obliged, from that time forward, to sing "moral sermons in rhyme" upon the proofs for the existence of God and immortality, upon all possible virtues and duties, upon the glorious endowments and dignity of man, upon the five senses, upon "the flourishing condition of the sciences, trade, navigation and manufactures," upon the nurture of the body, upon the care of animals and trees, and even upon the cow-pox.*

Along with this deterioration in books of hymns a similar *revolution in books of church-music* went hand in hand. "Hymn and choral"—says an accomplished connoisseur of evangelical church-music†—"sermon and prayer, shared a like fate—a rapid falling away from plain, free, direct expression, humble, inward, hearty, strong, enthusiastic faith, depth of spirit, and adaptation to the wants of the people, into the empty void of abstract, reflexive subjec-

* Numerous and striking proofs of the correctness of this picture may be found in several hymnological essays from C. v. Raumer and Bunsen in the Evangelische Kirchenzeitung of 1829 and 1830, especially in Nos. 82 and 88; also, in the well-known writings of Stier and Kraz on the "Gesangbuchsnoth." Yet even in its first beginnings the mischief stirred up righteous indignation. The genial poet, Schubart (†1791), who was awakened to serious reflection upon the folly of his previous life, in the fortress of Hohenasperg, used this language: "Wo to us, if Luther's translation of the Bible had shared the same fate as our hymn-books, which in every Protestant province or city have been so often published by spiritless, unpoetic and terribly dogmatizing or else boldly neologizing compilers. In them our finest hymns are frequently diluted, maimed or reduced to a state of complete deformity! In former days a journeyman of Aalen could sing a spiritual song in brotherly communion with his fellow-crafts men from Göttingen, Bremen, Hamburg or Berlin. But now, hymns have as many various forms as there are cities; now, spiritual concord in singing is hushed and all unity of faith and spirit would cease amongst us, were it not for Luther's Bible." Herder, Goethe, Claudius and Hamann also raised their protest against this hymnological vandalism.

† Baron Von Tucher in the Preface to his "Schätz des evangelischen Kirchengesangs," etc. Stuttgart, 1840.

tivity, a lofty estimate of human knowledge, opinion and feeling, the platitude of dull reasoning and moralizing, and thus an extinction of spiritual life and Christian sympathy." Many of the best old chorals were now consigned to oblivion, whilst others were translated from the living, vigorous church-style into the heavy, tedious style of the schools, or displaced by new tunes of a dry, didactic character. According to the maxim then adopted, that slowness is the true measure of solemnity, the dragging monotony of common time with perpetual half notes of equal value, which best harmonized with the spiritual relaxation and prosaic sobriety of the age of "illumination," usurped the place of the old, inspiring rhythm, with is lively movement that well corresponded to the strength and inwardness of faith expressed in the hymns themselves. "Choral singing"—as Koch justly observes*—"lost in this way all its freshness and life, and received an impress of uncommon tediousness, dulness and uniformity, so that one choral seems almost like the other."

Thus Germany, in the name of her consistories and reigning princes, without consulting the people, who had no voice in the matter or vainly resisted it, was in a few years overwhelmed by a real deluge of bulky hymn-books and books of chorals, wholly destitute of spirit and unction, which instead of nourishing piety did more to destroy it than the rationalism taught in the professorial chairs of the universities. At the same time, by reason of the independent position of the multitude of established churches, large and small, in the German States and the Swiss Cantons, which all put forth their own books of hymns and chorals according to a special pattern, there appeared, instead of the earlier spiritual concord of song, a frightful Babylonish confusion, which it will cost great labor to reduce again to harmony,—a task only to be accomplished by a prudent return to the good and old.

Nevertheless, it cannot be said, that the illumination-

* In his work already cited: "Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs, v. 8. p. 251.

period was productive of *pure* mischief. It has, at least negatively, paved the way for such a reproduction of the old, as will retain its substance, purified from accidental dross, cast into better form, enriched with the gifts of a later age and adapted to the use of the Church of the present. God knows how to bring good even out of the ruin which man has wrought, and is able to turn the apparent obstructions in the path of his Church to her ultimate advantage. Under his wise guidance all errors can but serve at last to aid the triumph of the truth.

The sadly mutilated and disfigured hymnology just portrayed, as one might suppose, has found its way also into the German Churches of *America*. We will here make beforehand two or three honorable exceptions, with the restriction, however, that the book which is the best and most useful amongst them has been taken almost entirely from the new Würtemberg Hymn Book, with all its defects and errors, and from the first edition of Knapp's Liederschatz, now superseded and rendered worthless for critical purposes by a second fully revised and more complete. Most of the American German hymn-books, and those which enjoy the widest circulation, have been derived from the dreary period when religious and churchly life were at their lowest ebb in the fatherland. The contents, obtained from a few secondary sources, are strung together with no previous study or insight, no poetic feeling or taste, no logical order or method, with innumerable blunders in orthography and punctuation, indeed, we may say, with incredible ignorance and carelessness. Many of the very finest classical hymns are altogether omitted, such as "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott," "Allein zu Dir, Herr Jesu Christ," "Herzlich lieb hab ich Dich, O Herr," "Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern," "Wachet auf! ruft uns die Stimme," "Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt," "Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein," "Eins ist noth, ach Herr, diess Eine," "Wie rührst Du doch so selig, Herr, die Deinen," "Es glänzet der Christen inwendiges Leben," "Es kostet viel ein Christ zu seyn," "Heiligster Jesu, Heil'-

gungsquelle," "Ach, mein Herr Jesu, dein Naheseyn"— in some even the German Te Deum: "Nun danket Alle Gott," and others of like character; whilst other old hymns again have been mutilated and abbreviated without the slightest regard to the original text or the internal connection.* To make up for these omissions we are presented with a mass of weak, prosaic and even rationalistic rhymes, such as "Religion, von Gott gegeben," "Tugend ist der Seele Leben," "Des Leibes warten und ihn nähren" "Gott, dass man sich selber liebe, Kann dir nicht zuwider seyn; Denn du pflanzest diese Triebe Unser Brust ja selber ein," "Lass mich, O Gott, gewissenhaft Mein irdisch Gut verwalten," "Laut und majestätisch rollet Ueber uns der Donner hin," "Ich sterb im Tode nicht! Mich überzeugen Gründe, die ich, je mehr ich forsch', In meinem Wesen finde." And what confusion in the arrangement! Instead of the simple, clear, practical division according to the church-year, or the order of salvation and the development of the Christian life, we have sections like these, "On singing in general," "On the ways of Man to God," "On the ways of God to Man," "On Religion," "On the Ten Commandments," "On the Benefits of Virtue," "On Intercourse with Good Men," "On well-ordered Self-love," "On Contentment with our Condition," "On the lawful Care of Property," "On the Duties of different Classes," "On Duties in regard to the Body," "Duties toward Animals," "At the Departure of Friends," "Death of a Missionary," "Think on the End," "The Rising and Setting of the Sun," and more of the same kind.

* Of the so-called "Gemeinschaftlichen Gesangbuch," which is beneath all criticism, a mere publishers' speculation, we do not wish to speak, although, perhaps on account of its cheapness, it has obtained the widest circulation amongst the Lutheran, Reformed and Evangelical Churches. As proof for what we say, take the "Evangelische Liedersammlung," which was prepared in the year 1833 by the order and for the use of the Lutheran General Synod, and still in its latest editions bears the worthy names of the Doctors and Pastors, J. G. Schmucker, F. Heyer, A. Lochmann, E. L. Hazelius, S. S. Schmucker, D. F. Schäffer and J. G. Morris. This collection has, it is true, retained a considerable number of really excellent hymns from the older Lutheran Hymn Book of Muhlenberg, but according to the mechanical rule, that only three to five stanzas shall be usually sung, they have been almost without exception abbreviated and altered so as sometimes to be scarce-

From this destructive hymnological revolution let us now turn to the *conservative reform*. It began in all earnestness with the newly awakened Christian life in the evangelical Church of Germany after the Napoleonic wars and the celebration of the Centennial Jubilee of the Reformation. Since then, its progress, like that of all reforms in Germany, has been slow, but sure. Already it has produced many excellent practical results. Along with the revival of faith, church-poetry felt a new inspiration and found utterance through gifted and pious singers, like Novalis, Claudius, Arndt, Albertini, Knapp, Spitta, Kern, Bahrdt, Adolph and Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher, Möwes, Zeller, Stier, Victor Strauss, Puchta, J. P. Lange and Meta Heusser. They have added to the old, hymns which, although scarce equal to the classic productions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in objective popular cast, power, unction and simplicity, often surpass them in the flow, correctness and elegance of their language and deserve an honorable place in every general collection as poetic fruits of the evangelical faith of the nineteenth century.

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ly recognizable. Thus, the hymn, "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her," has only four stanzas instead of the original fourteen, "Ich bin getauft auf Deinen Namen," two instead of seven, "In allen meinen Thaten," four instead of fifteen, "Liebe, die du mich zum Bilde," three instead of seven, "Werde Licht, du Volk der Heiden," two instead of fifteen, "Du sagst Ich bin ein Christ," four instead of sixteen, "O Haupt, voll Blut und Wunden," six instead of ten, "Befiehl du deine Wege," six instead of twelve, "Wir Menschen sind zu dem, O Gott," five instead of ten, "Der Herr ist Gott und keiner mehr," three instead of eight, "Wir sind die vor Gottes Throne," five instead of fourteen, "Diess ist der Tag, den Gott gemacht," four instead of eleven, and the rest in like ratio. In favor of the compilers it is but fair to state, that the fault in this case lies for the most part with the careless type-setter and proof-reader, as Dr. Schmucker of Gettysburg has lately informed me. His venerable father, the chairman of the committee, compiled this collection from two older American hymn-books (that of Muhlenberg and another published in Baltimore) and handed over these books to the type-setter with a list and the direction to set up of the marked hymns always 1–8 stanzas or 1–5 from the beginning, and the last or the few last at the close; but the type-setter mistook the hyphen for a comma and set up, instead of the first *three* or *five* stanzas, only the *first* and the *fifth*, together with the conclusion! This blunder was overlooked by the proof-reader and first discovered by the author to his great sorrow, when the book had already been stereotyped and could then be only partially corrected. Perhaps it is owing to the same mischance, that this Lutheran hymn-book, among its 420 hymns, has not a single one from the pen of Luther, not even his "Ein' feste Burg;" the German Te Deum, "Nun danket Alle Gott," is likewise wanting.

The first movement toward hymnological reform had its actual beginning in the Berlin Synod of the year 1817, since a resolution was there passed to publish a new hymn-book, which appeared in 1829 under the auspices of the celebrated names of Schleiermacher and Theremin, and in an aesthetical view at least showed decided progress, although it yet stood far behind the present demands of hymnology and presented the older church-hymns for the most part trimmed up artificially like box-trees. Then, accompanied by various schemes for improvement, came critical investigations of the "Gesangsbuchnoth" (hymnological desolation) by Moritz Arndt (1819), Wilhelmi (1824), Carl von Raumer (1829 and 1831), Bunsen (1830 and 1833), Rudolph Stier (1835), H. Kraz (1838), C. Grüneisen (1839), and G. Chr. H. Stip (1841 and 1842).

Meanwhile, the treasures of the past, partly in unaltered and partly in polished, modernized forms, either alone, or in connection with the later products of the Christian Muse, have been collected into larger hymnological works, which thus furnish the necessary material for the construction of new hymn-books. To this department belong A. J. Rambach's "Anthologie christlicher Gesänge" (1817–1822 in 4 volumes), Bunsens "Versuch eines allgem. evangel. Gesang-und Gebetbuchs" (1833 with 934 hymns), the "Berliner Liederschatz" (elaborated by Langbecker and Elsner in 1832 and essentially improved in the 2d ed. of 1840, which contains 1564 hymns), A. Knapp's, Evangelischer Liederschatz" (1837 with 3590 hymns, which are in general far too much altered; then a second edition in 1850 fully reconstructed on essentially different and more correct principles, with 3067 hymns*), K. E. Ph. Wackerna-

* Knapp confesses in the Preface, p. xi, that in the first edition he "had gone to work too subjectively and had overstepped the mark a hundred times." This honest confession does him honor, and, in conection with his undeniable merits as a hymnologist, places him in a better light than his paleologizing opponents Stip and Wackernagel, who have attacked him with merciless severity. The letter in his discourse before the Bremen Church Diet of 1852, p, 143, went so far as to deny him the possession of "any vestige of churchly taste." His second edition, however, has almost rendered the first one useless for *critical* purposes.

gel's diplomatically accurate "Deutsches Kirchenlied von Luther bis N. Hermann and A. Blaurer" (1842 in 2 volumes), H. A. Daniel's "Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch" (1842) and the Greek and Latin "Thesaurus Hymnologicus" by the same author (1841–1846 in 5 vols.) J. P. Lange's "Kirchenliederbuch" (1843 with 909 hymns and a hymnological introduction), and E. Kochs' "Geschichte des Kirchenlieds and Kirchengesangs" (2d edition 1852–1854 in 4 volumes).

On the basis of these and similar preparatory works, a number of improved hymn-books for practical use in the churches have been issued, in part by individual hymnologists, as those by C. von Raumer (1831 and 1846 with 564 hymns), by R. Stier (1835 with 915 hymns), by Bunsen (1846 with 440 hymns), by Stip, or rather by the Evangelische Bücherverein in Berlin (1851 with 879 hymns), and by A. Knapp (1855 with 730 hymns); partly also by commissions for entire state-churches, as that of Berlin (1829 with 876 hymns), that of Würtemburg first in 1839 with wise foresight merely on trial, then in 1842 formally published, with 651 hymns), that of Schaffhausen (1841), that of Hamburg (1843 with 784 hymns), that of Aarau (1844 with 360 hymns), that of Reformed Elberfeld (1853 with 243 hymns along with the psalms), that of Bavaria (1854 with 573 hymns), that of Basel (1854 with 405 hymns), that of Silesia (1855), that of Osnabrück (1856 with 200 hymns), that of Lubeck (1855, on trial, with 450 hymns), that of Hesse (1855), that of Lutheran Elberfeld (1857 with 522 hymns), and several more, some of which are still waiting for the formal sanction of their respective church-authorities. Among these new hymn-books of the state-churches, that of Würtemberg is the most popular and has the widest circulation. Beyond question, especially if compared with the earlier one of 1791, it possesses great value, but, to its own detriment, it appeared about ten years too soon, and is, besides, somewhat too local in its character. It has paid too little regard to the old, and too much to the new, for which reason Koch compares it to an auction, in which the people, instead of the full sum,

receive only about 60 or 70 per cent. But the book which deserves the highest respect, both on account of its origin and design, is the "Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengesangbuch in 150 Kernlieder," first proposed by the Berlin Church Conference of the year 1846, then decided on by the German Church Diet at Bremen in 1852 and finally prepared and published, in 1853, along with appropriate tunes, by the Eisenach Church Conference through a commission composed of the most able hymnologists from the various State-Churches (the Doctors Vilmar, Bähr, Daniel, Wackernagel, Pastor Geffcken, Baron von Tucher and Dr. Faisst). This book ought henceforth to form a common ground-work for all new German hymn-books and thus aid in doing away the lamentable confusion, which now prevails in the text of hymns and in the melodies. The plan is excellent and the execution has succeeded as far as one could fairly expect in such a difficult task under the present circumstances. And yet the book has met with only a limited reception, and for the reasons mainly, because it has been constructed on principles manifestly too archaeological and Lutheran (although, on the other side, untrue to its method, it has abbreviated too much and altered such hymns as "Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele," on which account, Wackernagel, who opposed any alterations whatever, withdrew from the commission); and because, moreover, it excludes entirely not only all hymn-writers since the year 1750, but also those of the poetic school of Spener, of the Moravians, from whom not a single one has been taken, and even of the Reformed Church, which, of its 150 hymns, has furnished barely 4 (from the pens of Joachim Neander and Louisa Henrietta of Brandenburg), thus doing open violence to the principle of the Evangelical Union.* Therefore, we must award to the counter-project of Dr. Geffcken, a member of the Eisenach Conference,

* The Lutheran Koch has justly remarked (v. iv. p. 723), that the single hymn of Tersteegen, "Gott ist gegenwärtig" would outweigh a large number of the Eisenach Collection, and that the entire exclusion of the hymns of Tersteegen, G. Arnold, J. C. Schade, Richter, J. J. Rambach, Bogatzky, Ph. Fr. Hiller, Gotter, Zinzendorf and Lampe is the more worthy of censure, because all these poets lived before the year 1750 and are of the most distinguished rank.

although on the whole less satisfactory, a partial preference, and consider the Eisenach scheme merely as a first attempt upon a new path, which like all first attempts should be regarded with due honor and respect.

This hymnological reform has indeed borne fruits of the highest value to the Christian world, but the results as yet fall far below the general want, and hence there is wide room for progress. Its final aim cannot be a blind restoration of all the old, and an arbitrary rejection of all the new, fixing the year 1750 as the dividing line, just as if the fountains of church-poetry had at that time dried up forever and the Holy Spirit forsaken the churches. We must rather endeavor to unite old and new in one harmonious whole by careful selection and due reverence for original purity. The reactionary, antiquarian leaning of a Stip and a Wackernagel, which would retain at all hazards even such hymns as Luther's "Steur' des Pabsts und Türken Mord," in spite of the manifest consumption of the latter, although they are not suited to our age, especially in America†, has indeed its full historical right and merit against the opposite extreme of subjective modernizing, but is itself also an extreme. The true course no doubt lies betwixt stiff antiquarianism on the one side and a rage for amendment on the other, thus, in a loving resuscitation of the old and good in a form adapted to the present want, and a free use of the finest products of our time, in which the Spirit of God is moving powerfully among the churches and waking the dead bones to life again. It should no longer be denied, that in every new hymnological work we must pass beyond the period of rationalistic adulteration to primitive sources and treat the old hymns with conscientious fidelity. On this historical path alone can anything beneficial be accomplished. But, on the other hand, we must discriminate between a scientific collection for historical and critical purposes and a popular hymn-book for

† Among those on this side of the water, the Old Lutheran Hymn Book of St. Louis alone occupies this position, having been prepared according to the strictest archaistic principles.

practical use in Christian congregations. Then it is to be remembered, that the old church-hymns are neither divinely inspired psalms, nor even symbolical books, although they stand next to the latter and are in a certain measure more important for the people. The present age, with its linguistic culture and taste, and the congregations, with their practical wants, have also their rights, which must be duly respected and honored. The old hymns could not lose, but only gain and become generally acceptable, if purged of grammatical errors (such as, "ihr englischen Chören" for Chöre, "die offnen Liebesarmen" for Liebesarme, "Koste" for Kost), of antiquated—we do not mean antique—forms of words (as, "leit" for liegt, "tügen" for taugen, "ferren" for fern), of unintelligible and offensive expressions (like "Osterfladen," "Eya," "Sündenkoth," "Sündengrind"), of Latinisms (such as, "Lasset die Musicam hören," "Potentaten," "Lucerne," "Consorten," "in dulci jubilo," "cithara," "coeli rosa"), as well as of defective figures and allegorical fancies (of most frequent occurrence in Pietistic and Moravian hymns),—provided, these improvements were made with conscientious and tender regard and caution, with cultivated taste and in the sense and spirit of the hymn, the poet and his age,—just as near as possible to what the author himself would now make, if he were living amongst us. On account of the extraordinary length and prolonged repetitions of many of the finest hymns, a prudent regard to economy of space and cheapness not seldom renders abbreviation admissible,—provided it does no injury to the unity and completeness of the hymn and confers on it greater terseness, polish and utility.

It is now high time to make the results of this hymnological investigation and hymn-book reform available for the German churches of America, and that not by a slavish transfer from this or that *liederschatz* or hymn-book, but on the basis of an independent study of original sources, with a free use of the best aids from every quarter. Preachers and congregations have been long wishing for a book constructed on certain, fixed hymnological principles.

The aim of the present collection is to meet this desire. It was prepared with much labor and conscientious industry from the best hymnological resources accessible to us, originally by the order and for the use of the Reformed Church, yet without any denominational narrowness and with continual regard to the common need of the German churches in the United States. The present large or critical edition is designed chiefly for a smaller circle of readers, but will soon be followed by a cheaper one of less size in which the critical apparatus will be omitted. Whether the work is indeed suited to the wants of the time, experience must decide. Hence we will confine ourselves to the announcement of the general principles which have guided us in its preparation, with the simple remark that even the best hymnological principles in their application to concrete material may be obliged to undergo considerable modification, practical wants and economical necessities often standing in the way of strict rules. Thus we were forced, against our wish, to abbreviate a number of hymns and wholly exclude more than sixty others, because they would have made the book too bulky and too dear.

1. A hymn-book, to meet the demands of the present state of scientific hymnology and at the same time the practical wants of the congregation, should, if possible, contain only classic hymns, derived from all ages and divisions of the Church, from the psalms of David down to the latest products of the Christian Muse, in a word, such hymns as are distinguished by genuine Scriptural and devotional contents and poetic worth, by sacred unction, depth and purity of feeling, dignity and simplicity of language and fitness for being sung, whether already in general use, or not;—whilst, on the other hand, offensive dogmatism, subjective caprice or mediocrity in contents and form, prosaic dullness, weak sentimentalism and trifling, artificial phraseology, a dry, didactic tone and similar defects warrant the exclusion of such hymns as have found admittance into most of our American hymn-books, although they have never met with any special favor among the people.

2. The original text, as it flowed from the poetic inspiration of the author and is contained in the first editions of his hymns or in the most reliable and best acknowledagd hymn-books, must in all cases form the standard, deviations from which can only be allowed, where the laws of language and taste, or regard to the actual wants of the congregation, render them necessary and desirable.

3. The arrangement should so blend the order of the Apostle's Creed and the evangelical Church Year together, that in it the historical course of the divine plan of redemption as well as the development of the Christian life from conversion and regeneration on to the resurrection of the body and the fruition of heavenly bliss should be mirrored in a simple, graphic and complete manner for convenient practical use.

4. Within the particular divisions, the chronological order should be followed wherever possible, so that the stream of the Christian life can be traced in church-song from the singers of Israel through the Apostolic age, the old Catholic period and the Reformation until now, presenting thus a bird's eye view of the essential unity and diversity of faith and worship.

5. The Reformed hymn-writers of earlier and later times—John Zwick, Joachim Neander, Louisa Henrietta of Brandenburg, Lampe, Tersteegen, Annoni, Zollikoffer, Pauli, Lavater, Adolph and F. W. Krummacher, Hagenbach, J. P. Lange and Meta Heusser-Schweizer—deserve more consideration than they have generally received in German hymn-books. Just as little should the finest hymns of the Moravians and the modern Evangelical Church be passed over, and in a work designed for *America*, good translations from English authors like Watts, Wesley, Cowper and Newton are altogether in place.

6. The critical and explanatory remarks, which introduce the hymns, somewhat in the manner of the superscriptions of the Hebrew psalms, were added last, and are only intended for the large edition. Although better suited for a collection of a purely scientific and literary character,

they will no doubt prove very acceptable to many ministers and layman, because they give in brief compass a great deal of interesting information, brought together from a number of sources, some of them difficult of access. They contain one feature altogether new—the references to successful English translations,—by which the compiler hoped to prepare the way for transplanting many of the best German hymns into English-American collections which may hereafter be prepared for use in the Churches. The friends of German hymnology will rejoice to see their blessed influence extending thus beyond their original limits into another tongue.

7. In its style of publication, the work far surpasses any American-German hymn-book that has yet appeared, and is equal to any of those published in the English language.

Such are the principles, which were constantly kept in view by the author. And yet, he is fully conscious that the work is imperfect and below his own ideal of what a German hymn-book should be. Nor does he look for universal approval. He simply asks those who may miss this or that favorite hymn in its pages, to observe that about a hundred hymns are found here, which are contained in no other American collection, and to remember that in the nature of things it is not possible to satisfy the claims and wishes of every individual. Of the truly classic hymns few will be found missing, and the candid critic will be obliged to confess that not a single one has been admitted, which does not breathe the spirit of genuine Christianity and can not be sung or read with profit. We, therefore, in good hope consign this book to the German evangelical Churches of America, with the wish and prayer that to all who use it the Lord will make it a source of rich blessing until it has fulfilled its mission and given place at last to a better.

T. C. P.

Art. V.—RELIGION AND CHRISTIANITY.

SECOND ARTICLE.

In our previous article on the difference between the religions of the world and Christianity, we considered the question mainly in its negative aspect. We endeavored to show that certain received distinctions are not valid. To say that Christianity is revealed, true, for the whole world and of the Spirit, whilst religion is natural, false, sectional and of the flesh, does not proceed upon a correct view of the real principle of difference, and fails therefore to exhibit the two things in their objective relation to each other. We propose now to examine the question in its positive aspect. What is the objective relation of Christianity to religion; or what is the real principle of difference; and in what does the difference consist?

A correct answer to this enquiry can be deduced only from a correct view of the essential nature of Christianity.

To the question: What is Christianity? we reply: It is not a method by which God maintains and vindicates His moral government over intelligent creatures. It is not a series of truths announced to the world from time to time by the Holy Spirit through inspired men. It is not a plan of infinite wisdom to fulfil eternal and immutable decrees. It is not principally an atonement for the sins of men accomplished by our Lord on the cross. Much less is it primarily a state of mind or state of feeling experienced by believers. Nor is it a system of belief; nor a mode of worshipping God; nor a life of holiness.

Each of these propositions contains a truth. Christianity exhibits Almighty God as the absolute Governor of all worlds. It includes many infallible truths recorded by men who spake and wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. It reveals and fulfils the eternal purposes of God; and provides a complete atonement in Christ who hath "appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself." It also proposes to mankind the only proper object of faith;

and, when embraced from the heart according to the Word of God, begets a state of mind and feeling, that leads necessarily to devout adoration and godly living. But, whilst all these truths are comprehended in Christianity, no one of them nor all taken together express or represent its *principle* and essential nature. Each truth is such because it belongs to the Christian system, but can not stand for the essence of the Christian system itself.

Christianity is something that possesses substantial being. It is not a system of divine thought; but a real existence—an existence as real as the visible, tangible natural world around us; as real as the tree, the rock or the sun. By *real* we mean that that to which the attribute belongs is an objective constitution; not a thought, or the expression of a thought, but an object of thought. The Real is what it is whether known or not known, whether felt or not felt; its qualities and essence do not come from human intellect or will, but are derived from the creative word of God; yet the qualities and essence of the Real become such for man only by entering into a relation to him through sensation or thought. In such sense the tree is real; real in itself, and real for man. It has a law of life, and qualities and inherent relations to surrounding objects which are constitutive of the tree itself. These essential elements are in no way depending on man's knowledge of them; but man's knowledge depends on *them*. The tree is a *thing*; therefore man may see it and know it; and by knowing it, it becomes real for his consciousness. In such sense also is Christianity real. It is an objective order of existence, whose principle, law of life and inherent qualities are all substantive elements of being. Human thinking can neither make it nor unmake it; it is no more real when men receive it in faith, and no less real when men reject it in unbelief. Constituted by God, Christianity confronts man from without, as the material universe does, an object of indescribable grandeur and power.

Possessing objective existence, the constitution of Christianity is external to the mind of man. Through faith

man may partake of its life, may acquire correct ideas of its nature, and in thought develop a system of knowledge corresponding to the being of Christianity. Yet the being of Christianity is distinct from a correct theory of it, or from a genuine experience of its grace. The one is the external reality existing in virtue of its relation to God; the other is a true apprehension of the reality acquired by a believing study of it as set forth in the Bible.

If Christianity be veritable being; if it be external to the individual and to the mind of man and exist solely in virtue of its relation to God; it is also independent of human knowledge and feeling. The constitution of Christianity exists independently of all science and art, of morals and civilization; independently of any opinions or dispositions that any individual or age may cherish with regard to it. The opinions of men may be true or false, consistent or contradictory; it nevertheless stands untouched as to its essential nature. We do not imply that Christianity can accomplish its purpose independently of human knowledge. Its design is to save men from sin by restoring them to living communion with God in Christ—a design the accomplishment of which involves a personal participation in the life of Christ. A Christian is a member of Christ—a branch of the True Vine. This certainly implies experience—human thought, knowledge, feeling, desire, will and action. A man is saved only in the degree that he lives, thinks and acts according to the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus. But to admit all this is simply to say in other words that man depends entirely on Christianity; not that Christianity depends on him.

We must not put the effect for the cause. Here is the source of much confusion and error. We can not identify a thing with the human conception of it, or with the influence which it exerts. We can not, for example, identify the vegetable kingdom with the science of botany. The botanist investigates the nature of plants, and may construct a system, true in principle, beautiful in its arrangement and complete in all its parts. But for this rea-

son the vegetable kingdom does not exist in the mind of the botanist; nor does its objective order and force depend on his scientific knowledge. The vegetable kingdom continues to be external to him; and he remains dependent upon it as before. So does the objective order of Christianity continue external to and independent of the Christian. The Christian leans on Christianity, thinks of it, feels its power, and is saved by it in soul and body; but for this reason we can not imagine that Christianity is a theory; or that it is no more than what is experienced in the mind and heart of the believer. To resolve Christianity into a correct system of doctrines and subjective experience, is a confusion as great as it would be to resolve the vegetable kingdom into the science of botany.

Acknowledge Christianity to be an objective order of being, possessing substantive qualities, no less real, to say the least, than the order of the material universe; and it follows by necessary consequence that it is external to the mind of man, not in his mind; that it exists independently of theology and all practical religion. Hence to confound it with the effect which it produces in man or in society, or with the glorious end which it accomplishes, is to overthrow the very basis upon which sound doctrine and Christian experience rest.

The object or holy reality, now, which we name Christianity, and to which these substantive qualities belong, is the *Person* and *work* of Christ. Christ Himself including both what He is, what He did, what He is doing and will do, is Christianity. His conception in the womb of Mary by the miraculous overshadowing of the Holy Ghost; His birth, life, miracles, sufferings, death, burial, resurrection, ascension, intercession, Headship, coming to Judgment, together with all the other future transactions of His life, are constituent parts, organically connected, of an order mediated at every stage of its development by the Holy Ghost, of which Jesus Christ is the principle and the substance: the principle as denoting that from which the order is developed by the agency of the Holy Ghost; and the substance as denoting that in the entire organism in virtue of

whom these constituent parts exist and possess saving power for men. Christ being the principle and substance of His work, He is inseparable from it, and from all the facts of His life. Not the words uttered, and the things done and suffered by Him, constitute Christianity. Not His work in distinction from Himself; but Christ and His work, or Christ in His work—the Son of God clothing Himself in manhood, acting, suffering, dying, triumphing over the powers of darkness, sitting at the right hand of God, ruling over all things for the glory of His Church, and coming again to judge the world in righteousness;—this is that sublime order of mysterious existence established and continued in the world by the Holy Ghost, in which Christianity as an objective reality consists.

It is therefore divine. Not divine simply because it has its origin in God. All things, inert matter no less than the human spirit, have their origin in the creative will and power of God, and are, therefore, in a certain sense, divine. But Christianity is divine both as to its origin and as to its essence. The Godhead in the person of the Eternal Son enters into its very constitution. Its substantive being is divine. "Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." (1 Tim 3: 16.) It is the Son of God who is the fundamental constituent, nay the very substance, of the sublime mystery as it passes through its different stages of development in time, from the moment of conception in the womb of the virgin to His return in triumph, with His glorified Church, into the glory which He had with the Father before the world was.

Divine as to its original substance, Christianity is divine in every objective fact, or act of Christ, entering into and forming an integral part of the whole. It is not only a glorious plan of redemption—a scheme devised by infinite wisdom and exhibited or announced to the world in visible symbols or human language. It is this indeed, but

much more also. The plan of redemption, or the idea of the new creation, becomes a veritable fact, taking place in time and space as really as the plan of the material world, or the idea of the first creation, became a fact, an objective reality, when in the beginning God made heaven and earth. The fact or thing done is that the Son of God, God of God, took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of man; that, being found in fashion as a man, He—the Person who, being in the form (μορφῇ) of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God—*He* humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. (Phil. 2; 6–8.) Christ is not merely sustained by God on the cross, and then raised from the dead by His power operating as an external force of which the entombed Crucified One is but the passive subject. But the entire work of Christ done in space and time, was divine no less than His Person. The vicarious offering for sin on the cross as well as all the other incomprehensible acts of humiliation were, without a figure, the acts of God, the acts of the second Person in the Godhead, performing the work of redemption in the form of a servant.

The divine in Christianity, however, does not exclude the human. The divine, on the contrary, supposes and includes the human. Christianity is human as truly as it is divine; not human in appearance only or in outward form, but in reality. The human belongs to the constitution of Christ. The eternal Son of God would not be Christ were He not properly man; had He not been conceived miraculously, and born conformably to the law of humanity; had He not possessed a rational soul and a material body; had He not lived and died in the concrete form of man as really as before the incarnation, He existed only in the form of God. In Christ two forms of being are united; not brought together externally or held in juxtaposition and mechanical harmony; nor identified temporarily—the essential qualities of the one becoming the essential qualities of the other; but two forms of being are one organically; both, though neither nature ceases to be

itself properly, being equally essential to the mysterious constitution of His Person.

The human nature being a part of the constitution of Christ's person, it belongs also to His work. As He is, so is also that which He does—divine-human. Not divine-human during particular periods of His life; but divine-human in all the acts of His life on earth, whether He walks on the turbulent waters of Galilee or submits to an ignominious crucifixion by brutal Roman soldiers between two thieves on Calvary; human in His triumph over death and hell, and in His ascension to the throne of the universe. Not human in His acts done in time only, but human also in the consummating acts done in eternity. Christianity is something new and grand—a new creation for the making alive and bringing back again of the old. It conjoins what sin has rent asunder—man and God. It conjoins what human reason, active under the separative power of sin, would hold and even struggles to hold asunder in systems of philosophy and theology. And it conjoins in a concrete order of being what the reason, governed in its thinking by the negative power of sin, would resolve into abstract doctrines or into an unsubstantial metaphysical theory.

Christianity being divine as to its essence, it is supernatural. The word *divine* designates the substantial being of Christianity as it is considered in itself and under one aspect; whilst *supernatural* names the relation which the Christian system in its constitution and in all its manifestations sustains to the first creation. The being of Christianity is not derived from the operation of any law or principle in the constitution of the natural world. Its origin is above and lies beyond the world. In its life and laws; in its power and operation; in its method of development and progress; in its entire order and all its demands, effects, and results; it is determined by a principle which the first creation according to its very idea does not and can not comprehend. To the first creation belong the powers and laws of the human reason no less than the forces and laws of all forms of matter. The being of Christi-

anity is not a product of any laws and forces in the world's physical constitution. It is not the product of any powers and laws of the human reason or of the constitution of the moral world; whether we regard these vast powers and these higher laws as they operate in any particular person or age, or as they operate through the succession of all the ages in the course of history. The fruit of all learning, of all metaphysical research sustained by the highest non-christian civilization and social refinement, combined with every experiment in civil institutions, social revolutions and philosophico-religious systems, was not even the idea or conscious want of that in which the being of Christianity consists. A felt want there was and had always been from the beginning, which gave rise to external fantastic caricatures of the Truth in schools of art, modes of social life and ceremonies of religion; but no more. So really does both the Truth itself and the proper idea of it, lie above the capacities and resources of nature.

Yet as the being of Christianity is not the divine to the exclusion of the human, but the divine in the human, it is natural as really as supernatural. Man is constitutionally connected with all the lower orders of nature. The component particles of matter which enter as inert physical elements into his body, are the very substances which as gases, liquids or solids, each subject to a specific law, we find in masses of earth, in the beautiful formations of the crystal, in the organic structure of the plant, and in the higher and more complicated frame-work of the animal. The plastic power of the plant in virtue of which, when the necessary conditions are present, the slumbering type of a complete and symmetrical organism is developed from a germ, is the same power that from the moment of conception operates in the production of a human being, first in the embryonic state forming bone, muscle, figure et cetera, from the living substance of the mother, and then after birth appropriating gaseous, mineral and vegetable elements from the surrounding world; thus by a mysterious process of transformation and assimilation developing the

unique and wonderful physical frame-work of a full-grown man. The instinct of the animal or the inherent felt tendency to lay hold of and appropriate suitable objects under the direction of sense for the satisfaction of natural wants, producing innumerable phenomena analogous to those of human intelligence and will, is the same physical impulse or law of feeling which, though involving higher possibilities and relations because in a rational being, rules in the phenomena of infant life and underlies and gives direction to the desires, inclinations and passions of the human heart. Animal and human instinct are the activity of the same law of physical feeling, modified in its manifestations by the generic difference of these two forms of animated being.

Sustaining this internal relation to lower orders of existence, man becomes the culminating point of all the kingdoms and subdivisions of the natural world. Not only are the various classes of inert matter comprehended organically in him, but all the dynamic forces of inorganic substances as well as the laws of inanimate and animate organisms are present in him under the form of the most perfect terrene constitution. Such a perfect organization of nature, he is in sympathy with its subordinate formations; and, when true to his position and relations, his entire physical life is in harmony with the dynamic forces and organic laws of the material world.

This internal relation of man to the world holds true of reason and will no less than of the body. The categories and laws of thought answer to the demands of all terrene orders of existence, and to the demands of the universe. Man may cast the entire creation in the mold of his mind and then hold it in idea as it is in itself; and, so far from doing violence to himself or to it, he only actualizes the design of his relative position as a thinking being. Enlightened reason is the language of nature's harmonious order. Coming up from the lowest deep of chaos and touching all the chords in the ascending scale of inorganic and organic existence, the notes of harmony, deepening and

swelling as they rise, resound as the sublimest music in the clear bright dome of mind.

In virtue of will, by divine grace, man thinks, resolves and acts conformably to the law of God. He holds himself in all the powers of mind and body, in all his plans, and every relation of life, subordinate to the Creator and Lord of all things. The things, beings and relations which God has put under him, he holds in subordination to himself; and, through himself in subordination to God. Thus the objective original unity and harmony of the universe are reproduced by reason and will in the sphere of human consciousness and morality. Human personality generically different from material organization on the one hand and God on the other, is yet the connecting link between the natural and supernatural, between the lower and higher, and between the lowest and highest order of being. The free and intelligent exponent of the unity of all the forces and laws culminating in humanity, the human person gives utterance through faith in Christ to the symphonies of nature, which go up in adoration and praise before the Throne of God: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth: heaven and earth are full of the majesty of Thy glory.

If Christ be a true man; if His humanity be not a phantasm nor an imposing divine illusion; He must sustain the same relation in body and soul in all respects to the powers and order of nature, the corrupting and disturbing influences of sin only excepted, that the race of Adam does. If the body of man comprehends the different elements of the material world, and possesses them as integral parts of the highest terrene organism; if the human reason reproduces the order of nature in categories and according to laws of thought corresponding to the objective forms and laws of lower existences; and if by the power of faith the will holds all inferior forms of being in conscious subordination and subserviency to self, and self with whatever it embodies and represents in conscious subordination and subserviency to Almighty God; then Jesus Christ,

being a true man, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, occupies the same relative position. As the Head of the human race He is the Head of the natural world, and as such He exhibits and utters the harmonies of all matter, all forces and laws, and of all created mind and spirit.

We proceed one step further. If Christianity be Jesus Christ; if His person, uniting true manhood to true Godhead, constitutes the objective being of Christianity, including all the acts of His mediatorial life from His conception to the restitution of all things; then is Christianity a natural no less than a supernatural order of being. A supernatural order of divine life, it is at the same time a natural order of human life, conforming to all the spiritual, moral, intellectual, social and physical laws of mankind, and answering also to the forms of being existing in every department of nature below man.

It is supernatural because superhuman—supernatural as to its origin and essential being. Its origin is not in man and therefore not in the constitution of nature, but in God. God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. And the essential being of Christianity is no finite or created entity, or power or influence; but it is properly divine; divine in the same sense in which the Godhead is divine. It is the eternal Son of God, the second Person of the glorious Godhead, in fulfilment of the promise and prophecies, performing the work of redemption in the form of man, and agreeably to the laws and conditions of time and space. Therefore Christianity is human also; and because human it is natural. The Son of God is made man. He is perfect God, and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting.* The divine taking the human into organic union with itself, the human enters into the essence or constitution of Christianity as really as the divine. Entering as a constituent into Christianity, the capacities of the human

* Symbolum quicunque, or Athanasian Creed

are not ignored and set aside; the new creation does not disregard any want or tendency in humanity, whether inherent by original creation or supervenient through the fall; but its deepest capacities and wants are met and satisfied. Nor is any law of humanity suspended or violated; but the hypostatical relation of the human to the divine in the Person of Christ is a fact constituted in obedience to the first necessity of man. From the depths of its heart, humanity cries out after close communion with God.

Therefore is the incarnation a fact conformable to the demands of nature also. No law of humanity is violated; there is on the contrary a profound capacity of the human for organic union with the divine and therefore an intensely felt and a conscious longing in all ages, though not comprehended, for the possession of an absolute substantive good. With this capacity and longing of humanity nature sympathizes in all its departments. When mankind fell in Adam the curse of God was not limited to man, but was pronounced upon the ground also for man's sake; and it brought forth thorns and thistles. (Gen. 3: 17–19.) The Apostle Paul adds: we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. There is a like sympathy of the creation with man in his redemption. This truth is necessarily to be inferred from the internal connection of the human body, which as really as the soul is a partaker of the salvation of Christ, with organic and inorganic orders of being below him. But we are not left to logical inference. It is plainly taught in the Bible; and frequently implied when not directly expressed. Paul says: The earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope; because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. (Rom. 8: 19–21.) This sympathy of nature with man in his fall and redemption arises from the fact that they are parts of but one constitution.

A radical change in either must affect both. Hence if Christianity be human no less than divine, and conformable to the laws of humanity, it is also natural no less than supernatural, and conformable to the profoundest demands as well as expressive of the inmost sense of the natural world. As Christianity does not violate the constitution of man but satisfies his deepest wants, so neither does it violate the constitution of the natural world but puts it in a position and a relation which answers to the idea of the first creation. A position and a relation, however, which, obscured and repressed by the power of moral and physical evil, the course of history has as yet only partially realized, but which shall be made manifest in glory when He who is the Resurrection and the Life shall, with the perfected redemption of His Church, bring forth the new heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

According to the view of Christianity which we have thus far endeavored to unfold, it is an objective order of being which is divine, and therefore supernatural; but an order which is constituted in organic union with, and in the form of the human and natural.

It follows that Christianity is also absolute and infinite. It is absolute, or the Absolute itself. Christ, who is true and eternal God, is self-conditioned and therefore unconditioned. He is what He is of Himself only. There is no object, material or spiritual, no power or force, no state or nature of things temporal or eternal, no conceivable possibility or contingency, on which His being or attributes depend. The conception of dependence or conditionality contradicts the very idea of the divine being of Jesus Christ; and contradicts every representation of Him as given in the Sacred Scriptures. He was in the beginning with God. (John 1: 1.) All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made. (Ibid, 3.) *Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο*; all, or the All came to be by and from Him; the preposition *διὰ* denoting in this passage no less the efficient cause than the mediate agency.*

* See Winer's Grammar of N. T. § 51, (i)

Καὶ χορὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν; without the Logos not one of all that was or is, whether a thing or original relation, a normal power or influence, came to be. This one truth the Apostle John expresses in two ways, positively and negatively; first affirming all things to be by Him; and then denying that any one thing came into existence by any other person or power; thus setting forth the Logos as absolute with the greatest force of which human thought and language are capable. Col. 1: 16, 17 is a passage of similar force. The Apostle uses three prepositions to express the manifold relation of *all things*, *τὰ πάντα*, to the Son: *ἓν*, *by*, all things were created *by* Him, as the producing *cause*; *δια*, *through*, all things were created *through* Him, as the mediating Logos; and *εἰς to* or *for*, all things were created *for* Him, as the *end* for whom they continue to be. The words *τὰ πάντα*, *all things*, must be taken, according to Winer, than whom we can have no better authority in New Testament philology, in its broadest sense; as signifying *the all*, the whole of things, *every thing which exists*.* Christ, accordingly, conditions all things, whilst He, the true God, is unconditioned. We can in consequence not speak of the nature of things as eternal and unchangeable. Whatever belongs to the category of *things*, or *nature of things*, has a beginning in His almighty will, is determined as to its constitution by Him, is upheld in its being and relations by Him, and changes or ceases to be at His good pleasure. The uniform operation of the laws of nature or the eternal fitness of thing, as it is sometimes called, however inexplicable and wonderful to the finite understanding, is after all nothing more than a relative, mutable and contingent fact.

If absolute, Christ is also infinite. He has no limits as to His being and attributes. He is an infinite being possessing infinite attributes. He is both absolute and infinite; not conditioned and not limited. Absolute and infinite are but different aspects of Himself, or predicates of

* Winer; § 17, 4; § 52, 3; § 54, 6.

Himself as God. In Him they are one. The revealing and revealed God is without all conditions, and beyond all limits.

As the person of Christ in connection with all the acts of His mediatorial life is that in which Christianity consists, it is like Himself absolute and infinite. Christianity as divine and supernatural, is an absolute and infinite order of being. It is and presents to the eye of faith, as a concrete reality, the object of thought which the philosophy of all ages has in vain struggled to apprehend. What the first intuition of the reason postulates; what the laws of thinking and the processes of reasoning assume and begin with; what all the tendencies of man's intellectual and moral being presuppose; what the profoundest speculations of Jewish, Pagan and Christian philosophy have sought to determine;—that the objective order of Christianity is in concrete form; and, when recognized and received, must satisfy the conditions of every scientific and philosophical problem—must answer every real question which the human reason can put concerning the Absolute and Infinite.

But Christ is not the Absolute and Infinite in the form of the absolute and infinite. Such He is, but not such only. Were He such only, He would be unknown and unapproachable to the finite and fallen human reason; He would be above and beyond the horizon of vision. He could not be known, because the categories of human knowledge are relative and finite. The human reason could neither affirm nor deny any attribute or relation of Him. Nor could He be approached in faith, because, in consequence of the fall, there is an inconceivable chasm, an impassable gulf, between God and man, which in the nature of the case man can not bridge over. Sin has separated man from, and set him against, God. Every attempt to pass over in worship and thought or knowledge, has resulted, and can result only in a livelier sense and clearer consciousness of the deep abyss of human helplessness and misery. God must approach man in his helpless state, if man shall approach God. The gulf impassable to man,

God must pass, and so pass it as to remove it forever. This is done in the person of Christ. Christ, as God in man, is the Absolute in the form of the relative; and the Infinite in the form of the finite. He is the relative and the finite in that He is the true human. Approaching man in the form of man, the Absolute and Infinite come within the horizon of human vision; meet the necessary conditions of human knowledge; conform to the laws of thinking; and therefore are accessible both to faith and to reason. Confronting man in the form of his own being, the Absolute is not only the object of worship, but the legitimate object of thought.

But the relative and finite form of the Absolute and Infinite is not an abstract form. It is not a finite conception that reveals and presents Infinite Being; not a finite category of thought; nor a logical formula; nor a profound theory; nor any principle as it may stand in the sphere of thinking. It is no intellectual abstraction in which the Infinite is and reveals itself, or in which the Infinite satisfies the necessities of the finite mind. The finite form of manifestation is finite *being*. The finite form is humanity—a concrete form. Absolute Being confronts the human mind, becomes the object of thought, in the form of relative being; Infinite Being in the form of finite being. The Absolute and Infinite stand in the relative and finite order of human being; and are conformable to all normal relations of humanity. Not then a notion or conception, but an objective entity; not a logical formula, but substantial existence; not an intellectual theory of man, but man himself, is the concrete form of the absolute and infinite One. The person of Christ becomes the solution for faith and reason of the profoundest problem of all ages. As the absolute and infinite One he answers to and fills out the idea of God or of a Supreme Power, the first intuition of the reason, underlying and inwoven with every process of rationcination. As relative and finite Man, He exists in the sphere of sense and thought, corresponds to the categories of thinking, and is known in obedience to the funda-

mental laws of human knowledge. As the union of both, the Absolute in the Relative, the Infinite in the Finite, He embodies and exhibits the objective *relation* of these two orders of being in a concrete reality; an objective relation the belief and idea of which underlie all worship, philosophy and practical life, but which non-Christian reflection has always developed into some system of Pantheism or Dualism. Christ accordingly satisfies the threefold primary necessity of mankind: He is the true and highest object of faith; He is that object in the only form which is accessible to human reason; and thus reconciles faith and reason, or life and logical reflection.

The character of Christ is the character of Christianity. For it is Himself performing the work of human redemption in time and space. Divine and human as to essential being, all its attributes and relations are two-fold, absolute and relative, infinite and finite, eternal and temporal. Just as it is a supernatual order of life existing in the sphere of the infinite and finite both, uniting them mysteriously; so does it belong to the sphere of eternity and time. Not to any limited period of time. Not to a particular age in the past. But Christianity is in and for all time. Beginning in the incarnation, and triumphing over all opposition in the resurrection and ascension of Christ, it is inaugurated as the Church with peculiar organs, functions and resources, by the outpouring of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, and perpetuated throughout all the succeeding ages, subject to the conditions of time and place and to all the modifying influences of fallen humanity. It enters into history. It develops itself in virtue of its divine being, yet in harmony with the laws of human life. Or rather history becomes the time form of this eternal constitution; human life the finite and relative form of the organized divine power of salvation present in the world.

The Church being the mystical body of Christ, the organic continuation of Christianity by the ministration of the Holy Ghost throughout all the ages, it shares the two-fold nature of Jesus Christ. It is divine. The Son of God is

the Head, the life, the indwelling power of the Church. It is human. The humanity of Christ is the everlasting medium of God approaching, embracing, blessing, and communing with, mankind in all places and in every age. The humanity of Christ is the abiding medium of communion on the part of men with Christ by faith, and in Christ of communion with God. As divine and human, it possesses objective being; not the result of intellectual reflection, or of the social instincts of men; not merely an external organization established and continued by converted persons according to certain general abstract principles taught in the Bible; but an organic constitution of the Spirit developing, perpetuating and extending itself according to the law of life in Christ Jesus. As divine the Church is supernatural; it is above man, and above nature, as to its origin, being, law and power. As human it is natural; the form of its supernatural being in the history of the world is determined by the constitution of human life, and human society. This is a mystery. We can not comprehend nor analyse logically the kingdom of Heaven on earth, as little as we can comprehend and analyse the Person of Christ. As He is, so is the Bride of the Lamb; of supernatual being and power in the likeness of sinful flesh; (Rom. 8: 3.) the object of faith; the abode of the Holy Ghost; the unfailing channel of divine grace; the pillar and ground of revealed truth; (1 Tim. 2: 15) the Ark of safety for a despairing world; the home of the weary and heavy laden; in whose communion there is living fellowship with God in Christ, with holy angels, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and all saints. This living fellowship with Jesus Christ by the Holy Ghost in the Church satisfies the ruling desire of all nations. For this the crushed heart of mankind yearns unknowingly with irrepressible longings. Of this all mythologies, all sacrifices, rites and ceremonies, prayers and mortifications of the body, utter a dark prophecy. And towards this concrete reconciliation of the Infinite and the Finite, metaphysical speculation has struggled in agonizing

thought from Thales down though all the centuries to Mansel. Here there is truth and peace for the race.

The religions of the world differ from Christianity in every particular that has now been unfolded. These distinctive characteristics can be found in no system which has grown up on the soil of the human heart.

E. V. G.

ART. VI.—WHAT IS A CATECHUMEN?

What is a Catechumen? A right answer to this question is of the highest importance. It is necessary to the Catechumen; for without this he can not rightly understand his position, his duties, and his privileges. It is necessary to the catechist; that he may know the precise nature of his office and work. It is also necessary to a proper understanding of the nature of a catechism, and for determining what ought to be its character.

What, in the true sense of the word, is a Catechumen?

A Catechumen is one in course of instruction and nurture for full communion in the church. From the very nature and position of Christianity, as it exists and operates in the world, it may at once be seen that there must be two classes or kinds of Catechumens.

First, those who are the subjects of the Church's aggressive activities—of its extensive or missionary operations. This class of Catechumens are composed of adult heathen, or such as have grown up in an unchristian way in Christian lands, but who nevertheless manifest an inclination towards Christianity, and are willing to be instructed in regard to its nature and claims, as yet unbaptized, but candidates for baptism, and in a course of preparation for the reception of that sacrament.

The other class is constituted of such as are the subjects

of the *in*tensive or inner mission of the Church—such as have been born of Christian parents, baptized in their infancy, are growing up in the bosom of the Church, and are to be nurtured and educated for its full communion, in order that they may become self-conscious and ripe Christians.

Baptism is the fundamental point which divides these two classes. In the one case this sacrament having gone before, while in the other it is still to follow. It is the want or the possession of this, that gives them a distinct character, places them in different positions, and requires for them a peculiar treatment.

As to their character, the first class are disciples, or learners, and candidates for Christianity; as to their position, they are outside of the Church, but subjects of its influence and care; as to their treatment, it is not that which proceeds upon the supposition of their Christian character, but is preparatory to it. It is the catechumenate *unto* baptism; and holds a similar relation to Christianity as the mission of John the Baptist did to that of Christ.

The second class, as to their character, are Christian; as to their position, they are in the Church; and their treatment is such as belongs, not to candidates for the Church, but to candidates in its bosom, preparing for full communion, and the full development of the Christian life in them.

In our Saviour's commission to His disciples we have these two classes indicated, with the mention of their treatment before and after baptism. "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach (*μαθητεῦσατε*, make disciples of) all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching (*διδάσκοντες*) them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world." (Matth. 28: 18–20.) Thus a certain measure and kind of instruction was to precede baptism—which completing itself in baptism constituted the making of disciples—whilst the rest was to fol-

low after it, that the discipleship might complete itself in the full state and standing of the Christian life. Some things were to be taught them in order to make them disciples prepared for baptism, and afterwards they were to be taught "to observe *all* things" that belong to the full Christian life. "At the beginning," says Dr. Neander, "those (among the Jews) who confessed their belief in *Jesus* as the *Messiah*, or, (among the gentiles) their belief in one God, and in *Jesus* as the Messiah, were, as appears from the New Testament, immediately baptized."* "Confession of penitence and profession of faith in Christ as Saviour," says Gerlach, "even when this was not as yet connected with a clear consciousness of His person and doctrines, the apostles regarded as sufficient to admit to baptism." This is very evident from the examples, Acts 2: 41; 8: 12, 37; 9: 19; 10: 47, 48; 16: 33; 19: 5.

Having distinguished the two classes of catechumens, it will be necessary to a full view of the subject, to treat of both successively in a somewhat historical way. As the work of the Church at the beginning was necessarily rather *ex*tensive than *in*tensive, more a work of foreign aggressive missions than of domestic inner missions, the Catechumens, of which mention is made in the primitive Church, were mostly of the first class.

Though not yet baptized, these Catechumens were regarded as in some measure within the pale of the Church, under its care and grace, candidates for heaven, and as such the name of Christians was allowed to them. "They were not yet sons," says St. Augustine, "but servants; they belonged to the house of God, but were not yet admitted to all the privileges of it; being only Christians at large, and not in the most strict and proper acceptation."† Being under the influence of the word, they were properly regarded as "imperfect Christians," for the Scriptures attribute regenerating power also to the word as an agency or factor, working toward the birth which becomes ultimately com-

* Church History Vol. I, p. 422. London. 1853.

† Bingham's Christ. Antiq. Vol. I, p. 10.

plete by water and the Spirit. 1 Peter 1: 23. Luke 8: 4, 11, 15. 1 John 9. James 1: 18. 1 Cor. 4: 15. Gal. 3: 2. Rom. 10: 17.

It was felt in the case of these catechumens, that besides their willingness to be taught, a gracious basis in them was necessary to insure the blessing of God to these instructions. Hence they were raised to a position of special consecration, having been solemnly set apart as catechumens by the laying on of hands and prayer.‡

Heathen children might be admitted as Catechumens even before they were seven years of age, though in most cases they were of course much older. They were taken at any age, whenever they manifested a willingness to forsake heathenism and become Christians. The period during which they remained Catechumens previous to baptism varied according to circumstances and the sincerity and progress apparent in the Catechumen. In the apostolic age it was very short. The extraordinary character of that age, the fresh miraculous power which accompanied the preaching of the apostles, and the consequent almost momentary full decision of the converts, made it proper for them to be baptized immediately on their receiving the testimony of Jesus. This may be seen in the case of Cornelius, of the Ethopian Eunuch, of Lydia, and the jailer of Philippi. "But in after ages," as Bingham well remarks, "the Church found it necessary to lengthen this term of probation, lest an over-hasty admission of persons to baptism, should either fill the church with vicious men, or make greater number of renegadoes and apostates in time of persecution." Thus after apostolic times the period of instruction and trial varied, as already stated, according to circumstances, from eight days to three years. In cases of sickness the Catechumen was immediately baptized.

The Catechumens, during the period of their instruction and probation, were the objects of the tenderest care and pious affection of the congregation to which they belonged. When that part of the service which had direct reference

‡ See the proof at large in Bingham's Christ. Antiq. Vol. I, p. 429, 430.

to them began, a deacon, from some eminency in the church cried: "Pray, ye Catechumens:" and, "Let all the faithful with attention pray for them, saying: Lord have mercy upon them." Then the deacon began a prayer for them, which being both an exhortation to prayer, and a direction how they were to pray, was called "a bidding prayer for the Catechumens." Two forms of this ancient prayer are still extant, one in St. Chrysostom, and another in the Apostolic Constitutions.

As showing the mind of the Church toward the Catechmens, we give the one from the Constitutions as quoted by Bingham. It is in these beautiful and touching words: "Let us all beseech God for the Catechumens; that He, who is gracious, and a lover of mankind, would mercifully hearken to their supplications and prayers, and, accepting their petitions, would help them, and grant them the requests of their souls according to what is expedient for them; that He would reveal the Gospel of Christ to them: that He would enlighten and instruct them, and teach them the knowledge of God and Divine things; that He would instruct them in His precepts and judgments; that He would open the ears of their hearts to be occupied in His law day and night; that He would confirm them in religion; that He would unite them to, and number them with His holy flock, vouchsafing them the laver of regeneration, with the garment of incorruption, and true life; that He would deliver them from all impiety, and give no place to the adversary to get advantage against them; but that He would cleanse them from all pollution of flesh and spirit, and dwell in them, and walk in them by His Christ; that He would bless their going out, and their coming in, and direct all their designs and purposes to their advantage. Further yet, let us earnestly pray for them, that they may have remission of sins by the initiation of baptism, and be thought worthy of the holy mysteries and remain among his saints."

Then the deacon also addressed the Catechumens, saying: "Catechumens, arise. Pray for the peace of God,

that this day, and all the time of your life, may pass in quietness, and without sin; that you may make a Christian end, and find God propitious and merciful, and obtain remissions of your sins. Commend yourselves to the only unbegotten God by His Christ." The people and especially children, were directed to add to each petition of this "bidding prayer," by way of response: "Lord have mercy upon them." These prayers over, the deacon bids the Catechumens bow down and receive the benediction of the bishop: in these words:

"O Almighty God, who art without original and inaccessible, the only true God, Thou God and Father of Christ Thy only begotton Son, God of the Comforter, and Lord of all things; who by Christ didst make learners become teachers for the propagation of Christian knowledge; look down now upon these Thy Servants, who are learning the instructions of the Gospel of Thy Christ and give them a new heart, and renew a right Spirit within them, that they may know and do Thy will with a perfect heart, and a willing mind. Vouchsafe them Thy holy baptism, and unite them to Thy holy Church, and make them partakers of Thy holy mysteries, through Christ our hope, who died for them, by whom be glory and worship unto Thee, world without end." In response to which all the congregation with a loud voice cry out, "Amen." After this the deacon says: "Catechumens, depart in peace."

From this we may see what a tender mother the Church made herself to the Catechumens who were looking forward to fall introduction and rest in her bosom, reaching forth her arms of love toward them, and by her instructions, making herself a school-master to lead them to Christ.

Owing to the position of this class of Catechumens, being as yet unbaptized, the whole character of the instructions which they received differed from that which is proper to baptized children in the church, as the preaching and baptism of John differed from that of Christ and His apostles. It rested on a different basis, started from a different point, and tended immediately to a different end.

It was not in questions and answers but in a continued discourse. This is significant. Not being baptized, and not having therefore received the Holy Ghost as a divine and gracious basis in them (Acts 2: 38; 8: 14; 10: 57.) the divine life could not as yet be evoked from them and nurtured as the life of new-born children, so that the church could call them to respond to its faith in the way of confession, and thus learn, as from a mothers lips, to pronounce the true faith, and make subjective confession to salvation. They must be led *to* the faith, rather than answer *in* it. They were not yet in the Church and one with it so that they could utter its faith as from its bosom; but the Church was seeking *to enter them* in such way as it could previous to baptism, in order that thus ultimately they might be brought into its bosom. Hence she speaks to them that which they can hear and obey, but which they can not yet utter as their own.

This accords with and explains another feature of the ancient mission Catechization. It did not include instruction on any point which belongs properly after baptism, or which belongs to the subjective mysteries of faith and the Christian life. On the contrary these, as the Eucharist, the mode of baptism and confirmation, the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and some other parts of faith and worship, were studiedly kept away from them till near the time of their baptism or immediately after it. The Catechization was objective and historical. The catechist gave a sketch of the history of redemption, with a view of establishing and confirming the Catechumen in the verity of the Christian faith. This is plain from the Treatise of St. Augustine on "The Catechizing of the Unlearned." He instructs the Catechist how to give the narration of the facts of revelation, teaching him to give it either shorter, or longer and more full, as the case may require. "The Narration is full, when each is at first Catechized from that which is written, *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*, down to the present times of the Church. It does not, however, follow that we ought either, if we have learned the

whole Pentateuch, the whole of the books of Judges and Kings and Esdras, and the whole of the Gospel and of the Acts of the Apostles, to repeat them by memory, or by narrating in our own words all things which are contained in these volumes, to put them forth and expound them. Which neither the time allows of, nor does any necessity demand it of us, but to embrace all things summarily and generally, in such a way as to select some certain of a more wonderful character, which are listened to with more pleasure, and which were set in the turning period in such wise, as that it is not fitting to shew them, as it were, wrapped up, and straightway to hurry them out of sight, but by delaying on them somewhat as it were to open and unfold them, and to hold them forth as objects for the minds of our hearers to inspect and admire; but for the rest, rapidly running them over to insert and weave them into the narration. So both those things, which we wish to be especially urged upon the attention, stand forth the more from the others being kept back, and he whose interest we are wishing by our narration to excite, does not come to them with feelings of weariness, nor again do we render confused his memory whom by our teaching we ought to instruct."*

From this extract the historical character of this kind of Catechization is clearly seen. In his specimen Catechetical address from which we have just quoted, St. Augustine begins by showing the unsubstantial and unsatisfying nature of all earthly good, and of the peace and rest to be found in Christianity. Then he goes through the historical narration from the beginning down to his time; after which he concludes with an earnest exhortation to them to flee to the refuge, and establish themselves firmly in the faith which brings salvation. From the narrative part are unfolded also, in passing, the great facts and principles in the divine scheme of salvation.

St. Augustine's system also involves a good deal of

* St. Augustine's short Treatises p. 191.

apologetics and even polemics. This is consistent in mission Catechization, and was necessary for proselytes, to take away from them their remaining errors, and to fortify them against pagan views, by which they were surrounded—"against Gentiles, or Jews, or Heretics."

Besides what we learn of the method and substance of this kind of Catechization from the Treatise of St. Augustine, we have the several heads of instruction prescribed by the author of the Apostolical Constitutions: "Let the Catechumen be taught before baptism the knowledge of the Father unbegotton, the knowledge of His only begotten Son, and Holy Spirit; let him learn the order of the worlds creation, and series of Divine providence, and the different sorts of legislation; let him be taught, why the world, and man, the citizen of the world, were made; let him be instructed about his own nature, to understand for what end he himself was made; let him be informed how God punished the wicked with water and fire, and crowned his saints with glory in every generation, viz: Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Abraham and his posterity, Melchisedeck, Job, Moses, Joshua, Caleb, and Phineas the priest, and the saints of every age; let him also be taught, how the providence of God never forsook mankind, but called them at sundry times, from error and vanity to the knowledge of the truth, reducing them from slavery and impiety to liberty and godliness, from iniquity to righteousness, and from everlasting death to eternal life. After these, he must learn the doctrine of Christ's incarnation, his passion, his resurrection, and assumption; and what it is to renounce the devil, and enter into covenant with Christ."

These directions also indicate that these instructions pertained prevailingly to the outward historical matters of Christianity, the object of which was to prepare them for faith and grace which were not presupposed in them, as in the case of Catechumens in the Church, but to which they were to be guided and led. They were also, as Bingham remarks, encouraged to read the Scriptures, but only portions of them; "for the moral and historical books were thought most proper at first for their instruction."

Thus by the character of the instructions which the Catechumens received, there is indicated, in a profound and significant manner, the position which they were regarded as holding. We see at the same time the fundamental difference between Catechumens before baptism and Catechumens after baptism, and the difference of treatment severally due and proper to these two classes.

As we have seen, the circumstances of Christianity in the early ages of the Church, when it was in the process of being introduced into heathen nations, made it necessary that catechizing should be missionary in its character, and that consequently the Catechumens should be such as were candidates for baptism, and who, by this means were to be prepared for that ordinance. We find, however, that from the earliest times, and ever more and more, as, through infant baptism, entire families became Christian, the work of inner missions grew in importance, and became of necessity the surest and most effectual mode, not only of firmly establishing, but also permanently extending, Christianity. This is the catechumenate of the baptized, by which, agreeable to the apostolic commission, those who had been "made disciples" by baptism were taught "to observe all things" which Christ had commanded. (Math. 28: 18–20.)

Church history speaks less of this class of Catechumens than of the other; for which there is no doubt this reason, that it belonged more to the internal regular and silent operations of the Church. It was carried forward in the bosom of Christian families by parents themselves, rather than by a distinct class of official catechists; for it lies in the nature of the divine constitution of the family that parents should be the first instructors of their children; and hence to them is given the divine and apostolic command to "bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." (Eph. 6: 4.)

Whilst it was thus made the duty of Christian parents to be the first catechists to their children, and whilst "the Church in the house" was constituted the first nursery of

piety and religious knowledge to baptized infant Christians, it is equally evident that the Church did not leave its families unsupported in this work, but came to their assistance as these infant members advanced to an age when they were capable of sharing in a fuller communion with the Church. "As for the children of believing parents, it is certain, that as they were baptized in infancy, so they were admitted Catechumens as soon as they were capable of learning."* To the same effect is the testimony of Calvin: "It was an ancient custom in the Church for the children of Christians, after they were come to years of discretion, to be presented to the bishop in order to fulfil that duty which was required of adults who offered themselves to baptism. For such persons were placed among the Catechumens, till, being duly instructed in the mysteries of Christianity, they were enabled to make a confession of their faith (in their confirmation) before the bishop and all the people. Therefore those who had been baptized in their infancy, because they had not then made such a confession of faith before the Church, at the close of childhood, or the commencement of adolescence, were again presented by their parents, and were examined by the bishop according to the form of the Catechism which was then in common use."† Then they were received into full communion with the Church by the laying on of hands—the rite of confirmation, evident traces or germs of which are found in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the Epistles of the New Testament. This system of catechization was fully restored in the Reformation.

We have already shown that an unbaptized person is not a Catechumen in the full sense and best meaning of that term. This position belongs only to one baptized, who by virtue of his baptism is the subject of the Church's inner missionary work, by which he is to be carried forward to full self-concious Christian life and full communion with the Church. Thus it will appear that in order to have a correct view of the catechumenate two things are necessary

* Bingham's Christ. Antiq. Vol. I. p. 481.
† Calvin's Institutes. Book iv. Chap. xix. iv.

to be understood: 1. The relation of the catechumen *back* to his Baptism, and 2. His relation *forward* to confirmation and full communion with the Church in the Lord's Supper.

What has the Catechumen received in baptism, and what is he made more because he has been a subject of that sacrament than he would have been without it? To this question various answers are given. With these we have at present no concern. We confine ourselves to the answer which is given to the question by the Reformed Church.

1. The chatechetical system of the Reformed Church regards the baptized catechumen as in a position entirely different from that occupied by the unbaptized. The evidence of this is furnished in the Heidelberg Catechism itself. In the 74th question we are taught that infants must by baptism "be *distinguished* from the children of infidels" or unbelievers, "as was done in the Old Testament by circumcision, instead of which baptism is instituted in the new covenant." There was every difference between those who were circumcised and those who were not. The first were the people of God, the last were not. The circumcised might grow up unworthy of such relation, neglect or reject this advantage and thus be cast off by God; but it was their privilege to retain their position, and grow up in all its gracious advantages. The same position and advantage belongs to baptized persons; and whilst they retain these they are "distinguished from the children of unbelievers," as the children of God are distinguished from those who are not his children.

2. Baptized Catechumens are memberes of the Church. This the Heidelberg Catechism also teaches in the 74th question, where we are taught that infants must "by baptism, as a sign of the covenant, be incorporated* into the Christian Church." As the Church is the body of Christ those who are in it as members, are also so far members of Christ who is its head. In Question 54 which speaks of the church, the catechumen is taught to profess, and be-

* See the original German: "So sollen sie auch durch die Taufe, als des Bundeszeichen, der Christlichen Kirche EINVERLEIBET werden." Ques. 74.

lieve, and say in regard to it: "That I am, and forever shall remain, a living member thereof."

As circumcision made the subject of it one with the body of God's people, so baptism introduces the subject of it into the body of the Church. This is evident from many passages of Scripture. In connection with the scene on the day of Pentecost appears the fact that: "Then they that gladly received his word, were baptized: and the same day *there were added* unto them about three thousand souls." (Acts 2: 41.) Paul testifies: "For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body." (1. Cor. 12: 13.) Thus baptism is a birth into the Church.

3. Baptized Catechumens are by the Reformed Church regarded as Christians. Hence throughout the Catechism they are addressed as Christians; and in the 32d question they are directly so called: and taught to profess themselves "members of Christ," and partakers of His anointing to the offices of Prophet Priest and King. Throughout the entire catechism they are taught to regard themselves as Christians, and to answer and profess as such. As Christians they sustain a relation to Christ which they did not sustain before. "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ." (Gal. 3: 27.) This certainly does not mean that those who are baptized are still, as before, out of Christ and children of the devil.

Though the baptized Catechumen is thus in a position different from the unbaptized, a member of the Church, and a Christian, the question still presses on us, What gracious advantages does this give him, or what is he more and better with these than without them? What is his baptism to him, and how much is included in his bearing the name Christian, as regards his Christian life, and his ultimate salvation? This we answer by an additional proposition—

4. The baptized Catechumen is in grace.

By this is not meant that grace is developed in the baptized, but merely that it has obtained a beginning. He is in a position and state of grace in which he does not al-

ways grow to the full maturity of salvation because the conditions of such growth are not always brought to bear upon his development, but in which *he may* grow, and in which he will grow if the necessary means appointed and provided for his growth are not neglected by him or those having care over him. From his baptism he is to "grow *in* grace"—according to the Apostle's word (2 Peter 3: 18)—rather than *into* it, even as a tree grows in the soil, into which it has been transplanted.

That this is the position and state of the baptized Catechumen is evident from a consideration of the several gifts which the holy Scriptures connect with baptism, and set forth as the fruits of it.

1. We have already seen that by baptism they become members of the Church. The Church is represented in the Scriptures, not merely as a receptacle for Christians, but as a *basis* and *soil* of grace. By baptism we are translated from the soil of nature into the soil of grace—from the world into the Church. This the apostle Paul sets forth in a clear and strong light, (Rom. 6: 3–11) by comparing it to two things:

First to *burial* and *rising*. "Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ"—baptized *into* Him, not baptized *because we were already in Him*, as one view of baptism would have it, nor yet baptized *that we may in future be brought into union with Him*, as another view teaches—"were baptized into His death?" "Therefore"—because we are baptized—"we are buried with Him by baptism into death"—that is into the death of sin—"that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk *in newness of life.*" As Christ went down into death and rose from it, so in baptism we have the transition point between the death of the old nature and the life of the new. There sin begins to die, and there grace begins to live, in us. This same sense is still farther brought out and illustrated by the second representation of the Apostle,

By a *planting* and *growing* together with Christ. "For

if we have been planted together in the likeness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection." The allusion is, according to some, to the planting of a seed in the soil. The seed will never grow unless it is planted; so no one can grow in grace till he is baptized. In the planting it receives a position and state in a soil where, with the proper conditions present, the death of the old seed and the growth of the new plant will immediately begin; so in baptism begins the death of the old nature of sin, and the new life of grace. The soil into which we are planted is the Church—the planting is baptism—and in it is the turning between the old and the new life.—According to others the allusion is to graffing. The bringing together of the graff and the tree in which it is placed, is the beginning of the new growth. According to this figure we or our humanity is the bad tree to which Christ unites Himself. Baptism is His act to us, in which we "put on Christ." Thus the mystery which is seen in graffing—in which the good graff on the bad scion, has the power of annulling the life of the stem to which it has been united and on which it grows, back into its roots, whilst the nature of the whole stem is changed by the graff—is beautifully significant. The second Adam, as the source of a renovating humanity, joins himself to our bad nature in baptism as a good and fruitful graff to a bad stem, and by virtue of that union, the new graff acts back on the old stem, overcoming and annulling its old and evil nature, and making our fallen and depraved life the recipient, and at the same time the bearer, of a new and heavenly life, thus changing its nature.

It appears at first view strange that a grafted tree should bear the fruit of the graft, and not of the original stem; since the stem is first in the order of life, forming the basis of the graft, the source and medium of its life and growth. But science explains the seeming mystery. The root of the tree, pushing downward absorbs from the soil the food of the plant, but *only in a crude form.* It is afterwards carried up through the stem into the leaves, where

it is digested and assimilated, and only then carried back to enter into stem and root for the growth of new rootlets, branches and leaves, as well as to feed and increase those already existing. The leaves are the lungs of the plant in which its sap is changed by contact with air and light, in the same way as the blood, or that which is to become vital blood, is changed by the lungs of the human body. It is only after this change—in which there is the decomposition of water and carbonic acid, and the discharge of superfluous moisture, by which it is condensed and changed into organizable matter—that what was crude food enters as vitalizing food into every part of the plant. If the leaves be taken away repeatedly, not only will the tree remain fruitless, but its life will be destroyed. Thus it is, after all, the leaves growing on the graft which rule the nature of the tree's life. How deep and beautiful is the illustration thus furnished of the relation of Christ's new humanity to the old humanity corrupted and fallen in Adam; and of His uniting Himself to our bad nature to vivify and sanctify it by His holy humanity.

Having given us these clear and beautiful illustrations of baptism as the turning point between the old life of nature and the new life of grace, he proceeds in the most nervous language, to exhort those who occupy this position and this gracious advantage, not to receive this grace in vain, but to be earnest in its development to full salvation, of which it is not the end but the beginning. "Knowing this, that our old man *is* crucified with Him, that the body of sin *might be destroyed*, that *henceforth* we should not serve sin. For he that is dead is *freed from sin*. Now, if we be *dead* with Christ, we believe that we shall also *live* with him: knowing that Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more, death hath no more dominion over him. For in that he *died*, he died unto sin once; but in that he *liveth*, he liveth unto God. *Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.*" Let not sin *therefore* reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof.

Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin; but yield yourselves unto God, *as those that are alive from the dead*, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God; for sin shall not have dominion over you: *for ye are not under the law, but under grace.*"

All this is in substance the same as the exhortation which Maurice put into the mouth of Luther, as expressing the views of that Reformer on the point in hand: "Believe on the warrent of your Baptism, you are grafted into Christ; claim your position. You have the Spirit, you are children of God; do not live as if you belonged to the devil."* "We conclude, therefore," says Calvin, "that we are baptized into the mortification of the flesh, which commences in us at baptism, which we are to pursue from day to day, and which will be perfected when we pass out of this life."

Accordant with this view of the Church as a soil of grace into which holy baptism plants us, are all the representations given us of the Church by Christ and his apostles. It is always compared to something that is life-bearing, and life-cultivating. It is a garden, a vineyard, a field, a mother. The beginning of the life of grace in the Church is always from a small and hidden beginning, as the mustard "which indeed is the *least* of all seeds"—the leaven which "a woman took and *hid*" in meal—as the "new-born babe," which is *incapable of nourishing itself*, but which must *receive the nourishment* from the mother who bare it, and that of the most delicate kind.

The grace which is made to underlie those who are planted into the church, and their silent, gradual growth from this point on to the full perfection of the Christian life, is beautifully set forth by our Saviour in one of His admirable parables: "So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast *seed into the ground*; and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the *seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how.* For the earth *bringeth forth fruit of*

* The kingdom of Christ, by Frederick Denison Maurice, A. M. p. 255.

herself; first the *blade*, then the *ear* after that the *full corn in the ear*. But when the fruit is brought forth, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come." (Mark 4: 26–29.)

We may further see that Baptism brings the Catechumen into a state of grace from the fact that with Baptism is connected the remission of sin. "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, *for the remission of sins.*" Acts 2: 38. See also 22: 16. Let it not be said that this applies only to adults, because it was spoken to them, and because repentance was required to precede Baptism; for it is distinctly added "*the promise is to you, and your children.*" It must have the same virtue in the case of infants where, because there is no actual sin, repentance is not needed. If it be granted that in the case of adults it secures the remission of sin, it must also be granted that in them it does not at once entirely remove natural depravity, for that remains though not with the same power; so in infants their original evil nature is not at once wholly taken away, while nevertheless the basis and beginning of grace is effected in it, from which principle and point forward it possesses a gracious advantage by which, in the same way as the baptized adult, a new life of grace is initiated, and may be carried forward by regular growth to full salvation.

Against the plain teachings of the Scriptures on this point, it is sometimes denied that remission of sins is given in baptism on the ground that Simon the sorcerer, though baptized, was still "in the gall of bitterness, and in the bonds of iniquity." (Acts 8: 23.) But this objection is at once set aside by the consideration that, as an adult, a proper preparation for the reception of baptism was necessary which in his case was not at hand. His motives were wrong. He expected gain, and offered money for the gift of God; therefore the apostle Peter said to him: "Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter: for thine heart is not right in the sight of God." No such hindrance to the grace of baptism exists in the case of infants, nor yet of adults, who have sincerely repented and who truly believe.

We must also remember that the virtue of Baptism is not confined to the time when it takes place. The covenant of which it is the sign and seal abides for all future time. As it is administered only once, and not to be repeated, its efficacy for the remission is permanent. It is always the basis on which the remission of sin may be newly obtained. On this point Calvin has forcibly said: "Nor must it be supposed that baptism is administered only for the time past, so that for sins into which we fall after baptism it would be necessary to seek other new remedies of expiation in I know not what other sacraments, as if the virtue of baptism were become obsolete. In consequence of this error, it happened, in former ages, that some persons would not be baptized except at the close of their life, and almost in the moment of their death, that so they might obtain pardon for their whole life—a preposterous caution, which is frequently censured in the writing of the ancient bishops. But we ought to conclude, that at whatever time we are baptized, we are washed and purified for the whole of life. Whenever we have fallen, therefore, we must recur to the remembrance of baptism, and arm our minds with the consideration of it, that we may be always certified and assured of the remission of our sins. For though, when it has been once administered, it appears to be past, yet it is not abolished by subsequent sins. For the purity of Christ is offered to us in it; and that always retains its virtue, is never overcome by any blemishes, but purifies and obliterates all our defilements."

"I know," says Calvin further," the common opinion is, that remission of sins, which at our first regeneration we receive by baptism alone, is afterwards obtained by repentance and the benefit of the keys. But the advocates of this opinion have fallen into an error, for want of considering that the power of the keys, of which they speak, is so dependant on baptism that it cannot by any means be separated from it." Again he says, "If repentance be enjoined upon us as long as we live, the virtue of baptism ought to be extended to the same period. Wherefore it is

evident that the pious, whenever, in any part of their lives, they are distressed with a conciousness of their sins, may justly have recourse to the remembrance of baptism, in order to confirm themselves in the confidence of their interest in that one prepetual ablution which is enjoyed in the blood of Christ."*

Thus all proper repentance of a baptized person is a return to his baptism, as the sure covenant ground on which he may confidently sue for pardon. He may forget the sure foundation, wander from it, act and live unworthy of it, but the covenant with its grace is ever there as the strong arms of everlasting love beneath and around him upon which he may ever fall back for pardon and peace.

8. As Christ in baptism gives the remission of sin, so He gives in it also the grace necessary for the new life. This great grace is all included in the gift of the Holy Ghost, which is also given in Baptism. That the Holy Ghost is given upon baptism, is so evident from many examples in the Acts of the Apostles that it is only necessary to refer to the fact. Peter assures the enquirer on the day of Pentecost that in addition to the remission of sins they shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost," on their penitent submission to baptism. Our Saviour had before taught Nicodemus that the birth of water and of the Spirit go together. (John 3: 5). Paul to Titus declares that "according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." (Tit. 3. 5.)

The Holy Ghost thus given in baptism, takes up His abode in the covenanted soul, and is united to the soul as He is not to one in the world. This is the great burden of our blessed Saviour's promise to His disciples, "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever; even the Spirit of truth *whom the world cannot receive*, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you, and *shall be in you*." (John 14: 16. 17.) In like

* Calvin's Institutes, Book iv, Chap. xv. See iii. iv.

manner also does St. Paul speak: "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you." (1 Cor. 3 : 16.)

This deep truth is beautifully recognized by the Heidelberg Catechism, affirming that we "become more and more united to His sacred body by the Holy Ghost, who dwells *both in Christ and in us*,"* thus becoming the bond of union and communion between Him and us.

As the Holy Ghost is thus given upon baptism, and as He sustains afterwards a new relation to the covenanted person which He did not sustain to him before, and does not sustain to the world, several inferences must legitimately be drawn from this fact.

1. That the Holy Ghost from that point on begins an inward work with the soul of the baptized subject. The outward act of baptism becomes a truly inward power by His indwelling and inworking. He unites himself with the human spirit in its most inward life, deeper than the baptized one's own spiritual activities—for He is the greater of the two. Thus the very life of Jesus Christ, whose Spirit the Holy Spirit is, and in whom He dwells as he does also at the same time in the subject, is, by the power of the Holy Ghost, made over to the Spirit of the baptized, by which wonderful mystery, the equally wonderful mystery of regeneration has its foundation and beginning. "Ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you." (Rom. 8 : 9.) Let it however always be remembered that this is only the beginning of a new life, not its completion and end. Even the grace of Baptism may be received in vain. The possibility must go forward to actuality. The planting must go forward in the growth. The birth of which our Saviour speaks to Nicodemus is not of water or baptism *alone*, but of water *and* the Spirit. The "washing of regeneration" must connect itself with "the renewing of the Holy Ghost." Hence the warnings against grieving, quenching, striving against, and doing despite to the Spirit. Hence the warn-

* Question 16.

ing against the loss of this grace. (Heb. 6 : 4. 10 : 29.)

2. We can see that there is here a true basis of grace in the soul. Is regeneration necessary as the basis of grace, from which point alone true growth in the divine life can begin, the Holy Spirit by whose presence, energy, and work, positive regeneration is effected, has secured, as we have seen, a subjective union of Himself with the spirit of the baptized. That He must enter the spirit for its regeneration is granted by all, in all conceptions of this work, and under every system of practical theology. This is granted even by such as entirely separate regeneration from baptism. If then the Holy Ghost must unite Himself with the spirit of man for its regeneration, why not at the time of baptism? Why not in and through that act? Especially when the sacred Scriptures habitually connect the gift of the Holy Ghost and consequent regeneration with Baptism. John 3 : 5. Acts 2: 38. Tit. 3 : 5. It is professed that the Spirit may be given for the purposes of regeneration in answer to prayer in the closet, or at what is commonly called the "anxious-seat" at the altar of the church; why not, therefore, in that ordinance which God has himself instituted, and with which, as "the washing of regeneration," He has so plainly connected it in His word? If even we hold the sacrament of baptism as merely the figure or representation of regeneration, why may we not, at least as readily, believe that the grace is given *with* it, as sundered *from* it.

In addition to this we ought not to forget that while prayer, in connection with which it is professed that the gift of the Holy Ghost and regeneration are given, is *our act to God*, whilst the sacrament of baptism is *God's act to us*; and hence it may be asked, is not regeneration God's act—something which He does to us—and may not the subject of baptism, or his parents, with the very best reason, by prayer at the time, claim the grace of this divine act? Or is God indeed a formalist, and His sacrament an empty form, with which He is not willing to connect the grace which that form covers and represents? Is he a

formalist, and does his faith tend to formalism, who holds that the outward act of baptism really covers and reveals the inward grace? Or is not rather he a formalist who, while he retains and outwardly honors the form by observing it, at the same time in his faith sunders the two? Thus leaving the form stand alone, while he expects the grace at another time and in another way.

3. If the Holy Ghost is thus given in Baptism, sustaining thenceforth a new inward relation to the baptized subject in which the basis and beginning of regeneration is effected, then the basis for the new life may be thus effected as well in infants as in adult subjects. Regeneration is effected by a divine act; and as such it finds even less hindrance in the infant than in the adult. Though all things are easy with God, yet it is agreeable to the spirit of divine teachings, and accordant with all experience and right reflection, to conceive that the Holy Ghost should at least as readily unite Himself with a soul in which evil is as yet latent, and in which the stiff bias of evil habit and actual sin does not yet exist, as He should effect such an union with a soul in which the natural life of sin is in a degree developed and firmly set. In the case of infants His new-forming energies would exert themselves on a far more pliable nature; and thus, humanly speaking, with less difficulty lay deep in the soul, and beneath its active moral energies and activities, the beginnings of a renovated and renovating life.

A more favorable and hopeful subject for the beginnings of grace certainly is the one that does *not yet believe*, as in the case of the infant, than the one who is *unbelieving*, as the adult heathen, or the adult natural man in a Christian land. The child is as yet *not*-christian but by no means as yet actively and positively *un*-christian, or *anti*-christian. It possesses merely a germ-like undeveloped individuality; and has not come to wilful, intelligent, and self-conscious evil. Is it not honoring the wisdom of God to regard this as the point and period of its life where, and when, He would begin the work of its renovation; and that hence

the instituted ordinances and helps to this new life are adapted to this state and for this end?

The deepest moral principle of the human spirit is the WILL. If now the Holy Spirit unites Himself with the spirit before the will has come to put forth free conscious self-determining activities, thus underlieing its plastic powers while they still slumber in latent possibility, is there not furnished in this fact a basis sufficiently deep and early for a new life; and may we not believe that the spiritual life of the child may, from that point on, be nurtured and carried forward to the full stature of self-conscious character without any violent technical change, reaching the full Christian life and character by development from the beginning lying in baptism and the gift of the Holy Ghost which goes with it, rather than by transition after baptism.

We must further call to mind that the baptized child is at the same time in the Church—the objective factor, which works from without on the child, even as the mother which has given birth to the child nurses and nourishes it. The Holy Spirit, moreover, who, as we have seen, is in the child, is also in the Church, working in upon the child's spirit, as well as from within out. In other words, it is the subject of the Church's educational activities; and these are two-fold: *nurture*, by which the grace of baptism is unfolded, or called forth, and *discipline*, by which the powers of its evil nature are repressed, and its evil tendencies hindered, so that the motions of evil are kept to their weakest workings. (Eph. 6: 4.) This is done in the Church, and in the family and school included in the Church; in each of which is found this double power, of nurture and admonition, or discipline.

The baptized infant has, in its position in the Church, secured to it not merely human cultivation through parents, teachers, and pastors; but all these are at the same time divine activities under Christ and the Holy Spirit, by their divine appointment, and with promise of their coöperation and blessing, that by means of these it may have all those surroundings in the bosom of the Church, by

whose silent and steady inworkings, it may grow in a healthy Christian life. These are to its life and growth in grace what the soil, the rain, the dew, the warmth and light of the sun, are to the plant.

The conclusions to which we have come will enable us to answer the question: What is a Catechumen? It is one baptized, and as such occupying a position different from the unbaptized; this is a position in the Church, of which he is now a member, by virtue of which he is entitled to the name Christian; with these advantages he is in grace, having the remission of sin, the indwelling of the Holy Ghost; and thus the basis and beginning of regeneration, with the full warrant, and all the means necessary for growth in grace to a full self-conscious Christian life. Such in the highest sense, and in the only true sense, is a Catechumen.

Lancaster, Pa. H. H.

ART. VII.—MANSEL'S LIMITS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

An opposite theory to the doctrine of the Absolute and Infinite, which we have endeavored to unfold in the Article on *Religion and Christianity*, has recently been developed by Professor Mansel, in his *Bampton Lectures*,* with great acumen, and an unusual degree of clearness of thought and expression. An argument based on so much sound scholarship and conducted with so much skill merits special consideration.

Mansel is the disciple of Sir William Hamilton, and differs from him in the philosophy of the Absolute mainly as regards the fulness and design with which he has wrought out a principle of criticism common to both. Both, however, are only exponents in the English language of what was laid down critically as the limits of the logical understanding nearly a hundred years ago by Kant,† the Aristotle of the eighteenth century. According to Kant, all knowledge, properly speaking, pertains to the finite world and the principles or categories of the understanding. These categories are relative: they correspond to the particular things of which through sensation the understanding becomes conscious. They are also finite, being limited to a single thing, or single things, in distinction one from the other. Active under the directive and formative power of these categories or principles, the understanding perceives

* The Limits of Religious Thought examined in Eight Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, in the year MDCCCLVIII on the Bampton Foundation. By Henry Longueville Mansel, B. D., Reader in Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy at Magdalen College; Tutor and late Fellow of St. John's College. First American from the third London Edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

† Emanuel Kant, born April 22, 1724, and died 1804, styled by Tenemann a second Socrates, creator of a new philosophy. The author of twenty-five or thirty philosophical works, of which the principal are: Kritik der reinen Vernunft, first published in 1781; Kritik der praktischen Vernunft, Riga, 1788; Grundlegung zur Metaphysick der Sitten, Riga, 1785; Die Religion innerhalb der Graenzen der blossen Vernunft, Koenigsburg, 1792. Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Koenigsburg from 1770 to 1797. Received calls to Jena, Erlangen and Halle, but declined them all. Never travelled beyond the limits of his own Province. Did not even get to Dantzic. Was not married. An acute, profound and original thinker; and an upright, moral man.

and conceives a thing; judges, or affirms and denies of it certain attributes and relations; and concludes, or passes through a logical process by which the truth of one proposition is derived from the truth of others. All knowing must lie within the circumference of this circle, the limits of which are fixed by the laws of the human understanding. Beyond this limit there can not be an object of thought and knowledge. To think and reason as if there could be is but to deal with an illusion.

The reason, on the contrary, as distinguished from the understanding, has intuitive ideas of self or of the soul; of the unity of the world; and of the Absolute and Infinite, or of God. But these ideas have no objective significance. We do not know whether that of which the reason posesses ideas is, or is not. The reason has the ideas; this we know; but whether that exists of which the reason has ideas, we do not know. In the first act of knowing, or attempting to know, the understanding is active; we necessarily begin to conceive and judge; and when we conceive and judge of the postulates of the reason we apply the finite principles of the understanding to that which lies beyond the sphere of the finite, and the mind is involved in a logical contradiction. We think of the Infinite as if it were the finite; and of the Absolute as if it were the relative. Hence the intuitive idea of God can not be the basis of any knowledge of God; not of His attributes, nor of His existence. On the same ground, however, we can neither deny His existence. The being of God is a matter of indifference to logical philosophy. Mind is reduced to pure *nescience*, or to a state of not knowing as regards whatever does not fall within the circle of the Finite. Hence the possibility of a supernatural revelation in the Person of Christ is denied; and dogmatic as well as speculative theology are ruled out of the catalogue of the sciences.

Binding him hand and foot, the system of Kant puts a strait-jacket upon man and then casts him out into outer darkness. In this condition the ideas of the reason, he teaches, become the canon of experience, and regulative of

moral conduct. They enable us to classify our impressions and behave decently as we tumble about hopelessly in the blackness of the dark spiritual night.

Led on by the genius of Hamilton, the *Limits of Religious Thought* are a free, independent and fresh reproduction in beautiful English of the Kantian philosophy. But with this difference. Whilst Kant develops his fundamental hypothesis logically to its last conclusions and boldly blots out the being of God from the firmament of rational vision, Mansel believes in God, and Christ, and the Word of God, in defiance of his metaphysical hypothesis and his destructive logical reasoning. By the force of will he clings to his Faith; though the knowledge of God which he would hold on the ground of supernatural Revelation contradicts all the laws of knowledge. The mind of no philosopher, however, much less the mind of any age, can rest content in a living contradiction. The Critical Philosophy, because it involves truth, though not based upon a true principle, must in its progress on English and American soil eliminate faith in supernatural Revelation to which it is antagonistic, or Christian faith must expose and cast out the negations and contradictions of the Critical Philosophy. The former we apprehend will be the first effect produced among a large class of thinking men; though in the nature of the case a reaction will soon follow; and the work of Mansel, written with the design to defend Christian Truth against the violent attacks of legions of Pantheists, Rationalists and Infidels with their own weapons, will prove to be a blind surrender of the Citadel itself into the hands of its foes.

The principal paralogism of Kant, Sir William Hamilton and particularly of Mansel, is a contradiction between the fundamental principle and the logic, or logical argumentation, of the Critical Philosophy. Taking the true position that the proper object of the human understanding is the Finite, and the Finite only, because the categories or subjective generic forms of logical thinking are limited, the critical philosophers nevertheless presume to think and

judge of the Absolute and Infinite. The Absolute is that which is without all conditions and relations. The Infinite is that which is beyond all limits. They think of the Absolute and Infinite; they make both the object of conception and judgment, and thus of the understanding; yet according to the all-pervading idea of the Critical Philosophy, neither one is that of which the human mind can think. They even proceed to describe the Absolute and define the Infinite, at least negatively. They say what the Absolute is not; what the Infinite is not; what either can not be, and can not become; denying all relations and conditions of the Absolute, and all limits of the Infinite; and assuming even that the Absolute is antagonistic to and necessarily excludes the Relative, and that the Infinite is antagonistic to and necessarily excludes the Finite. Yet this logical criticism proceeds on the broad principle that the Relative and Finite only, nothing above and beyond, are the legitimate objects of conception and judgment; as if these negative assertions could be made concerning the Absolute, and yet the Absolute be not an object of thought; or made concerning the Infinite, and yet the Infinite be not an object of thought. The contradiction is direct. To name the Absolute is to make it an object. To assert that the Absolute is without relations, is both to think and judge of it. To name the Infinite is to make it an object of thought. To assert that the Infinite is without all limitation, is both to think and judge of the Infinite. Thus to make the Absolute or Infinite, either or both, an object of thought on the principle that neither is an object of thought; thus to think and judge of either on the principle that the human reason can neither think nor judge of either; is fatal at once to all the confident criticisms of the Critical Philosophy. In the attempt to turn all thinking of the Absolute, whether positive or negative, into absurdity and destroy it, the Critical Philosophy turns itself into self-contradiction and absurdity; for from the beginning to the end of all its criticisms it does the very thing which on its fundamental hypothesis can not be done. It runs the knife into its own heart.

This contradiction underlies the criticisms of Kant; especially his criticisms on religion, on the possibility of supernatural Revelation and all the peculiar institutions and duties of the Christian Church, as may be seen by reference, among others, to his work entitled: Die Religion innerhalb der Grænzen der blossen Vernunft. The categories and laws of the logical understanding as finite and relative he develops and classifies with more acuteness and fulness than has been done by any modern philosopher. Here is his strength. Here the chief value of his metaphysical studies. But when he argues that, because the forms of human judgment and thinking are finite, the Finite only can be the object of thought, he makes an assumption for which on the basis of his own philosophy there is no warrant. He assumes that the Infinite excludes the Finite, and the Finite the Infinite; that the human reason can not think of the Infinite in the form of the Finite; and that therefore every seeming effort to think of the Infinite is illusory and self-contradictory. But Kant overlooks the fact that the criticism violates its own principle. To say that the mind can think of the Finite only, is already to think of something else which is not finite. To affirm that the Infinite and Finite are reciprocally exclusive, is not only to make both the object of thought, but also to judge of both. To assume that the Infinite can not be thought of in the form of the Finite, implies an idea of the nature or being of the Infinite, and of its relation to the Finite. Thus in ruling out the Infinite critically from the sphere of conception, judgment and knowledge, Kant thinks and judges of what he pronounces it an impossibility to think and to judge; himself exemplifying the fallacy of all the negative criticisms of the Infinite and Absolute by the Critical Philosophy.

The same fundamental contradiction underlies the *Limits of Religious Thought* by Mansel. The impossibility of thinking of the Absolute is thus summed up: "The Absolute can not be conceived as conscious, neither can it be conceived as unconscious: it cannot be conceived as com-

plex, neither can it be conceived as simple: it can not be conceived by difference, neither can it be conceived by the absence of difference; it can not be identified with the universe, neither can it be distinguished from it." p. 79. Thus we are landed in an inextricable dilemma. Again he says: "The conception of the Absolute and Infinite, from whatever side we view it, appears encompassed with contradictions. There is a contradiction in supposing such an object to exist, whether alone or in conjunction with others; and there is a contradiction in supposing it not to exist. There is a contradiction in conceiving it as one; and there is a contradiction in conceiving it as many. There is a contradiction in conceiving it as personal; and there is a contradiction in conceiving it as impersonal. It can not without contradiction be represented as active; nor, without equal contradiction, be represented as inactive. It cannot be conceived as the sum of all existence; nor can it be conceived as a part only of that sum." p. 85. The whole of this web of contradictions, Mansel accounts for by saying that it "is woven from one original warp and woof;—namely, the impossibility of conceiving the coexistence of the Infinite and the Finite, and the cognate impossibility of conceiving a first commencement of phenomena, or the Absolute giving birth to the Relative. The laws of thought appear to admit of no possible escape from the meshes in which it is entangled, save by destroying one or the other of the cords of which they are composed." p. 81. The impossibility of conceiving the coexistence of the Infinite and the Finite, Mansel deduces from an idea of both. So does he deduce the impossibility of conceiving of the coexistence of the Absolute and Relative from his idea of them. "By the *Absolute*," he says, "is meant that which exists in and by itself, having no necessary relation to any other Being. By the *Infinite*, is meant that which is free from all possible limitation; that than which a greater is inconceivable; and which, consequently can receive no additional attribute or mode of existence, which it had not from all eternity." p. 75. Here

we have a definition of the Absolute, and a definition of the Infinite. The definition is negative; but as there can be no negation without position; as the mind can not deny certain attributes or relations of an object without an idea of what the object is as the ground of denial; this negative definition implies a positive idea of the Absolute and Infinite in the mind of the author. The positive idea appears even in the form of the definition. The Absolute *is that which exists in and by itself.* This is a positive affirmation concerning the Absolute; and necessarily implies a positive conception or idea of the object. Then follows the negative form of the definition: the Absolute is that which *has no necessary relation to any other Being.* The definition is both positive and negative; and implies not only an idea but a distinct and accurate idea of the Absolute and Infinite. This definition comes to view as the major proposition at every turn throughout the Bampton Lectures. It is the hinge on which the reasoning hangs. It is the hammer with which Mansel drives and clinches every nail in the entire frame-work of argumentation. Take these definitions away and the logic tumbles to the ground.

Yet Professor Mansel maintains that the absolute and infinite One is not an object of thought; that any conception of the Absolute or Infinite involves necessarily a logical contradiction. It is accordingly the special design of his Lectures to show that the human mind can not think of any object but the Finite and Relative. In other words, Mansel thinks of the Absolute and Infinite in order to prove that the human mind can not think of the Absolute and Infinite; he has a conception or idea in his own mind of the Absolute and Infinite, from which he deduces the conclusion that no human being can legitimately have such an idea or conception; he lays down a definition of the Absolute and Infinite, expressed in both positive and negative form, and falls back on this definition as upon an immovable foundation at every turn of the argument, in order to demonstrate by means of it that every definition of the Absolute and Infinite, must necessarily be finite and rela-

tive, and therefore an absurdity; he concentrates the powers of his mind upon the Absolute and Infinite, thus making it an object of intense thought, in order to set forth the impossibility of making the Absolute and Infinite an object of thought. Here is a fundamental and thoroughgoing contradiction vitiating the very marrow and pervading the whole structure of the discussion—a contradiction that lies back of and annihilates all the contradictions and negations which Mansel presumes to expose. He does the very thing which it is the design of the whole work to prove can not be done.

We do not forget that Mansel puts the reader on his guard against misunderstanding the course of reasoning. He would not assert that the contradictions he develops are in the Absolute and Infinite, objectively considered, but in the *conception* only of the human mind. "What we have hitherto been examining, be it remembered," he remarks, "is not the nature of the Absolute in itself, but only our own conception of that nature. The distortions of the image reflected may arise from the inequalities of the mirror reflecting it." p. 85. But the caution does not relieve the argument. A conception is a conception of an object. If not, it is a pure abstraction, a subtlety, an illusion of the imagination that is entitled to no attention. This is a principle, however, that Mansel himself states very clearly on p. 96: "A second characteristic of Consciousness is, that it is only possible in the form of a *relation*. There must be a *Subject*, or person conscious, and an Object, or thing of which he is conscious. There can be no consciousness without the union of these two factors; and, in that union, each exists only as it is related to the other." Then he proceeds to argue that there can be no conception of an absolute object; because "an object of thought exists as such, in and through its relation to a thinker; while the Absolute, as such, is independent of all relation." p. 97. Thus he reaches the same conclusion. We must believe that the Absolute exists, but the mind can have no conception of it. The Absolute can not be a

positive object of thought. Why not? Because a conception involves relation; but the Absolute is independent of all relation. Here appears the self-contradictory reasoning. The principle that *the Absolute is independent of all relation* involves both a conception and a judgment of the Absolute; from this *conception* Mansel presumes to demonstrate that there can be no conception at all of the Absolute; from this judgment that there can be no judgment of the Absolute. Can a logical contradiction be more manifest? That either a *conception* or a *judgment* of the Absolute is an utter impossibility, the learned author would prove by reasoning from a conception and a judgment. In the attempt to annihilate all forms of infidel philosophy, Mansel annihilates himself.

Nor can Mansel escape from self-annihilation on the ground that the negative definition is not adopted as his own, but given as the definition of a philosophy which he rejects and condemns. For he lays it down formally as a view that *must* always be taken into account. He says: "There are three terms familiar as household words, in every vocabulary of Philosophy, which must be taken into account in every system of Metaphysical Theology. To conceive the Deity as He is, we must conceive Him as First Cause, as Absolute, and as Infinite. By the *First Cause*, is meant that which produces all things, and is itself produced of none. By the *Absolute*, is meant that which exists in and by itself, having no necessary relation to any other Being. By the *Infinite*, is meant that which is free from all possible limitation." p. 75. From this passage it is evident, that Mansel adopts these fundamental ideas of Metaphysical Theology, as certain and necessary; that is, he acknowledges them as the *conceptions* which the reason necessarily forms in thinking of God; and as such he employs them through the whole course of Lectures. From beginning to end they constitute the principle of argumentation. These negative definitions are the ultimate propositions upon which Mansel falls back at every step; and from them deduces the contradictions which, he holds, are in-

volved in a conception of the Absolute and Infinite. They are the only form in which man can conceive or think of God. As a consequence he takes the broad ground that *man can not know God.* A conception or judgment which is self-contradictory and therefore self-destructive, is the only one the human mind can have of God. Therefore the human mind can have no conception of God at all; God cannot be the positive object of thought or knowledge; He can not reveal Himself to man; supernatural Revelation, or a revelation of the Divine Nature, is an impossibility. These are the sweeping conclusions of the book—incontrovertible conclusions, as he maintains, at which he arrives by reasoning logically from the *conceptions* and *definitions* of the Absolute and Infinite which he states, over and over again, in almost every possible form of expression. Accordingly the thoroughgoing self-contradiction which we charge upon the Critical Philosophy remains, and even becomes more glaring. Mansel argues against the possibility of a conception of God on the basis of the conceptions and definitions which, to use his own words, must be taken into account in every system of Metaphysical Theology.

That we do not misrepresent the views of this Christian Author concerning the possibility of a revelation of the Divine Nature, we could easily establish by various quotations from different parts of these Bampton Lectures; but the necessity is entirely superseded by a formal statement in his Preface to the third Edition.* "It has been objected by reviewers of very opposite schools, that to deny to man a knowledge of the Infinite is to make Revelation itself impossible, and to leave no room for evidences on which reason can legitimately be employed. The objection would be pertinent, if I had ever maintained that Revelation is or can be a direct manifestation of the Infinite Nature of God. But I have constantly asserted the very reverse. In Revelation, as in Natural Religion, God is represented under

*Dated, Oxford, February 18th, 1859.

finite conceptions, adapted to finite minds; and the evidences on which the authority of Revelation rests are finite and comprehensible also. It is true that in Revelation, no less than in the exercise of our natural faculties, there is indirectly indicated the existence of a higher and more absolute truth, which, as it can not be grasped by any effort of human thought, cannot be made the vehicle of any valid philosophical criticism." (Preface p. 22.) It is correct to say that Revelation cannot be a direct manifestation of the Infinite Nature of God, if the meaning be that God can reveal Himself to man, a finite being, only in a finite or human form. But it is evident from the context that such is not the sense in which Mansel uses the language. Whilst he holds that God is represented in finite conceptions, these finite conceptions do not make God known to man as He really is, or can not make known His Infinite Nature. A finite conception only we possess, which can not represent the Infinite or communicate an idea of it. The existence of a higher truth than the finite conception is only *indirectly indicated*. So far then as God Himself or the Nature of God is concerned, Revelation is impotent.* Of what God, the infinite One, really is, men are as truly in ignorance now as they were before the Incarnation of the Son of God. We have only human conceptions of God, which, on the one hand, contradict His Nature under whatever aspect it may be considered, and on the other

* The language which denotes the Infinite, according to Mansel "is wholly without meaning. It implies an attempt to think, and a failure in accomplishing the attempt." Preface p. 28. "Men speculate and reason," he says in another place, "concerning the Infinite, without being aware that their language represents, not thought, but its negation. They attempt to separate the condition of finiteness from their conception of a given object; and it is not till criticism has detected the self-contradiction involved in the attempt, that we learn at last that all human efforts to conceive the Infinite are derived from the consciousness, not of what it is, but only of what it is not." p. 25. As if the consciousness of what the Infinite is not, did not imply a conception of the Infinite as a positive object of thought as really as a consciousness of what it is. If the idea of the Infinite be not thought, namely, that in the mind corresponding to an entity out of the mind, but only a negation, only a figment of the imagination; with what logical propriety can Mansel say that the supposed consciousness of the Infinite is but the consciousness of what the Infinite is not? A consciousness only of what the Infinite is not, is the essence of a *contradictio in adjectu*.

can only indicate indirectly the existence of a Truth which is higher and more absolute than themselves. The necessary inference is that Revelation is no revelation. The professed Revelation of God is but a system of human conceptions and human notions, which in the nature of the case can give us no knowledge of God, but can only serve the purpose of regulating our belief and moral conduct. The conclusion would mow down, not reason and knowledge only, but faith also were it not for the palpable contradiction which, like a two-edged blade, cuts through the very heart of all the reasoning; this learned effort to show that no man can think consistently of the Infinite, even by means of supernatural Revelation in Jesus Christ, being itself the most elaborate specimen of intense thinking and reasoning on the Infinite in the light of a definite idea of it, that Great Britain has given to the world during the present century.

The reasoning of Mansel is open to another criticism. It is a ruling idea of the Lectures that the limits of thought are to be determined by the nature and *laws* of thought. Thought can not transcend itself. The human understanding is finite; the categories and laws of the understanding are finite; hence the understanding is necessarily limited in its activity to the finite world, and Infinite Being is excluded from the entire range of the human reason. It is *terra incognita;* and any attempt to think of the Absolute and Infinite involves thought in hopeless self-contradiction.

This is the general position of Mansel. In addition to the fundamental contradiction which the simple statement of his position involves, as we have already shown, there is throughout the entire metaphysical disquisition a violation of a primary law of thought. In his close negative reasoning on the Absolute and Infinite, Mansel violates the very laws of thought which, according to the conclusion of his reasoning, interdict all reflection on the Absolute and Infinite; as will appear from a brief analysis of his logic, which is prevailingly according to the *deductio in absurdum* method.

Starting with the psychological truth that the categories and laws of human thinking are finite and relative, he takes as the basis of the whole process of reasoning the broad principle that the Absolute and the Infinite One, or God, is no positive object of thought. The only possible state of the human reason in relation to God is that of ignorance or negation. There can be no conception of what the Absolute is. Therefore the mind can not affirm any state, activity, attribute, or relation of the Absolute; for affirmation presupposes knowledge or conception. Nor can the mind have any positive intuition of what the Absolute is; for a positive intuition arises in consciousness in the form of definite conception, involving the relation of subject and object. Nor can Revelation impart to man any knowledge of the Divine Nature; because such knowledge could come to the mind only in a relative and finite form, which would involve the same contradiction. Thus the human reason is shut up to a state of necessary total ignorance, or to a state of not knowing, in regard to the Absolute and Infinite, from which it can not be delivered by any act of God or any effort of man. Mansel proceeds to show—and this is the principal aspect under which the whole subject is discussed—that every effort of the reason to know God has ended in some form of Pantheism or Atheism, or in a conclusion directly contradicting the principle with which the philosophy of the Absolute begins; and more than this, that every effort of the reason to know God, no matter when or by whom it may be made, must of necessity terminate in such self-contradiction and self-destruction.

But how does Mansel entangle all thought and philosophy in hopeless self-destruction? How does he show that every attempt to know and reflect upon God must terminate in the absurd? He does it by assuming a false principle of logical reasoning—a principle which is nowhere discussed nor even named, but which is every where applied as if it were an axiomatic truth. It consists in denying attributes, state or relations of that of which the mind

can have no direct conception. This is a violation of a fundamental law of thought, technically called by logicians the Law of Contradiction. I can affirm an attribute or relation of that only which is an object of thought. I must know the object; distinguish it from other objects; distinguish it from self and from consciousness; perceive a distinction in the relations which it bears to other objects; in order to affirm. For affirmation consists in saying what an object of thought is, or what as a part of itself belongs to an object of thought. This presupposes positive knowledge. My knowledge may be complete or only partial. If complete I can affirm the whole of what the object is; I can set all the attributes of the manifold unity in the predicate of a proposition. If partial, I can affirm as far as I know. But I need not know in whole in order to affirm in part. If I really know in part I can affirm in part. A partial affirmation is justified by partial knowledge. But I can not affirm in whole if I know only in part. I can affirm no more than I know. If I know nothing I can affirm nothing. If an object is not an object of my thought I can not even name it. If I have an object of thought but can not distinguish an attribute as belonging to it, I can not affirm an attribute of it. If I see no relation which the object bears to other objects, I can not affirm a relation of it. Entire ignorance, or the mental state of not knowing, precludes the possibility of logical affirmation.

The same principle is valid as regards negation. To deny is to say what an object of thought is not. It is to assert that a given attribute, or state, or relation does not belong to the object. This presupposes positive and full knowledge. I can deny only on two conditions. The first condition is that that of which I deny any thing must be an object of thought. If an object be not an object of thought, if I have no conception or idea of it, I can neither affirm nor deny. For in the act of denying I take the object as an object of thought. To affirm and deny, to limit and restrict, are but the definite forms in which I think of an

object. The second condition is that that of which I deny any thing I must know. If I do not know the object I can not deny any thing of it. If I do not know its state, I cannot say that a given state is not the state of the object; for I can not distinguish. I can not distinguish the known from the unknown. If I do not know the attributes of an object, I can not say that a given attribute is not one of them; for as before I cannot distinguish. If I do not know *all* the attributes of an object; if I know only in part, but not in whole; then I cannot deny either; I can say that a given attribute does not belong to the object; for the given attribute may be among those attributes of the object of which I am ignorant. If I do not know all the relations of an object, I cannot say that a given relation does not belong to it; and for the same reason; the given relation may be among the relations of which I am ignorant. Further: if I do not know an object I can not assert that it has no relations at all. I can say that it has no relations only if I *know* that it has no relations. I can not say that it has no limits only when I *know* that it has no limits. For if I do not know any thing, I can not assert any thing, either affirmatively or negatively. If an object be not known to me and besides not an object of my thought, I can say of it nothing at all. This is according to the demands of the law of negation—a necessity in the reason determining the conditions and order of its its conscious activity. The law of negation requires me to deny of an object what I know it is not, or know does not belong to it; and forbids denial when I do not know; forbids me to assert what an object is not when I do not know the object, or do not know what I say.

The law of negation and the law of affirmation are but different formal expressions of one principle. That principle is a conception or idea of an object as the indispensable condition, or *sine qua non*, of all assertion concerning it. Knowledge is the necessary basis of rational activity, or of a logical process of the understanding, according to either form of assertion. There is this difference, however. A par-

tial knowledge of an object justifies a partial affirmation; but a partial knowledge does not justify a partial negation. The law of affirmation permits me to affirm in part if I know in part, or to affirm as much as I know; but the law of negation does not permit me to deny, whether in whole or in part, unless I know in whole. Thoroughgoing knowledge is the only basis of partial negation.

Now, if the Absolute is no positive object of thought; if I have not and can not have a conception of it; I can neither affirm nor deny anything concerning it; I can not say what it is, nor what it is not; I can not assert that the Absolute has relations, nor that it has no relations. I can deny logically all conditions and all relations of the Absolute only if I *know* that the Absolute has no conditions and no relations. But I can not know that the Absolute has neither conditions nor relations unless I know the Absolute itself; for the one necessarily presupposes the other. Hence to deny all relations of the Absolute on the ground that the Absolute is no positive object of thought and therefore the unknown, is a direct violation of the law of negation, a primary law of thinking. It is a process of thinking in violation of the first law of thinking, as undoubted a violation as it would be to deny weight of the atmosphere on the principle that the human mind can form no intelligent judgment concerning the properties and relations of the atmosphere, or to deny a salubrious climate of an island in the Pacific that no man has ever discovered or can ever discover.

The same law is violated in negative reasoning on the Infinite. If the Infinite is not and can not be a positive object of thought; if it be to me the unknown; I can make no assertion concerning it; I can not say that it has limits, nor can I say that it has no limits. I can deny all limitation of the Infinite only when I *know* that it is without all limitation; but I can not know that it has no limitations unless I know the Infinite itself; for the one presupposes the other. A knowledge of the Infinite as having no limits is, after all, nothing less than a knowledge of the Infinite.

Hence to deny all limitation of the Infinite on the principle that the Infinite is no positive object of thought, and therefore the unknown and inconceivable, is a direct contradiction. It is an effort to think in violation of the laws of thought. It is a knowing of that which is not and can not be known, than which no proposition could logically be more absurd.

Here we meet Mansel in his own way. We meet Sir William Hamilton, Emanuel Kant and the whole school of Critical Philosophy on their own ground. The Critical Philosophy itself violates the laws of thought which it defines, and for the necessity of conformity to which it contends. Laying it down as an axiom, which all must admit, that the human reason can think only according to its own laws and forms of thought, they determine critically that man can think and acquire philosophical knowledge of relative and finite objects only, because the laws and forms of thought are relative and finite. Then they immediately transcend the Relative and Finite, and determine that philosophical and theological knowledge of the Absolute and Infinite is necessarily self-contradictory and absurd, because the Absolute has no relations and the Infinite has no limits. But the criticism is a fallacy. If the forms of thought are relative and therefore the Relative only can be an object of thought, it is a contradiction to name the Absolute. The word *Absolute* can be but a hollow, unmeaning sound. It can not stand in the mind for any corresponding object out of the mind. But the Critical Philosophy deals with the Absolute as the name of a veritable object transcending the sphere of the Relative, and directs its criticisms against it as an object of thought of which it is impossible to have a thought. This is the first direct contradiction—the πρῶτον ψῦεδος of the whole School of Critical Philosophy. The criticisms of the Absolute violate the laws of thought which, as the entire School affirms, limit thought to the Relative only. If the laws of thought limit thought to the Relative and Finite, then neither Kant, Mansel, nor any other person can assert any thing either affir-

matively or negatively concerning that which is neither relative nor finite.

At this point, however, Mansel, in keeping with the method of the Critical Philosophy, sets up an arbitrary distinction which involves his criticisms in a still more glaring contradiction. Because the forms of thought are relative and therefore the only objects of thought are relative objects, Mansel maintains that the mind can not think of the Absolute and Infinite, meaning that the mind can not *affirm* any thing concerning them. We can not affirm God to be the *First Cause*, or a *Person* or the *Creator*; because such affirmations involve knowledge of that which is not an object of thought and can not be known. But he claims and exercises the right to think of God negatively. Whilst he forbids all men to affirm, he denies. No man may make an assertion affirmatively, but he may make an assertion negatively. He asserts that the Absolute has no relations and no conditions. This negative assertion is made of an object which, as he affirms, is no object of thought; of which the mind can have no conception; of which he knows nothing and can know nothing. But the Law of Negation requires him to know in order to deny; and forbids him to deny peremptorily if he does not know. It requires him to know the Absolute in order to deny all relations and conditions of the Absolute; and forbids him to deny relations of the Absolute if he does not know the Absolute. Mansel, however, insists that he knows nothing of the Absolute, yet asserts with the utmost confidence that the Absolute is independent of all relation; and thus himself directly violates the laws of thought in his attempt to expound and vindicate them.

In like manner he forbids all men to think of the Infinite, meaning that they may not *affirm* concerning it, because it can not be an object of thought to a finite mind. But he denies of the Infinite all limitation, which is nothing less than to think of it. No man may think of the Infinite, but Mansel may think. He asserts of the Infinite, an object of which he can have no conception, of which he can

not know any thing, that it is without limitation. Here again Mansel violates the Law of Negation; which requires him to deny limitation of the Infinite if he *knows* that it has no limitation; but forbids him to deny limitation if he does not know any thing of it. But Mansel persists in thinking of the Infinite on the principle that no man can think of it; persists in the assertion that the Infinite is without limits on the principle that no man can assert any thing concerning it; persists thus in violating a primary law of thought in order to demonstrate how the philosophy of the Infinite, and all philosophical Theology, violates the laws of thought.

This logical fallacy pervades the book. That the Absolute is independent of all relation, and that the Infinite is without limits, are the fundamental negative propositions on which all the processes of reasoning depend. From these Mansel proves the contradictions involved in the idea of the Absolute, and the contradictions involved in the idea of the Infinite. From these he would prove that the Absolute can not be conceived as a necessary and unconscious Cause, nor as a voluntary and conscious cause, nor as possessing consciousness at all, nor as containing within itself any kind of relation, nor as one and simple, out of all relation. From these he would prove that we can not think of God, nor of God as a personal Being, nor of Him as Creator, nor of Him as First Cause. And by these propositions he shows how all possible ideas of the Absolute and Infinite, or of God, run into absurdity and self-annihilation. This violation of a fundamental law of thought underlies and pervades every form of argument, positive or negative, which characterizes the Bampton Lectures. It is the great power of its destructive logic.

These fundamental propositions, or negative assertions, concerning the Absolute and Infinite, involve the two principal contradictions we have endeavored to unfold as underlying all the criticisms of Mansel's *Limits of Religious Thought.* The first main position is that the Absolute and Infinite are not ligitimate objects of human thought.

This is directly contradicted by these negative definitions, for the Absolute and Infinite become an object of thought in the act of defining them negatively, and in the processes of reasoning concerning them running through the whole disquisition. The second main position is expressed in these propositions themselves, namely, that the Absolute is independent of all relations and conditions, and the Infinite of all limits. Assuming the first position to be true, that the mind can form no idea of the absolute and infinite One, this second position becomes a direct violation of the Law of Negation. On these two contradictions hang all the logic and its sweeping results.

These two self-contradictory positions, moreover, are themselves reciprocally exclusive. If it be true that the Absolute and Infinite are no positive object of thought, then the negative definitions of them, are, as we have shown, a manifest violation of the Law of Negation, and all the reasoning on the basis of these definitions must fall to the ground. On the other hand, if these negative definitions are allowed to stand as valid, then in the very act of pronouncing them valid the Absolute and Infinite are constituted a positive object of thought, and all the reasoning which proceeds on the basis of the first position, that the Absolute and Infinite are no object of thought, must of necessity be purely fallacious. So take either fundamental position, accept either term of the reasoning, and Mansel's criticisms of metaphysics and Theology become self-destructive.

The case becomes worse still when we consider that the validity of Mansel's criticisms is not sustained by the truth of either one of his fundamental positions taken by itself; but the validity of all his criticisms depends on the truth of both. Either position being false, the criticisms are self-destructive; but both must be true, if they shall be valid; for all the reasoning presupposes the truth, not of either one, but of both taken together. There is therefore, a double logical impossibility of truth in the criticisms.—Both fundamental positions can not be true logically; for

they are mutnally exclusive. The truth of the first determines the falsity of the second, and the truth of the second determines the falsity of the first. Now as the falsity of either position vitiates the criticisms of Mansel, and as one or the other *must* be false, it is manifest that the criticisms can not be valid. Here is the first logical necessity by which the criticisms become self-destructive. The criticisms, however, assume that both fundamental positions are true; and they can be valid only if both are true. But as the truth of both is a logical impossibility, it becomes manifest again from this view of the argument, that the criticisms can not be valid. Here is the second, and a deeper, logical necessity of self-contradiction in the criticisms themselves. Accordingly the critical argument of Mansel destroys itself by a two-fold logical necessity. The process of criticism is not only illogical, but from the very nature of the first principles on which the reasoning proceeds the conclusions can not be any thing else but illogical, and therefore a formal absurdity. With great skill Mansel leads the thinker *nolens volens*, who would affirm any attribute or relation of the Absolute and Infinite, by a spiral path down into a horrible pit of dark negations and contradictions; but he does it unwittingly, though with a great array of learning, by a winding ratiocinative process that casts himself to the bottom of the pit where he flounders and the Critical Philosophy flounders in the miry clay.

There is another deep fallacy pervading the *Limits of Thought* which has been very forcibly exposed by Dr. Hickock.* It is the dualistic view concerning the relation of reason to faith. On the basis of Revelation Mansel maintains the necessity of faith in an absolute and infinite God, whom He regards as a glaring absurdity to reason and thought. God has revealed Himself in His Word, and attested His Revelation by wonderful miracles. Therefore we should believe implicitly, though the act of believing be in contradiction of all the forms and laws of thought.—

*Vid. Bibliotheca Sacra. Jan. 1860. pp. 64–95.

But we do not propose to enter upon the discussion of this branch of the general subject.

There is one fundamental truth in the Critical Philosophy, and but one. It is that the forms and laws of thought are relative and finite. From this truth Kant, Mansel and the whole critical School draw a fallacious inference, namely, that the finite world only can be the object of thought. A sound psychology, however, postulates just the reverse. The Absolute and the Infinite exist no less than the Relative and Finite; and they exist as an object of thought; but the mind thinks of the Absolute in the forms of the Relative, of the Infinite in the forms of the Finite, of the Divine in the forms of the human—a proposition the full meaning and corroboration of which is given in the Incarnation of the Son of God.

Mansel separates and holds asunder antagonistically the Absolute and Relative, the Infinite and Finite, Reason and Faith, God and man. In the effort to escape the abyss of Pantheism he falls upon the rock of Dualism. Turning from one error, he embraces another equally fatal to philosophy, to theology and to practical religion. The only true and abiding solution of the problem is the Person of Christ, who is the absolute and infinite Godhead in real union with relative and finite Manhood. A sound Christology is the only basis of a sound philosophy.

E. V. G.

CANTATE DOMINO: A CORRECTION.

In our review of this excellent work, published in the January number, we stated in a note, p. 148, that the translation of Paul Gerhard's Passion Hymn contained an unfortunate blunder transferred from the new Liturgy. Upon a more careful examination of the matter, however, we are pleased to find that there is no ground for the criticism, the Passion Hymn being correctly printed as it came from the pen of Dr. Alexander.

E. V. G.

ART. VIII.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

FIVE YEARS' MINISTRY IN THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH, IN RACE STREET, BELOW FOURTH, PHILADELPHIA. An Anniversary Sermon, Preached Jan. 8th, 1860. With an Ecclesiastical Appendix, by Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D. D. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1860. 72 pp.

The German Reformed Church in Race Street is one of the oldest in connection with the Synod of the German Reformed Church in America, and one of the oldest of all the churches in the city of Philadelphia. For an interesting account of its origin, and the vicissitudes and trials of its early history, we refer the reader to Harbaugh's Life and Travels of Schlatter, one of the most valuable contributions to American Church history. Though organized before 1734, more than one hundred and twenty-six years ago, there are up to this time but four German Reformed churches in the city. This want of a more rapid growth corresponding to that of other denominations in the city, cannot be owing to a want of material, nor to the absence of the divine blessing upon the labors of German Reformed ministers in Philadelphia. For the material has always been abundant, the Germans having all along since the first quarter of the last century constituted one of the strongest and most influential branches of the population. And God, true to His covenant, has always been prospering the labors of His ministering servants, the Church edifice in Race Street having often in the course of its history been too small to afford suitable accommodations to the crowds of worshippers that thronged its sacred courts.

The causes are different; but we will refer only to one. The main cause undoubtedly has been the want of German Reformed ministers. One English colony went out from the Race Street church, if we do not err, as early as 1809. It was organized as a German Reformed church, and for eight or nine years made efforts to obtain a Pastor. But it could not secure the services of a German Reformed minister who was properly qualified to minister to them in the *English* language; and finally, despairing of being supplied, it passed into the communion of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church. We know of at least two other colonies of the Race Street church that have passed into the communion of other denominations. Even the Race Street church itself has not

had, since the resignation of the venerable Doctor Helffenstein, a pastor who was by birth and education a minister of the German Reformed Church until since the catastrophe of 1852. In these circumstances the more rapid extension of the German Reformed Church in Philadelphia, was almost an impossibility. Had the Theological Seminary and Marshall College been established each twenty-five years earlier, we might have four times the present number of churches, English and German.

To stand alone as an *English* church, as the Race Street Church has had to do for so many years, is itself a trial; for, wanting that cordial sympathy and support which is afforded by a large communion of different organizations resting on the same basis and possessing the same customs, mode of worship and order, its comparative isolation could not but be prejudicial to the progress of the German Reformed Church. Add to this the blow it received in 1852, perhaps the most severe and stunning in its whole history, when the Pastor withdrew with about three-fourths of the entire membership to form a new organization in connection with the Dutch Church; and we shall not be surprised to learn that the Race Street Church, though a century and a quarter old, numbers no more than 248 regular communicant members. Rather should we unite with the present Pastor, the Rev. Dr. Bomberger, and his people, in devout gratitude to Almighty God for His deliverance of that venerable church from the imminent peril into which it had been drawn.

The little volume which has called forth this brief historical notice, contains an earnest discourse by Dr. Bomberger commemorative of the great goodness and grace of God to the Race Street Church during the five years of his ministry, from the appropriate text: "The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad." (Ps. 126: 3.) And great cause that church has for thanksgiving and praise. The schismatic movement of 1852 had completely prostrated it. "Let the cause of the secession have been what it may," says the author, "the material, and in some respects the moral effects of it upon the congregation, were nearly the same. The numerical strength of the body was reduced to a point which imperiled its existence. The small band of members still remaining here, stunned by the shock of so unexpectedly wide-spread a movement, and finding themselves almost alone and lost in a house of worship calculated to accommodate a thousand persons, were, moreover, well nigh paralized with despondency, and tempted to give up the entire interest in despair. Their Sunday-school remained with but three teachers, and about twenty scholars, and the whole flock were as sheep without a shepherd. That apprehensions should be felt in such circumstances, of a total dissolution of the Old Race Street Church, is

not surprising. We must rather wonder that any recuperative element remained in a congregation so completely prostrated." p. 12. Yet the church has survived the shock. From this prostrate condition it has risen up again; and first under the brief but energetic ministry of Rev. Samuel H. Reid, and afterwards through the abundant labors of the present Pastor, has grown into position, strength, respectability and influence. Measures have also been taken for the erection of a branch church in the North-western section of the city, for which purpose property and money have already been secured to the amount of *twenty-four thousand dollars.* On these and other tokens of Divine favor the discourse dwells with simplicity, tenderness and power. The calm, irenical spirit which pervades it, is particularly commendable. There was opportunity for just and severe reflections upon the principal actor in the schism of '52, but the author refrains, in the spirit of Christian charity, from all direct references to the cause of the calamity.

The Appendix is a happy thought. It furnishes a succint statement concerning the origin, name, doctrinal standards, form of government, public worship, benevolent Institutions, statistics, et cetera, of the German Reformed Church. Just such information as the members of the Race Street Church ought to have, and as should be in the possession of the members of all our churches. It would be well to reprint and translate the Appendix, or something on the same plan, in cheap form for general distribution in both languages.

E. V. G.

A DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE by Joseph E. Worcerster, LL. D. Boston: Hickling, Swan, and Brewer. pp. 1854.

Worcerster's Quarto Dictionary is a complete dictionary of the English Language; its great aim being to exhibit the language as it has become and as it is, including orthography, etymology, pronunciation and definition. Such a work—a dictionary constructed on this true general principle of lexicography—has to the present time been a disideratum. The large work of Dr. Webster, it can not be denied, notwithstanding its great and undoubted merits, proceeds rather upon the idea of exhibiting the English language, as in that eminent lexicographer's judgment, it ought to bo, judging of it in the light of certain theoretic principles—an idea, however, that has affected his dictionary only, or mainly, as it regards orthography and pronunciation. Worcerster, on the other hand, is governed by no authority but by what must be regarded as good usage. This sound ruling principle we consider to be the distinctive characteristic of his valuable work.

The work opens with an interesting and instructive introduction comprising sixty-eight pages; and treats of Principles of Pronunciation; Orthography; English Grammar; Origin, Formation, and Etymology of the English Language; Archaisms, Provincialisms, and Americanisms; History of English Lexicography; a Catalogue of English Dictionaries, Glossaries, Encyclopaedias, &c., &c. Then follows the Dictionary itself, containing about 104,000 words; to which is annexed an Appendix giving the Pronunciation of Greek and Latin Proper Names; Pronunciation of Scripture Proper Names; Pronunciation of Modern Geographical Names; Pronunciation of the Names of distinguished men of Modern Times; Abbreviations used in Writing and Printing; Signs used in Writing and Printing; and a Collection of Words, Phrases, and Quotations from the Greek, Latin, French, Italian and Spanish Languages. On all these topics the work is accurate, thorough, succinct and comprehensive.

Instead of attempting an independent analysis of its various characteristic merits, we submit the following brief extracts from opinions expressed by some of the most eminent scholars in America.

"An authority among scholars every where."—JAMES WALKER, LL. D.

"The standard Dictionary of our language."—C. C. FELTON, LL. D.

"Superior to any Dictionary of our language.—M. B. ANDERSON, LL. D.

"A proud monument of accurate scholarship."—MARK HOPKINS, D. D.

"It is but a short time since that I was led to commend another Dictionary as, on the whole, and with some exceptions, the best and most complete thing of the kind within my knowledge. The communication was honestly given at the time; *but now it must be withdrawn in favor of yours.*"—DANIEL R. GOODWIN, D. D.

"Truly a Thesaurus of the English language."—I. T. CHAMPLIN, D. D.

"No scholar can afford to be without your Dictionary."—N. LORD, D. D.

"Much superior to any other general Dictionary.—GEORGE P. MARSH.

"There is no department within the province of a Dictionary that has been left imperfect."—ANDREW P. PEABODY, D. D.

"I always felt myself wholly safe in your hands, when I had your smaller Dictionary. But with this 'Leviathan' it would be superflous to look further."—JOSEPH LOVERING, A. M.

"I regard it as one of the best, if not the very best, published in our language."—ARCHBISHOP HUGHES, of New York.

"The Dictionary is indeed a monumental work."—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, M. D.

"I have no doubt it is the best."—ASA GRAY, A. M.

"It is an honor, not only to Boston, but to the whole country."—E. N. HORSFORD, A. M.

"More than equal to my expectations."—S. G. BROWN, A. M.

"The best and the most unexceptionable Dictionary of the English language."—GEO B. EMERSON, LL. D.

"In all respects, the best, the most complete, and learned."—HORACE WEBSTER, LL. D.

"It is a Thesaurus of the language."—S. H. TAYLOR, LL. D.

"The *best* Lexicon of the English Language."—EPES S. DIXWELL, A. M.

"It is an honor to our country and to the English language." HENRY A. BOARDMAN, D. D.

"The *one authority* upon all matters of English lexicography."—FRANCIS BOWEN, A. M.

"The standard Dictionary of the English language."—JOEL PARKER, LL. D.

"Of all the American Dictionaries of our language, your Quarto Edition will be henceforth the first I shall resort to."—FRANCIS LIEBER, A. M.

"The new and authentic etymologies, the conciseness and completeness of the definitions, the nicety with which the different shades of meaning in synonyms are distinguished, and the conscientious accuracy of the work in all its departments, give it, in my judgment, the highest claims to public favor."—WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

"I concur with the opinion of Mr. Bryant."—WASHINGTON IRVING.

"*It is pure gold.* The great public want of a *Standard* Dictionary of the English language, which so long existed, is now supplied, thank Heaven!"—GEO. P. MORRIS, A. M.

"I cannot conceive that it has left anything to be desired in respect to definitions, orthography, etymology, pronunciation, copiousness, and whatever enters into the idea of a perfect Dictionary."—W. B. SPRAGUE, D. D.

These are strong testimonials to the eminent worth of this great work. But they are not too strong. All in all, it is without doubt the most valuable contribution to English lexicography—a distinguished honor to Dr. Worcester and to American scholarship.

E. V. G.

LECTURES ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, by George P. Marsh. New York. Charles Scribner. London: Sampson Lawn, Son & Co. 8vo. pp. 697.

In pursuance of a plan for enlarging the means of education afforded by Columbia College in the city of New York, courses of instruction, called Post-graduate Lectures, were organized in the summer of 1858; and Mr. Marsh was invited by the Trustees of that institution to give readings on the English Language. The lectures which compose this volume were prepared and delivered in the Autumn of 1858–9. We remember reading brief reports of these lectures in the New York daily papers at the time of their delivery, and we were much interested in them; the treatment of the subjects successively discussed was evidently so original, scholarly, thorough and orthodox. We hoped at the time, that Mr. Marsh would be led to publish his lectures *in extenso*; and we are happy in possessing them now, printed very nearly in their original form, and making a goodly octavo of 697 pages, from the well-known press of Mr. Scribner.

Having given the very themes treated in this book considerable attention and study for several years, we are prepared, by a rapid perusal of the volume, to say that we know of no other work in the English language which will compare with Mr. Marsh's book. It is full of happy criticism and analysis, and exhibits throughout a modest yet thorough treatment of the difficulties and anomalies of our most difficult and anomalous tongue. We feel as we read on that the whole subject has been most carefully studied, *con amore*, and that fields of investigation have been traversed and explored which lie far distant from the beaten track of common travellers. It would have been easy on such a subject to make a show of cheap learning by a multitude of citations from many authorities, but our author has preferred, after pointing out sufficient sources of instruction, to leave the reader the pleasant and profitable task of seeking authorities for himself. And yet, it must not be supposed that this work is not adapted to the many rather than to the few. From the character of the audience before which the Lectures were delivered as well as the purpose the

author has in view, this work is well calculated to incite and continue a deeper interest, among our educated people generally, in the wonderful language it is their privilege to call their mother tongue.

We earnestly hope that the author of this book, who, honored by his country, has brought honor to his native land, by the successful accomplishment of a difficult literary labor, may be rewarded by seeing his work influential in raising the standard of English scholarship wherever the English language is spoken.

We add the following resumé of the contents of the volume:

Introductory Lecture. On Philological Study.
Lecture II. Origin of Speech, and of the English Language.
" III. Practical uses of Etymology.
" IV. Foreign helps to the Study of English.
" V. Study of Early English.
" VI. and VII. Sources and Composition of English.
" VIII. to XII. The Vocabulary of the Eng. Language.
" XIII. and XIV. The Parts of Speech.
" XVI. to XVIII. Grammatical Inflections.
" XIX to XXI. English as Affected by the art of Printing.
" XXII. Orthoepical changes in English.
" XXIII. Rhyme.
" XXIV. Accentuation.
" XXV. Alliteration, &c.
" XXVI. Synonyms.
" XXVII. Principles of Translation.
" XXVIII. The English Bible.
" XXXIX. Corruptions of English.
" XXX. The English Language in America.

E.

THE FIRST ADAM AND THE SECOND. THE ELOHIM REVEALED IN THE CREATION AND REDEMPTION OF MAN. By *Samuel J. Baird*, D. D., Pastor of the Presbyterian church, Woodbury, N. J. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.

A stately and imposing volume, which deserves a place among the most scholarly works of American divinity. Dr. Baird was known before as the author of a Digest of the Minutes of the O. S. Presbyterian Church, which is said to be a very useful and valuable book for every Presbyterian minister. The present book is of a more catholic and original character. The title is somewhat singular. *Elohim* is rather the God of Creation only, the God of the Gentiles as well as the Jews, while Jehovah is the God of redemption, the God of the covenant with his peculiar people. The book might perhaps have been more popularly called: The Christian doctrine of sin and grace. It forms a parallel to the celebrated monograph of Dr. Julius Müller on Sin, but goes further and supplies also the positive counterpart. It is quite an elaborate work which grapples manfully with the difficult problems of the fall of the first and the redemption of the second Adam, with special reference to the Anglo American controversies on imputation since the days of Jonathan Edwards. Its theology is substantially Old School Presbyterian, although it differs from the Princeton view on imputation. It holds "that at the bar of God no fictitious construction nor legal intendment is tolerated; that nothing is there imputed in any other sense than accords with the essential reality; that Adam's sin is charged against us no otherwise than inasmuch as it is really ours,—we sinned in him and fell with him, in his first transgression." We are promised a more extended review of this important work by another pen for the next number.

P. S.

THE WORDS OF THE LORD JESUS by *Rudolf Stier*. Translated from the second revised and enlarged German edition. By the Rev. *William B. Pope*: New edition. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1860. 6 vols. in 3.

When we first came to this country, we ventured to express the hope that the better works of the Evangelical Theology of Germany would exert a considerable influence upon English and American theology. But we had no idea at the time to what extent this would be the case. Our boldest expectations are far surpassed by fact. England, Scotland and America have rivalled, within the last ten years in their zeal to transfer the treasures of German literature into the English language. The best Commentaries of Bengel, Tholuck, Olshausen, Ebrard, Hengstenberg, Stier, Gerlach and others are now accessible to the English student and have in many instances found a far more extensive circulation than in their native Germany. This is a most signal and marvellous victory which German theology has achieved over its assailants. It is now literally flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. Any attempt to root it out in America would be suicide. Such is the change wrought in so short a time.

Among these Anglo-German works on Biblical literature the Commentary of Dr. Stier on the Discourses of our Lord and Saviour occupy a very prominent place. It was no small task to translate so elaborate and extensive a work as this. Mr. Clark, the enterprising publisher of Edinburgh deserves great credit for having published it, and Messrs. Smith, English & Co. are equally entitled to the gratitude of American scholars for giving it to them in a new and more convenient edition. Dr. Stier is an able, thorough, pious and sound expounder of those words of truth and eternal life which the Saviour spoke in the days of his flesh for all future generations. He sits reverently at his feet like Mary, with humble submission to their divine authority. Ministers of the Gospel will find this Commentary a very useful guide in the preparation of sermons. Volumes V. and VI. contain the discourses of Christ recorded by the disciple who leaned on his bosom and drank deepest from that fountain of unerring truth, and unfailing life.

An additional volume (vol. IX of the original edition), translated by the same hand and republished by the same house treats of the Words of the Risen Saviour, and embodies also Stier's Commentary on the Epistle of St. James, which appeared first in 1845.

P. S.

THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCES OF THE TRUTH OF THE SCRIPTURE RECORDS stated anew, with special reference to the doubts and discoveries of modern times. In eight lectures delivered in the Oxford University Pulpit, in the year 1859, on the Bampton Foundation. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A. From the London edition with the notes translated by Rev. A. N. Arnold. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860.

The Rev. John Bampton, Canon of Salisbury, has done good service to the cause of Christian literature and nobly immortalized himself, when he devoted his rich estate to the University of Oxford for the maintenance of an annual course of eight Divinity Lecture Sermons for the defence and exposition of the Christian faith and the divine authority of the holy Scriptures. Several courses of the Bampton Lectures, as they are called, are of sterling merit and more than passing interest. Not a few of them have created a sensation and aroused a good deal of discussion. This was the case with the Lectures of Mansel on the *Limits of Religious Thought*, delivered in 1858. The last course, delivered in 1859, is a worthy successor and contains certainly one of the most valuable contributions to the Evidences of Christianity in the English Language. The author, a brother to the celebrated antiquarian, and editor of the History of Herodotus, has here made the results of the most extensive antiquarian discoveries and researches of modern times, the hieroglyphics of Egypt, the cuneiform records, the excavations of Syria, etc., tributary to the defence of the historical truth and accuracy of the Sacred Scriptures. It is a thorough and scholarly work upon a most important subject which lies at

the very basis of our faith in Christianity. It is a storehouse of powerful arguments against the mythical school of Strauss and other infidels who would fain deprive our religion of its true historical character by which it is so essentially different from all the heathen religions. One half of the volume consists of valuable learned notes. The American edition gives the Greek and other foreign quotations in an English translation, which will make them more accessible to the general reader, while the scholar, of course, always prefers the original.

P. S.

COMMENTARY ON THE PENTATEUCH. Translated from the German of OTTO VON GERLACH. By Rev. *Henry Downing*, Incumbent of St. Mary's, Kingswinford. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. Edinburg: T. & T. Clark. 1860.

Otto von Gerlach (born 1801 at Berlin, died 1849), first preacher of St. Elizabeth, and afterwards at the Dom (Cathedral) in Berlin, belongs to a remarkable aristocratic family of Prussia, which exerted a powerful influence in reviving evangelical piety among the higher classes of the Prussian capital. His two brothers, still living, are laymen, the one, Ludwig, a jurist and member of the first Prussian chamber, the other a general and aid de camp to the King, both men of deep piety, high moral character and dazzling brilliancy of mind, especially in conversation. Two eminent Presbyterian divines of America who became intimately acquainted with him on a foreign tour, assured me that Ludwig von Gerlach was the most remarkable man they met with in all Europe. I doubt whether Coleridge had greater conversational powers. The clergyman was the least genial, but the most learned, active and laborious of the three brothers. He attended to a very extensive and neglected parish in the capital with the most conscientious care, and still reserved time for the preparation of a popular Commentary on the Old and New Testament, although he died before it

was finally completed. This Commentary makes no pretension to be critical and learned, but is intended for a wider class of readers. Yet it is based upon a familiar acquaintance with all the scientific helps, and reveals careful investigation, and independent judgment. In its general character and tone it comes nearer the popular English Commentaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and falls in better with American taste than the more learned Commentaries of Tholuck, Olshausen, Hengstenberg, Bleek, Lücke, Harless, Delitsch and others. An English translation of this work, of which so far the Pentateuch only has appeared, will probably meet with extensive patronage. We can cordially recommend it to ministers as well as educated laymen. In fact ministers and students who wish a German Commentary which leaves out the critical and learned apparatus and is popular and practical without being superficial, should provide themselves either with Gerlach, or with the more recent and more extensive but unfinished Bibelwerk of Lange. The latter, we learn, is likewise in process of translation in Scotland.

P. S.

THE NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPEDIA: A popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by George Ripley and Charles Dana. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 346 and 348 Broadway. London: 16 Little Britain. 1859.

We believe this mammoth work is to be completed in XVI volumes. Thus, the present VIIIth volume, brings us half way. This volume, like its predecessors, gives us nearly 800 large closely printed pages, with over 1600 subjects treated. Former volumes contained over 2000. At an average of 2000 in each volume, the whole work, when complete, will give us about 32,000 subjects. What a library!

It is very properly called the NEW Cyclopedia; for it is not a mere compilation from old works of the kind. Whilst it makes use of the old, as it must to be worthy of respect, it does not transfer portions of their contents in a wholesale and

undigested way. All its articles seem to be original, reproduced, incorporating the latest results of advancing Knowledge and Science. Besides, the learned and industrious authors have embodied numerous subjects not treated in the older Encyclopedias. This makes the work especially valuable to students, and the general reader. It is just this kind of information, developed in the late speedy progress of science, which it is most difficult for each one to gather for himself.

While this work deserves the title New, it no less properly takes to itself the name AMERICAN Cyclopedia. By American compilers, the articles mostly furnished by American scholars, published by an American house, it reflects honor on American scholarship and enterprise. Besides it is peculiarly rich and full in the treatment of all American subjects; while it enables us to see foreign subjects treated in the light and view of American scholars. The mechanical execution is worthy of the contents.

H. H.

THE

MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

JULY, 1860.

Art. I.—GOETHE.*

A DISSERTATION BY DOCTOR RAUCH.

Wer das Dichten will verstehn
Muss ins Land der Dichtung gehn.
Wer den Dichter will verstehn
Muss in Dichter's Lande gehn.

The time when Goethe appeared among us, was barren and uninteresting. The Muses seemed to have retired from our globe and to have given up our race to its dry notions of utility and the pursuit of it in life and science. The Parnassus of Germany especially had been converted into a large farm, the temple of Apollo into a barn, and Pegasus had become a strong, stout working horse. A tedious and lifeless spirit pervaded all sciences, and there

* The substance of this elaborate Dissertation on the Life and Character of the great German Poet, was originally delivered by Doctor Rauch as a Lecture before the Goethean Literary Society of "Marshall College," on the 28th of August, 1839. At the solicitation of many persons who heard it, the Discourse was subsequently revised, in part rewritten, and very much enlarged, with the view to publication in the form of a pamphlet or small volume. For what reasons the work never made its appearance we are not informed. The manuscript remained in the hands of Dr. Traill Green of Easton, Pa., a brother-in-law of the Author, to whose kind consideration the Editors are now indebted for the privilege of giving this beautiful and philosophical literary production a place in the *Mercersburg Review*.

We publish it as it came from the pen of Doctor Rauch, without any additions or omissions, or any modifications of language, such only excepted as the idioms of the English language require.—Eds.

was no sign of a higher and nobler life any where visible. But Goethe was not sent alone into this world; he was accompanied by a number of kindred geniuses. In *the arts* we see at his side a Thorwaldsen, Rauch, Mozart, Weber, Beethooven, Zelter, Meyer, West; in *poetry*, Klopstock, Lessing, Wieland, Herder, Schiller, Jean Paul, Byron, Moore, Burns and Manzoni; in *philosophy*, Kant, Jacobi, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel; in *history*, John von Müller; in *theology*, Schleiermacher and Daub; and who could enumerate all the great names, from which philosophy and all the other sciences received a new impulse! Thus when Goethe was given to us for a while, the world of spirit poured out its cornucopia upon Germany, and with a magic wand suddenly opened the fountains of Beauty, Truth and Nobleness. As when a plentiful and mild shower has followed a long drought, nature assumes at once a vigorous covering of verdure, so the world of mind budded and shot forth its twigs and flowers in every direction, to witness and enjoy the presence of him, whose name will stand worthily only by the side of Shakspeare, Homer, Dante and Calderon.

In attempting to give some idea of a man, who was the centre and organ of so rich an age, I feel like the capitalist, who, in possession of great wealth, is at a loss how to employ it to the best advantage. For manifold are the aspects, under which Goethe might be viewed, and though great under any, there are no doubt some which will exhibit him more fully than others. I might follow him from his early youth and show the struggle he had to endure, not only in calling forth a new life, but in removing an inveterate and false one; not only in recalling the Muses and in creating an entirely fresh world of beauty, but also in forming the taste of the public for it. I might show how he rose from an insignificant station in life to the highest except one, that of a Sovereign, and how by a conscious and clear activity, by a well formed plan, by a resolute and firm character, and by an admirable adaptation of the best means to the wisest and always well known

ends and intentions, he gradually gained such authority and reputation, that Princes, Kings and Emperors paid him homage; that his words and opinions became laws in the literary world; that as a light-house to the mariner, he became the guiding star of his contemporaries in every science; that every letter he wrote was considered public property and preserved as such; and that his power continued not only undiminished, but increasing to the end of his days.

Interesting and instructive as it might be to unfold so rich a life, I must at present endeavor to resist inclination and confine myself to a consideration of what Goethe was as a Poet and as a moral man, without asking how and by what process he arrived at such unprecedented greatness. But to understand him as a Poet, it will be indispensable to know his views on Poetry. It would indeed be impossible to judge correctly of Goethe, of his conscientious activity, of his devotedness to his art, if we should not know what it was to him. A man whose life was in every respect the product of his own will, who took nothing, nature had given him, without impressing the stamp of his own genius upon it, must no doubt have known what the final end of his labor and activity, the highest object of all his affections and the soul of his life, was. Yet only the like can understand the like, and without spirit on our part we will not be able to appreciate his spirit; without poetry in ourselves we will not be able to discern poetry in him. Plato, shortly before his death, in a vision saw himself converted into a white swan, flying from branch to branch of a tree, whose top pierced the clouds of heaven. Many were in pursuit of him, but none were able to overtake him. While in the swan and the tree the idea of immortality presents itself, we cannot but perceive in his pursuers those who tried but were unable to understand his works. Thus Goethe's works will always attract many and no doubt equal their desires, yet only those will discover all they contain who are willing to bestow deep study and labor upon them. Nothing can, however, facilitate

this worthy task more than the knowledge of the leading idea which the great Poet desired to carry out in all his works. Let this *idea* engage us for a few moments.

Poetry, or Art in general, is frequently considered merely as an imitation of nature, and its great end and object to attain to the highest resemblance. The grapes of Zeuxis, picked at by pigeons; the horse of Appelles neighed at by horses; the curtain that deceived even the Painter; and the painted insects that invited the attacks of the monkey, will always be spoken of as the highest attainments of imitative art. But while we must admire the skill and success of such faithful imitations, we must admit that if art were nothing more than an imitation of nature and history, Goethe's life would have been ill-spent; for if any thing be superfluous, the trifling repetition of a mere natural object would be so. The flower which I have in my garden, blooms and exhales fragrance, but its representation has no internal organism, no life, no vigor; it can only give the external form, the appearance of life, but not life itself; it may attract the birds and excite their appetite, but can not satisfy it. Thus art, instead of leading us into the sphere of Truth, would lead us into that of deception. No doubt it is for this reason, that the Mohamedans do not allow works of art in their temples; for they say, the artist can not give life to his representations, and on the day of judgment they will rise up against him and demand a soul of him, while he will be unable to comply with this just request. If it be said, that it is the skillful success in effecting a striking resemblance, which is the object of our pleasure and admiration rather than the resemblance itself, we will have to grant more nobleness to the *mechanical* than to the fine arts, since the former are no less skillful, and at the same time more useful, than the latter. Nor could the continued exercise of so useful a skill entertain us for a long time. But as the ventriloquist soon ceases to amuse, so we would quickly grow weary of this mere mock-

ery of art. What is it that interests us in the plaintive notes of the nightingale that, sitting in a shady grove, fills the valley with its melancholy, pure, full and swelling sounds? Is it not the idea, entertained by the Greeks, that the little songster breathes forth its soul in grief, that it is capable of feeling sorrow like ourselves and of giving vent to it in music. It is this that causes our delight in listening to the nightingale, while the most skillful imitation would fail to interest us. We like to have nature raised to us and imitate man, but do not desire on our part to condescend and mock nature. If mere skill in imitation be all that interests us in art, it matters little on what that skill is exercised, whether on a straw or a lily, whether on a reptile or an eagle, whether on the beautiful or the disgusting.*

While Goethe protests against such views, he acknowledges, nevertheless, that Poetry can not do without nature; that the poetical ought neither to be unnatural and artificial, nor exactly as it is found in nature. So he says of his *Wahlverwandschaften*: "There is nothing in them which I did not experience and yet there is nothing as I experienced it." Again of "*Dichtung und Wahrheit*" or his Biography: "Every real truth becomes poetical only by its symbolical tendency, by ascending with its contents into higher regions. Not the mere occurrence, but its significance entitles a fact to admission into Poetry." By the word *fiction* or *Dichtung* is therefore not meant that some parts of Goethe's Autobiography were untrue; *all* had really occurred, yet only such facts were selected from the rich experience of the Poet as had peculiar significance; again the Poet would say by that term that he had given more than life gave him, for he knew how to make visible the whole depth of truth, which often lies concealed beneath the surface of ordinary occurrences; and finally he would say that the *life of a Poet* is the *Poetry of life!* "The Poet must go farther than the Historian," Goethe says in another place, "and if pos-

* Hegel's Aesthetik, Vol. I, Introduction.

sible he must give something better."† Once he was asked whether a certain beautiful landscape of Reubens was not taken from nature, and he replied: "By no means, for such a picture has never been seen in nature, this we owe to the poetical genius of Reubens." So he said of Claude Lorrain's pictures: "They are full of truth, but not a trace of common reality is in them. Lorrain knew the world and used it as means to express the world of his beautiful soul." Again he said: "There are certain master pieces in great number, in which Greek artists not only equalled nature, but surpassed it. The English, the best horsemen in the world, must now admit the heads of two horses carved in old times, to be so perfect in their form that there are no races on earth to equal them. These heads are of the best Greek time, and if such works surprise us, we must not suppose that those artists had a more perfect nature to copy, but that they viewed nature with the greatness of their minds."

Ridiculous as it is to say in good earnest that Music, the great works of Haydn, Mozart, Haendel, Beethooven

† "Manzoni wants nothing," Goethe once said, "except to know how good a Poet he is and what rights he has as such. He has much respect for history and for this reason loves to add to his works some explanations, by which he shows how faithfully he has followed the facts of history. Now his facts may be historical, but his characters are not, as little as my Thoas and Iphigenia. No Poet has ever known the historical characters which he represents, and if he had known them, he would not have been able to use them as they were. The Poet must know what effects they will produce and form his characters accordingly. The characters of Sophocles bear all of them something of the high soul of the great poet; so the characters of Shakspeare of his." Eckerman I, 326. A poetical character is not less true on this account, for it is what it *ought to be;* as the great soul of the poet conceives it in all its perfections, so he gives it again, while characters in life are rendered imperfect by desires and passions, by external and internal impediments. As the truth of moral Philosophy, that of its laws and duties is greater and more to be valued than the truth, that certain actions have occurred, which are at variance with these laws,—so is the *truly* poetical character worth more than the historical, since it represents the *ideal* of true character by far better than the latter. It is in this sense, that we must take the words of the celebrated and learned Solger in his Aesthetik: "Where Portrait-Painting commences all *true art* ceases." Mere mechanical execution and sklil are all that is requisite for the Portrait Painter.

are imitations of the music of nature, which, if there be any, has neither *harmony* nor *melody*, or that the Cathedral of Strassburg or the temples of the Greeks are mere copies of caves and grottoes,—the idea has nevertheless been spread to a considerable extent, and Goethe's views will no doubt meet with opposition among many. For while there those who, like Sancho Pansa, praise him who invented sleep, there are others who attribute more wisdom to animals than to man and send the lords of creation to school to the fish, to learn to swim, to the beaver to learn architecture, to the bird to learn music. Others finally admit Truth to be no where, except in a dry and uninteresting reality. With them the mere existence of a thing is its truth, and its usefulness its value. Real truth, however, exists only in the sphere of mind, and genuine reality is not the external existence of an object but the general nature, realizing itself in it, the fact that it, as an individual, belongs to a species which will continue to live as long as the world stands, while the individuals in which the species lives, will one after another disappear. But the species and kind, the general law and nature, of a thing become known only to the mind of man, while nature, which produces it, is unconscious of it. Hence it is correct to say, that *real truth* exists only in the sphere of mind. A falsehood no doubt has reality, but certainly not truth. Claude Lorrain, one of the greatest Painters, agreed with Goethe, for he called the general nature or idea of a picture its truth, and whenever he parted with one of his works, fully executed, he would draw a sketch of its general idea in a book, called by him "*Liber veritatis.*"

Without criticising any other view concerning the nature and object of art, I will endeavor to give that of Goethe, which ever since Schiller first pronounced it, has been the prevailing one throughout Germany. I shall base my representation of this view on the following words of our Poet:

"The Poet," he says, "seizes the individual and represents by it the General."

We might for a moment be induced to believe, that "the

General" here was merely "*the Common;*" that consequently, on the one hand, it meant the *external resemblance* of things, or, on the other, that which in history, characters and occurrences will regularly repeat itself under similar circumstances. Such a view might appear to be strengthened by an appeal to Zeuxis, who, according to Cicero, demanded the five most beautiful ladies of his time, in order to form a statue of Helena for the city of Crotona. But Cicero was neither great as a Poet nor as a Philosopher, and his authority in such things, it would betray ignorance to rely on. While we admit the fact, we must draw a different inference from it, for such an external composition of parts would never produce a beautiful whole. The artist, in making this demand, no doubt bore an image of beauty in his mind, which he nowhere found fully realized, or else he would never have discovered the defects of each of these ladies, but have been satisfied with the most beautiful among them. So our artists of the present day study anatomy, not to gain their ideas of beauty from it, but to learn the proportions of the human frame.

As it is a favorite idea with many that artists collect the most beautiful parts of different beings of the same class and unite them in one, it may be well to illustrate this subject somewhat more fully. No one will indeed hesitate to admit a great difference between the jumping and shouting of the savage, and the dance, regulated by time and measure. With the savage jumping is nothing else than the wild, external expression of a deep, internal emotion, and the stronger the latter the more irregular and ungraceful the former will be. Now I ask, whether it would be possible to create the graceful, the constantly changing and still regularly returning well proportioned motions of the dance of civilized nations by selecting the choicest jumps of the savage? There is something else required besides the internal emotion and its external muscular expression, and that is the *free conception* of beauty in motion and the power to call it into life. This conception may be called forth by the sight of the leaping of the savage, but is not derived from it.

No one could produce a bell with a full and sonorous sound by patching pieces of different bells together; nor could the Poet, if this notion were true, be said any longer to possess a *creative* imagination, but merely the art of *making* skillful combinations; poetical inspiration would be less valuable, than mathematical calculation and design.

"*The General,*" which Goethe meant, is

First, in the sphere of nature *the type, the image, the power*, which produces every where the individual beings. Ever since the system of involution has been discarded by Physiologists, it has been admitted on all sides, that in the seed of every plant a power is contained, which will, all conditions being favorable, not only germinate, but *form* such parts as are demanded by the image slumbering in this power, invisibly, yet with the full energy necessary to realize itself. The nature of this power is *generality*, for it preserves the genus and species in every individual so much, that the influence of no elements can make it pass over from one kind into another. This generality we have called for our purpose the image or type, which is to be represented by the individual. When we examine, for instance, the egg of a bird, we can not discover the formation of any part; neither the beak, nor the head, nor the body and its plumage, nor the eye is yet visible. Yet the power is there, to form all these parts according to the image, that lives and works in it. This power, as it is general and productive according to a certain law, so it is likewise infinite, for it is it that makes the acorn, which decays before me and disappears in the ground, reappear high on the top of the tree. According to this explanation of the term, "*General,*" Beauty, in the view of Goethe, is the union of the general and individual, of the Infinite and Finite, of the *Ideal* (in the true sense of the word) and Actual." The *Individual*, the *Finite*, the *Actual* may be seen with the eye or heard with the ear; the General, the Infinite, the Ideal is only accessible to *thought;* where both are so united, that the one seems fully to represent the other, that no reflexion, no deliberation is required to perceive the Infinite in the Finite, that consequently *Thought*

and *Perception* coalesce in us as they are united in an object, we have the Feeling of Beauty. What is it, that we call *beautiful* in nature? Certainly not any thing material or physical; not any quality of matter; not the merely agreeable, or that which affects our senses conformably to their nature. The Beautiful in nature is no doubt the *Individual* which presents most perfectly its species or type.

It is true, we speak of beautiful sounds and colors, but then we mean their purity and clearness,* which please us. We speak also of beautiful landscapes in which the most varied scenery with villages, rivulets, roads and luxuriant vegetation form one picture, but here it is the *union* of the manifold, that interests us. So when we speak of a beautiful mild moonlight, of the loveliness of rest and silence reigning throughout nature, of the murmuring of a brook as it passes over its pebbly bed, of a soft, uniform green spread over the fields, it is the disposition, into which we are transferred by them, that makes us call them *beautiful.* Hence Poets use these external objects frequently, to make their feelings known by them and to excite the same emotions in others. On the other hand many objects, beautiful in themselves, are considered ugly by us, because we never have examined them, or because we fear them and for this reason feel an aversion to them. Nothing can appear beautiful to us that excites in us either aversion to or desire for it, for as soon as we consider it in the form of means, it ceases to be what it must be in the sphere of beauty, its own end. In many cases this aversion might be overcome and the experience of Leibnitz be repeated, who, after examining an insect much hated by him, laid it down full of admiration. In other cases the want of liveliness and activity, the unwieldiness of form, its distance from what we consider the standard of beauty, the imperfect penetration of form and mass, may cause us to feel always disgusted with many creatures; whilst the Poet's eye will nevertheless frequently discover beauty, where ours can see none!

* Hegel's Aesthetik. Introduction.

But the sphere of Beauty extends farther than that of nature. Some indeed have confined it to the sense of sight, yet while I admit that other senses have nothing to do with it, the ear undoubtedly has, since music, the Creation of Haydn, for instance, the Messiah of Haendel, and the Don Juan of Mozart, contain beauty no less than the Cathedral at Strassburg or the temple of Apollo. Really true Beauty exists only in the region of mind; if nature has many and various lovely sounds, man alone has melody and harmony; if nature has many scattered leaves of the original beauty, man possesses the whole, full and proud flower. As the eye of a beautiful lady, from which spirit and mind flash forth, cannot be equalled by any eye of nature, not even by that of the Gazelle; as the eye of the bird that spies the bursting bud, is not only more artificial, but also more beautiful than it;—so is the beauty of mind superior to that of nature. We will, therefore, in a few words have to consider, what Goethe's term, "*the General*" means

Secondly, *in the sphere of mind.* Here it signifies the *Conception*, the *thought*, the *idea*; not arbitrary thoughts and ideas indeed, but such as will be produced by all men, who think according to the laws of reason. Every thought is infinite, its representation finite. Whether I say now, that the Poet represents the Infinite by the Finite, or that he exhibits Truth in a sensual form, it is the same. This it will be easy to illustrate. When, for instance, the artist by the power of his imagination produces the thought of an eternal, ever blooming youth and lays it in an image, which is susceptible of representing it, we shall, when his skillful chisel has rendered it visible, see before us the statue of Apollo. Here we perceive the strength of mature years wedded to the softest forms of the most beautiful spring of youth. Great and strong, these forms are fit to execute noble purposes. The bloom of health spread over the whole form and strength, is ready to break forth, like the day whose full morning glow gilds the mountain tops. Or, when the artist conceives the idea of swiftness and unites it in himself with an image, the statue of Juno will

start forth from his hands, light and easy, scarcely touching the soil, on which she treads. Her swiftness is like the thought of a man, that having travelled much, says: "Here I have been and There." Or, when an artist conceives the thought, beautiful in itself, that all beauty flows forth from the Lord and leads back to Him, and when he unites it with an image, we will, if externalized, see a winged angel whose form is the effluence of harmony and whose face, full of peace and happiness, rests in the light of the Lord.

If the question be asked: What need is there of art and Poetry? I would answer, that the human mind cannot rest, until it has produced in the highest possible perfection, what its ideas sketch forth, but cannot discover in reality. The genius of the artist sees the imperfect beauties of nature and conceiving at their call the true ideal of Beauty, he becomes inspired, his whole mind is absorbed by them, and his raised imagination penetrates his whole system so entirely, that, be it by the finger, as with the Painter, or by the hand, as with the Sculptor, or by the lips and language, as with the Poet, it becomes the organ of his inspiration; and like Phidias, who kneeled before his own Jupiter, the statue of wisdom, might and mildness, he considers his productions the effects of higher powers. So it is with the beauty of mind; here also no *action*, no *character*, no *situation* is perfectly beautiful, but defective in some respect or other. An *action* may be said to be beautiful, when it represents the complete union of an individual will with a general law, and when this union proceeds freely and wholly from will. But in every real action of man the struggle of individual wishes and desires with the general duty, is more or less perceptible; nor do actions proceed wholly from within, but are much determined by external circumstances. Again a *character* is beautiful, when an individual will is so wedded to a general moral principle that all its actions proceed from this harmony and union. But even the best man is dependent in some degree on external circumstances; his activity is frequently

no less exacted of him than it flows forth spontaneously from him; laws, institutions, wants, desires influence him; no one can therefore claim all he does as his own, or as having been designed by him. Hence the beauty of the most heroic and independent character will remain imperfect. And so it is finally with every *historical* truth. However pure the truth may be which rests in the bosom of its agents, however full and developed, hundreds of accidental circumstances will attach themselves to its execution, and instead of being clearly and transparently exhibited, it is only darkened and obscured by them. The artist or Poet conceives the true idea of genuine actions, characters and situations, and representing them, he gives us something far better and more true, than life affords. If these remarks need further proof, I would add to the declaration of Goethe, those of two of the greatest Italian Painters, Guido and Raphael, both of whom agreed that they could not find the elements for the beauties of their archangels in all created nature. Raphael distinctly says: "As I cannot find the beauty I seek for any where, I am in the habit of using an *idea* of beauty, for which I am indebted to my imagination." Something similar Mozart also stated in a letter to a friend.

The office of the Poet is therefore a high and noble one. He exhibits to us the Invisible in a visible form; the Infinite in the Finite; the Ideal in the Actual; the General in the Individual. He frees the Essential from its many accidental parts; he makes sensible objects the receptacles of his lofty conceptions. Above the confusion of life, his pure and noble soul perceives every where the magic rod, with which to dispel the enchantments and solve the enigmas of life. For in his bosom the flower of wisdom springs, and like a bird that nestles on the mountain tops and lives on buds and fruits, he plucks the finest and most beautiful of all and presents it to the world, without expecting or receiving any reward.

Ich singe wie der Vogel singt,
Der in den Zweigen wohnet,
Das Lied, das aus der Kehle dringt
Ist Lohn, der reichlich lohnet.

Like a higher being, he becomes the organ by which whatever darkly moves our hearts is made manifest to all; for he feels clearly and distinctly whatever agitates or disquiets the human breast. He opens the secret sources of all that is noble and good and true and beautiful; he awakens in us a susceptibility for all this and nourishes and strengthens it. He purifies our views and desires by making us acquainted with the highest and best of all. The true Poet is the friend of God and of men. When Psyche, the youngest of three sisters, had been persuaded by the other two who lived to the world and themselves, to forsake her intercourse with the gods, and follow them,—she became sad and mourned, for having once lost the high privilege she was unable to recover it by her own power. Then Pan, the god of song and melody, approached to console her, and persuade her to deny herself and thus regain the favor of the gods. She followed the advice, and her intimacy with Olympus, the seat both of gods and Poets, was restored. From that time Poets were considered Teachers and Prophets among the nations, for they praised the good and censured the evil; they encouraged to noble deeds and deterred from the ignoble.

Thus we have gained the proper rank for the true and real artist. His aim is as noble as that of Science, but the means employed are different. Science exhibits all individual cases under general rules, and to understand them demands much thinking and a disciplined mind. Art represents the general in the individual, and every one will consciously or unconsciously be charmed by it. Science may try to expound logically the general nature of love; the artist shows its power at once by placing the youthful Eros upon the Lion's back, guiding him with a silken cord. Moral Philosophy will tell us what man *ought* to be, Poetry holds up to us truly finished moral characters, and thus incites and encourages us to attempt the introducing of Moral Philosophy into our lives.

I felt myself constrained to trespass on the patience of my readers in developing the nature of art, for two reasons.

First, because many entertain views on this noble subject derogatory to true artists. They of course would not be able to appreciate Goethe's conscientious labors. To invite them to lay aside for awhile their views and enter those of Goethe, was my first desire. But in the second place, I should not like to appear to be reviewing the life of one who sung only to the idle and lived merely for the entertainment of others. I will not deny that there are Poets whose only aim it is to pass away time; there are bunglers in every science and there will be Munchhausens in every department of fine arts. But where this is the aim of Poetry, poetical inspiration can certainly not rise very high, and in proportion as this is low the products of such men will be unpoetical, and instead of ranging with Poets they ought to be ranked with jugglers, jesters and the like.

I shall now pass over to the qualifications of Goethe as a Poet.

In his earliest youth already his great talent was strongly indicated, and one of his principal characteristics was the plastic, practical and productive tendency of his mind. What is said of Ovid: *Quidquid volebat scribere, versus erat*, may be said with still more truth of Goethe; for every abstract idea had to receive form and shape. Whatever he studied was to be fashioned anew by his genius, or to be arranged better and exhibited more clearly. When as a boy he studied Mathematics, he was constantly engaged with the pencil in his hands. Every book he read, became for him only material, which if it interested him was to be transformed, and a new, a more beautiful form was always the result. Want of proportion and harmony, disorder and confusion he could not endure, and when he could not improve or mend such a sight he would silently turn away from it. He was passionately fond of painting and though his talent for it seems not to have risen above mediocrity, the productive and plastic tendency of his mind would impel him to draw upon paper whatever interested him in nature. This inclination to beautiful forms was so great in him and so irresistible, that a few moments before his death he not only saw most beautiful apparitions,

but when his voice failed, he drew figures in the air as he was wont in days of health, and his importunate desire to communicate continued until his hand sank powerless upon his limbs.*

His knowledge of characters, of passions, inclinations, of man in general may be said to have been intuitive. "If I hear a man speak a quarter of an hour," he once said, "I will make him speak two hours, without mistaking his true character." Whilst his works teem with the most sound experience and observation, he nevertheless asserts, that if he had not carried the world in himself by "*anticipation*," he should have been blind with seeing eyes and all his observations would have been a fruitless effort.

Waer' nicht das Auge sonnenhaft
Wie koennten wir das Licht erblicken?
Wes't nicht in uns des Gottes eig'ne Kraft,
Wie koennt uns Goettliches entzuecken?

At another time he said: "Had I waited with my representations of the world, until I should have known it, I would have lost every desire to represent it. This desire was really lost, when I learned that the world was as I had represented it." These confessions are remarkable and strongly show the error of those, who, because they justly attack ready made and innate ideas, believe in no power that may, when elicited by external objects, produce them, and consequently make all our knowledge dependent on external experience. The region of hope, of love, of hatred, of

* It certainly is remarkable, that Goethe's great genius discovered its proper sphere so early. We are accustomed to see musical talent exhibit itself soon; Mozart, for instance, when six years old, discovered the *exact* difference between two violins which he heard in succession, the one a day after the other. So he composed beautiful pieces, while yet a child. But the Musician bears his whole art in his bosom; the world can give him nothing; he demands no nourishment from without. In the infancy of Linnæus, a flower placed in his hands would quiet him more readily than any other toy. Pascal's talent for Mathematics was indicated in his earliest youth. With Goethe, all the occurrences of his life and all his studies were changed into poems when he was a boy. Correggio, on the other hand, preceived his great genius and its corresponding objective sphere only, when once he had lost himself in admiring a picture of Raphael. His words are well known: Anch' io sono pittore!

despair is born in and with us; and so all the forms of passion. The Poet has them by intuition, because he needs only to look into his own nature, to perceive that of others. But the knowledge of courts, parliaments, history, is not innate, and in order not to violate such truths the Poet needs tradition and experience. So, for instance, in Faust, the Poet could easily represent from his own feelings wearisomeness in Faust, the emotions of love in Gretchen by mere intuition, but to say:

> Wie traurig steigt die unvollkommene Scheibe
> des spaeten Monds mit feuchter Gluth heran,

he must have observed nature." "The Poet," Goethe once said, "needs not much experience to delineate characters, he possesses the knowledge of human nature as a talent. I wrote my Goetz von Berlichingen while yet young, and ten years after I was astonished at the truth of my representation. I had never experienced any thing of the kind and had consequently the knowledge of those situations and characters by anticipation." So when in Italy, Goethe was surprised to hear that a number of scenes had really occurred in the Netherlands, as he describes them in his Egmont, yet they were all of them, as he asserts, the products of his imagination. Characters and situations are based on something rational, which will necessarily exhibit itself in the same manner at all times and in all climates. After such statements, Goethe no doubt has a right to say, "that a great and elevated nature must distinguish the Poet. Whatever the world adds by experience, must remain subordinate to his poetical genius and must only excite or induce his genius to *speak* and to *reign*. This nature of the Poet must ennoble reality and elevate us. The Poet that speaks *exactly* as the world speaks (i. e. merely imitates) is no Poet; he must give much reality, but it must be raised and supported by his noble nature." It is indeed the prerogative of the Poet, that while listening with delight to the language of nature, he perceives with delicacy and depth its signification, and giving in a

sensible form what he thus perceives, he becomes its interpreter.

Two qualities, however, distinguish Goethe from all other modern Poets. He is the most *objective* and the most *universal* writer.

Like Homer, Goethe enters wholly his characters and their situations and in delineating them forgets himself, his views and feelings entirely, and depicts only those of his heroes. He summons their images before us not as the products of his imagination, but by inducing our own mind to produce and form them and to see them by its own activity. Every where he discovers at once the point, the centre of interest, from which all the parts shoot forth like organs, filled with the life and interest of the whole. Hence it is, that we scarcely commence a work of his, when this general interest seizes us and carries us from page to page. And while we read, we forget Goethe so entirely that we imagine we see all the occurrences and characters and situations in reality before us. There is nothing, that bears the stamp of the subjective opinion of a single individual, but the Poet has merged his interests in those of his heroes and his views in theirs. Hence it is too that his language, though it flows always smoothly and evenly, nevertheless accommodates itself to the expression of every feeling, and that while it is always clear, easy and calm, while it expresses the most common and the highest occurrences in the same successful measure, while it connects all parts so with each other, that they truly seem to proceed the one from the other and all from one common idea,—it nevertheless assumes the specific hue of every situation, character and feeling. "I went to work like the Painter," Goethe says, "who in representing certain objects avoids certain colors and has certain others to prevail. When painting, for instance, a morning scene, he will put much blue upon his picture, but little yellow. When he paints an evening scene, he will put much *yellow* upon it and omit blue almost entirely. In a similar manner I proceeded with my different works and hence their different characters." Compared with Schil-

ler or Byron, Goethe has in this respect the decided advantage. In Byron, for instance, we perceive every where his discontent, his reflexions, his views and dissatisfaction with the world, in Goethe no where. He forgets himself entirely in his objects and most faithfully and visibly produces and depicts persons, landscapes, social circles, connexions, intricate embarrassments, passions and all kinds of feelings. To effect this objectiveness in his writings, Goethe took great pains. He observed closely and studied most faithfully the nature of every thing coming before him and with a determination to lay aside all prejudices and preconceived opinions. He frequently would concentrate all his energy upon a single object, whether pleasing to him or not. Every person with whom he had intercourse, he considered as an independent being, whom he had to explore, with whose peculiarities he had to make himself acquainted.

Ihr sucht die Menschen zu benennen
Und glaubt am Namen sie zu kennen,
Wer tiefer sieht, gesteht sich frei,
Es ist was Anonymes dabey.

It was for this reason, that he not only cultivated the acquaintance of such as harmonized with him, but considering that every person had a right to differ from him, he did not shun intercourse with those opposed to his views. Such intercourse put him constantly on his guard, made him observe others closely and awakened his own slumbering talents in every direction. Thus it became easy for him to do justice to the most opposite characters. His journal in Italy gives witness of this. At that time sentimental journals had been the fashion of the day ever since Sterne. Every traveller compared things and customs of foreign countries with those of his own and judged favorably or unfavorably, as they agreed or disagreed with those cherished by him. The reader had to view foreign countries through the medium of the traveller's prejudices. Goethe with his clear and observing eye, investigated soil, rivers and their streams, atmosphere and climate, wind and weather, cities and their origin, and successive formations, countries and their surfaces, and then inquired how

all these influences were active in producing certain manners, customs, institutions, governments, trade, style of architecture, of art and literature, manner of living, of dividing the time of the day, etc. He endeavored, as far as possible, to trace the original descent of the inhabitants of the different Italian States; and believing that generally they would settle where climate and soil were best suited to their desires and peculiar constitution, he included this consideration in forming a judgment of their customs and manners.

Goethe was however objective in another sense of the word. Whatever moved and stirred darkly in his bosom, he would indicate by an object well calculated to represent it. He knew nature and all its effects upon man, and he made it symbolical or used it to express his feelings. As whatever affects our senses must, by their connexion with all the nerves of our organism, also affect the whole inner man and thus produce a particular state of mind, which will in nearly all men be the same;—it is natural that Poets at all times should have sought to represent dark and unintelligible, but powerful feelings, by such external objects as will call forth similar emotions in all who are affected by them. The silence of the atmosphere, a clear sky, the mild light of the moon, the roaring of an oak-wood, the rustling of leaves, the soft breezes passing through tender branches, the sight of a valley through which a rivulet meanders, the darkness and silence of night, produce nearly the same effects upon every one. Goethe knew well how to fill this objective world around him with his own noble spirit and how to give expression to his thoughts and feelings by these objects. Of this character are many of his smaller poems. So his Wanderer's Nachtlied:

Ueber allen gipfeln
Ist Ruh'
In allen Wipfeln
Spuerest du
Kaum einen Hauch;

Die Voegelein schweigen im Walde
Warte nur, balde
Ruhest Du auch.

So also his *Fischerlied:*

Das Wasser rauscht, Das Wasser schwoll.

The water is that element which is but loosely held together; one drop follows the other. Not like the atmosphere, which holding itself together and forming an elastic fluid, can it produce clear sounds, but only indistinct murmurings or roarings. The feeling we have when sitting by the side of a clear stream, is precisely similar to the nature of water. We lose ourselves in the never ceasing flow and are ready to plunge in and be dissolved in it. So the songs of Mignon, who, a mystery to herself and to all around her, bursts forth into song for a moment and is again silent. Her glowing heart consumed itself in longing for the sun of her native land, from which a cruel hand had torn her in infancy and thrust her into a cold world; her grief and longing are excited by the dim remembrance of the myrtle and orange groves, of the statues and marble halls of Italian pallaces and her songs are like the dying tones of a harp. Who does not know the beautiful poem:

Kennst Du das Land!

Or,

So last mich scheinen, bis ich werde.

Such Poetry is like music; we hear and we love it; we are charmed by it; it makes us feel now cheerful, now sad; it excites deep emotions in us and yet does not say what they are; it contains more than it expresses; it reminds us of something better and nobler, but we cannot give it a name.

Yet while this kind of objectiveness characterizes many of Goethe's minor Poems, his larger works are like temples of crystal, clear and transparent, so that nothing, no thought and no feeling of the Poet, is left unexpressed. This is the truly objective character of our Poet, that what he felt he had full power to express; that he chose such

words and language, as will render it impossible for any particle of his ideas to escape—that his expressions and his representations would be fully adequate to his feelings and ideas. He retained nothing in his bosom that he did not communicate, but all his communications bore the full impress of his soul.

The other of the two qualities, distinguishing Goethe favorably from other modern Poets, is his *Universality*. This indeed would be with every one else a very ambiguous attribute. Voltaire too was universal, but only according to the subjects, which he treated. He had for himself his settled and fixed views, which he applied to any object coming before him. It is not the nature of a thing we see in reading Voltaire's works, but *his* views and opinions on it. Like a cork swimming on the surface of the water, he no where makes a deep impression. His subjective manner of thinking is the general form which he impressed on every thing, whether it was gold or silver or copper. He no where exhibits true and real beauty as resting in the general nature of his object, but he seems to bestow some beauty upon it gratuitously from his *own* mind as a kind of ornament. Goethe is universal in a different sense. Not the number of his subjects, not their variety or universality made him universal; he knew how to confine himself, and the greatest art in his view was that of limiting oneself and exhausting all contained within certain limits. That which rendered Goethe universal was the *flexibility* of his mind. There are some fine talents that within their proper sphere will be quite respectable; but no sooner do they exceed it than they appear inferior. Roos, for instance, was very happy in painting granivorous animals, especially sheep; their nature and manner of living was transparent to him; he knew it by "anticipation;" but whenever he undertook to paint other animals, he failed.* Only such objects in general will be transparent to the artist as are analogous to his talent, and the extent

* This is contrary to the opinion of Cicero, who seems to think that he who can paint one quadruped, may paint all!

of the latter will be the limit of the former. Goethe's genius on the other hand was universal. The world lay open before him and he could see into the most secret motions of its life. With the greatest ease he could enter by his feelings and thoughts the nature of any object, whether animate or inanimate, whether near to men or distant, whether foreign or at home. I cannot deny myself the pleasure of giving at least one striking instance of the great flexibility of his genius. When once he looked for a long time upon a picture of Roos, representing sheep in their different positions and situations, with all the simplicity of their physiognomies, their curly hair, and so on, he said: "I feel always uneasy, when I view these animals. The *limited*, *dull*, *dreaming* and yearning nature of their situation draws me into a sympathy with them; one fears to become an animal and almost might believe the artist was one himself. At all events it remains highly astonishing how the artist could transfer himself with his thoughts and feelings into the souls of these animals, in order to make their characters appear with so much truth in their external forms." His eye discovered quickly the poetical nature of every object and, honoring their peculiarities, he would be new and vigorous as his themes. Thus he was enabled to breathe new life into old chronicles; to revive national songs and bring them near to our times; to make an obscure fact the basis of a beautiful poem; to bring light where darkness and oblivion had reigned; and to give form to the colossal and rude productions of an early imagination.* He was universal, for he belonged to no country and to no age. He lived in the sphere of truth and of beauty. Whatever was noble and great in past times or whatever agitated the present, all centered in him, and his breast was great enough to receive, to understand and reproduce it anew. "Like the eagle that, soaring high in the atmosphere above villages and towns and countries, looks down to watch his prey, without ever asking whether he finds it

* Goethe's works vol. 50. p. 95.

in Saxony or in Prussia," so Goethe rose beyond the prejudices of times and nations, and wherever he discovered beauty and truth, he gave it a place in his heart and delighted to communicate it in song. The old classical spirit of Greece lives in Iphigenia; in his Goetz von Berlichingen the air of the middle ages breathes around us, but of the middle ages in decay; as they are giving way to a higher order and when the hero dying exclaims: "Heavenly air, Liberty, Liberty!" a new spirit seems to dawn upon us. In his Faust, this tragedy of the world, the heart of man with all its low and high desires, with all its weakness and strength, with its never dying thirst for the Infinite, with all its faults and noble traits is strikingly exhibited. He desires every thing and cannot find satisfaction in any thing. Scene changes after scene, desire after desire, and there is nothing permanent but the dissatisfaction of Faust. In Torquato Tasso the passionateness and fire of the South gains expression. In his Westoestlichem Divan the Poet, advanced in age, yet possessing the fire of youth, transfers the Orient to the West. And what interest is there capable of touching any one's heart, what suffering, what joy, that did not find a sympathizing cord in Goethe's breast? Like the aeolion harp, that sounds softly or strongly as it is touched, Goethe's genius would seize and give form to every material offered, take marble here and brass there and erect a permanent monument.

Goethe's universality rested on two things. On *Love* and on the *Flexibility* of his genius. Without the former the latter would have been impossible. We can learn only from him and understand him whom we love. Love alone is communicative, and love alone is willing to receive and to favor. "Talent is not enough for a Poet," Goethe said once, "he must have Love."

Our Poet was much opposed to all pretended originality. "What is it, that man may call original in himself?" he once asked and answered: "*Ignorance and Stupidity!*"

Ein Quidam sagt "Ich bin von keiner Schule
Kein Meister lebt, mit dem ich buhle
Auch bin ich weit davon entfernt
Dass ich von Todten was gelernt."
Das ist, wenn ich ihn recht verstand
"Ich bin ein Narr auf eigene Hand."

When we consider, that once every one thirsted for originality and exhibited it by arbitrary, singular and strange and striking notions, by placing himself above the rules of education and science, by a desire that all his ideas should flow forth without study and labor, like water from a fountain,—we cannot wonder at Goethe's dislike of all originality. "We speak constantly of originality, but what is meant by it? As soon as we are born, the world commences to operate upon us and thus we assimilate what is offered from without. What would I be, if this kind of assimilation were inimical to genius? I have collected and applied in different ways all I have seen, heard and observed; I have claimed both the works of nature and of man. Every one of my writings was caused by thousands of persons. The Learned and the Ignorant, Infancy and high Age, the Fool and the Wise have assisted me; mostly without being aware of it, they have brought me the gifts of their experience, talents and thoughts; sometimes they have sown what I have reaped. My work is the union of beings which were taken from the whole universe, and the name of this work, that is, of my life and poetry, which form one whole, is *Goethe.*" How much and how widely do these noble confessions of the greatest and most original thinker of our age differ from the petty pretensions of those that sneer at the efforts of their ancestors in literature and, like the man who throws away the most costly pearls merely because he has inherited them and he desires to fish up one himself, or who refuses to use the fruit of an orchard because he did not plant it, or like him that would raise flowers independently of trunk and branches, expose both their ignorance and vanity by neglecting the historical development in science and art. No one, generally speaking, is so great, that he will not find one greater than himself, that either has preceded him or lives with him. Sciences and arts too

have their infancy, their youth and manhood, and as every individual must experience in himself the spirit, prevailing in different ages of the world, so the truly learned man must be familiarly acquainted with his science on its different stages. Only then he may be able to lead it farther, otherwise he will have to discover, that what he with much labor and self-satisfaction produced and considered new and original, had been expressed long before him better, clearer and more systematically. Continuing where our forefathers left off, we may advance towards the end and consummation of literature; but if every one that is anxious to call a few thoughts his own, fears to contaminate their originality by reading the works of others, we will not get farther. The "origines" of all things do not lie in man, but rest and proceed from God as the eternal Truth. There is nothing in ourselves that we have a right to call original.

Vom Vater hab' ich die Statur
Des Lebens ernstes Fuehren
Von Mutterchen die Frohnatur
Und Lust zu fabuliren;
Urahnherr war der Schoensten hold
Urahnfrau liebte Glanz und Gold.
Sind nun die Elemente nicht
Von dem Complex zu trennen
Was bleibt denn an dem armen Wicht,
Original zu nennen?—

Yet much as he spake against such a pretended originality, he was highly original himself; not by the novelty of his thoughts or by the strange, unexpected and irregular manner in which he treated his subjects, but by wedding in love his great genius to the *rational* nature of his themes. Originality conists in an independent reproduction of what historically is given us. Such originality presupposes two things. It demands, on the one hand, a faithful study of the true nature of the subject, close and accurate observation, a familiar acquaintance with all its qualities and their connexion among each other; and on the other, it demands *genius*, greatness of mind, which is able to form these materials, as their nature and the plastic power demands, to represent externally the image or idea, which genius con-

ceives internally. Observation is the mother, genius the father and their joint product is *originality*, or original views, knowledge and works. Genius without genuine observation is fanciful; observation without mind, without the source of all union and connexion, produces contradictions and a rude mass of undigested knowledge. Observation must give the materials and basis, genius or mind the principle of knowledge and its union. Now when true genius, by faithful observation, wholly enters the nature of a theme, uniting itself with it fully and from love to it, then we get what we call an original production. For a production is original when all its parts proceed from one *common idea*, when this idea, as the centre of the whole, lives in every twig and branch and leaf, so that nothing is there, taken from other combinations and merely joined to it for the sake of *ornament*. In such a production all the parts cohere by necessity;—not arbitrarily, irregularly patched together, they are like members of the same life. The one supports the other, not like a prop, placed externally below, but like organs growing forth from each other, and all of them starting from the nature of the subject, as viewed by a great genius. Each part has an end and peculiar distinction in itself, but at the same time its significance and its existence depend entirely on the whole. As the leaf that is vigorous and green resists every storm, while an integral part of the plant becomes game for the winds and withers and decays, when torn off from its branch, so every part of an original work has its beauty only in its connexion with all the rest. Zelter's compositions to Goethe's poems are both *new*, and *original*. But he studied them over and over until he knew them by heart, he tried to discover their true nature, all the situations and feelings contained in them and to appropriate them entirely; then he sought for their true and proper expression in music, and without labor and great endeavor the melody would easily and at once flow forth from the union of his genius with the nature of his subject. These melodies, Goethe says himself, have something indestructible, un-

changeable; they are so grown together with the forms which they accompany, that it would seem impossible to make by music a more correct impression of the feelings of the Poet when he wrote those lyric songs. When, on the other hand, Albrecht Duerer in his Arabesks paints garlands of flowers, from the cups of which the smiling faces of angels peep forth, or when he paints plants that, instead of flowers, bear beautifully colored birds, we may admire the *ingenuity* of the artist, while we hesitate to speak of great originality. But when an Italian Count, at great expense, unites parts of different creatures into one; when he, for instance, places the face of a woman upon the neck of a goose, or the neck of a goose and the head of an eagle upon the trunk of a lion; or when a poor sculptor selects the different parts of an intended statue from different quarters and dovetails them into each other, we cannot take the least interest in their works.

Goethe was truly original in the sense of the word just exhibited. His pieces do not contain a scene, not a line, not a word, that is not pertinent; every syllable seems to be so demanded by his subject, that it would seem impossible to substitute or add another, or take away any. Form and contents so grow together under his hands, that every attempt to unite them more closely would be in vain. His Iphigenia is not based on a new theme, but on one already made use of by Euripides. Iphigenia is a truly Greek Lady and the character of the whole piece is antique; yet there is a wide difference between the Iphigenia of Goethe and that of Euripides. As of the three Tragedies, under the title of Philaktet, the latest, that of Sophocles, is the most original, so Goethe's Iphigenia is more original than that of Euripedes. I will prove this by one or two remarks. Orestes, driven by the furies from place to place, without rest or peace, is promised relief by Apollo, if he bring home his sister from Tauris, where she is unwillingly detained in the hands of the Barbarians. This is the plot of the dramas, both of Euripides and Goethe. The former understands the god to demand his own sister, Diana; the latter, more humane,

Iphigenia, the sister of Orestes; the former accomplishes the will of the god by making Orestes and Iphigenia commit theft, and by calling in the aid of Athene, when discovered by Thoas, who has to submit to the goddess' command as to an irresistible power. The latter conquers the reluctance of Thoas to allow the departure of Iphigenia, by the power of truth. Goethe applies, therefore, to no external aid, to no power, to no violence, but the *truth* uttered by the lips of a beautiful lady, sinks into the bosom of the rude Scythian and renders him mild and yielding. For

> **Die Stimme der Wahrheit und der Menschlichkeit hoert Jeder**
> **Geboren unter jedem Himmel, dem**
> **Des Lebens Quelle durch den Busen rein**
> **Und ungehindert fliesst.**

Considering that the aim of the whole Drama is to show, how by the power of *love* and *truth* a savage nation becomes civilized, Goethe's Iphigenia is certainly more original than that of Euripides.

To produce new thoughts, is a difficult thing in a time which has been preceded by so many and great thinkers. Energy of will, vigor of thought, cultivation of both, deep study and a character that knows what it aims at and perseveres in realizing its aim, give at present the best originality. This was the case with Goethe in a high degree. He never commenced writing any part unless he had studied the whole thoroughly and clearly. As Mozart says of himself, that his pieces, however many the parts they might consist of, and however long they might be, would be so complete a whole and union in his mind that he could contemplate them as he would a picture, not part by part, but all at once; so Goethe bore the ideas of his works with him, till they were so completely adjusted that it was a matter of indifference which part he wrote first. He wrote, for instance, the second part of his Faust at once on letter paper and not a single erasure was perceptible in the whole manuscript. This manner of study and meditation gave him an unchangeable attachment to the subjects he once

had chosen. They all corresponded to his great soul or proceeded from it, and though he should lay them aside for years, he would certainly return to them with his old love. Faust and Wilhelm Meister accompanied him from his earliest youth to his last hour. The second part of the former he finished on the evening before his last birth day, after having cherished it in his bosom for fifty years. Thus many of his productions unite the vivid imagination, with which his youth had conceived them, and the mature judgement and cultivation of age. The Trilogy of Pariá, a lyric poem of extreme beauty, haunted his mind for forty years, before it ripened. It is neat and close, like a Damascene blade, welded of steel wires. But during forty years it had time enough, to free itself from every thing superfluous. "The child and the lion, a novel full of peace, love and piety grew and ripened in him for thirty years. He had sketched the whole thirty years before he executed it. When about to write it out he sought for the old skeleton, but could not find it. Afterwards the old plan is again obtained and it agreed entirely with the new. The Poet no doubt during thirty years had changed very much, but the objective character of the piece remained the same.

Goethe was a Poet in the ancient sense of the word. He considered art a profession that demanded much study and cultivation, and especially greatness of soul.* "The mere

*It is truly astonishing to hear many speak of the ease, with which they conceive their works and write them; with some nothing seems to be required but to lie down under a shady tree, to look through its foliage into the blue sky and to try remember the fullness and riches of thought that in such a position come over them. Leibnitz on the other hand, a genius of the first magnitude not only in philosophy, but also in philology, history, mathematics etc., studied so constantly, that sometimes for whole weeks he did not rise from his chair. Paganini, whose musical talents are unequalled in many respects, practices the gamut during the whole day, when he expects to give a concert in the evening. Goethe studied with remarkable perseverance, and thus not only cultivated his innate genius, gave it a moral tendency, but he secured nourishment for it and necessary materials. For whatever he studied, became finally a means for his poetical productions. His endeavors in Meteorology, Optics, Botany, Zoology are all of them beautifully reflected in his poems.

technical art of versification, wit, spirit, deep feeling is not enough to secure the favor of a public for any poet. Greatness of character must shine forth from his writings, significance, dignity, a certain seriousness and greatness of disposition. One must be something, in order to produce something." Yet even this is not enough, the Poet must cultivate, what nature has given him. "If any one will learn to sing, all the sounds that lie in his throat, are easy and natural to him; but others, that are not in his throat, are at first difficult. But to be a singer, he must conquer these difficulties; for all sounds must be at his command. So it is with a Poet. As long as he pronounces his few subjective sensations he does not deserve the name of a Poet; but when he knows how to appropriate the world to himself and to pronounce it, he is a true Poet. And then he will be inexhaustible and ever new, while a subjective nature will soon empty its few contents and finally ruin itself by Mannerism." The theme of the Poet is the world; he must know it, in order to represent it; he must be acquainted with nature and history and science. This principle Goethe acted out in his long life so earnestly that he not only spent more than half a million on his education, but accumulated astonishing treasures of knowledge. So regular was he in his studies, that no occurrences of the day were suffered to interfere with his once established order. The information of the battle near Jena reached him, when he was about finishing the last part of his work on colors. The same doctrine he studied, while engaged as a soldier in the campaign. When the Grand Duke died, he went into the country to study nature. When his only son was torn away from him, he again sought consolation in his favorite study. Thus he reigned with a firm and inflexible will over the circumstances of the day and did not suffer himself to be affected, nor his course of study to be interrupted by any thing. Among all his studies, however, he loved that of nature next to Poetry; for "the smallest production of nature has the circle of its perfection within itself, and I need only eyes to see; and I must

discover that within a small circle a whole and true existence is inclosed." His study of nature nevertheless aided his poetical labors considerably. He knew nature in all its details by heart from the stone up to the animal, so that when he needed a comparison, it would offer itself easily and always be full of truth.

Goethe was finally a truly German Poet. It may seem strange, that he who advocated a *literature of the world** and whose works have really become the world's property should be bound down to a single nation. Our Poet would feel himself insulted by such an attempt. What I mean here is that we perceive in him all the peculiarities of German character, its faults and its beauties. The honesty and simplicity of the German; the enthusiasm and love of deep reflection; the impartiality in judging of other nations and in appropriating all that is noble and good in them; the desire to penetrate and fathom every depth; the inclination to that which is mysterious, full of presentiment and redundant in meaning; we may easily discover in his different works.† "A work that leaves nothing for the reader to think out, is not a product of art." So in Wilhelm Meister "the seemingly insignificant points always to something

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* Goethe once said to Eckermann: "I see constantly more clearly, that poetry is a good, common to all the human race, and that it everywhere and at all times appears in hundreds and hundreds of men. Some one of them may make it a little better and swim a litte longer than others, that is all. Mr. Von Matthison must therefore not think, that he is the one, nor must I think, that I am the one, but each must admit, that poetry is not so rare a gift as to justify a high degree of self-esteem, if one can make a poem. But if we Germans do not extend our view beyond the little circle of what surrounds us, we may easily indulge this pedantic pride. *I love therefore to study foreign nations and advise every one to do the same. National literature means nothing, the epoch of the literature of the world is at hand and every one must cooperate to advance this epoch.*"

†He was fond of enigmas, of significance and of mysteries even in common life. Being truly convinced that great undertakings could only be executed by union of effort he liked symbols as external signs of an internal agreement "for every undertaking," he used to say, "needs forms and rules and mysteries, to secure noble efforts from profanation and raise the power of will."

higher, and it depends only on a sufficient knowledge of the world and circumspection, to see the greatest in the smallest." His works demand study; they are not written for the idle, or for him who desires mere entertainment.

> Denn bei den alten lieben Todten
> Braucht man Erklærung, braucht man Noten,
> Die Neuen glaubt man blank zu verstehn;
> Doch ohne Dolmetsch wird's auch nicht gehn.

Each of Goethe's works embodies some great idea; to perceive it, study is required; and while many may read without perceiving it and still be entertained, it is this idea that is the soul and life of the work. So we see in Werther's sorrows on the one hand the prose of the world, its stiff laws and regulations, its selfish calculations and lifeless formalities, its external and artificial customs on the observance of which the reputation of a man depends on the other hand we perceive a sentimental and poetical youth, whose mind is full of ideal notions, who considering the law of his heart alone entitled to regard, places it in opposition to that of the world. In this opposition he stands alone; however noble his views, however tender his feelings may be, he cannot find a heart that will wholly sympathize with him. His existence has no soil to strike its roots in; he feels solitary while he is surrounded by an active and always busy crowd; his bosom is an abyss into which every thing sinks, to excite, to rage, to disturb, while nothing returns from it to the light; for it does not produce any thing or leave a single trace of its energy on the realities of this world. The reed holds itself up in all storms by its little roots, but Werther had no hold on the laws and institutions of the world, none upon himself, none upon God; and while his heart continued to glow, he died by his own destructive power, like a burning coal that is separated from all combustible material. Thus every individual opposition to the general laws of the whole must be destructive to man.

The relations of life, its prosaical laws and institutions,

are the pillars of individual existence; we must not oppose, but revere them; we must learn to unite the Prose of life and the Poetry of the heart, the Beautiful and the Useful, the wishes and desires of our bosom and the commandments of the law, whose origin is divine and whose power is irresistible. To unfold such a life, Goethe wrote Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre, the Wahlverwandtschaften and the Wanderjahre. In his Lehrjahren he represents the world, as he with his great soul had seen it.

> Nichts verlindert und nichts verwitzelt,
> Nichts verzierlicht und nichts verkritzelt;
> Sondern die Welt soll vor dir stehn,
> Wie—Wolfgang Goethe *—sie hat gesehen.

As travellers, while they remain on the same stream, pass through the most varied scenes, for the shores are constantly changing, now presenting cities with their busy activity and then villages with their rural silence, now mountains from whose tops the past looks down in its decaying castles, and then fertile and inviting plains that give witness of the labor and ingenuity of man; so all the employments of life, all its deep and agitating interests, all the spheres of religious, moral, political, economical, scientific and mechanical activity pass before us. Characters, devoted to one or the other sphere of life, and filled with its spirit, represent in their persons, discuss, defend, and explain, partly by design, partly by accident, every occupation. Wilhelm Meister who, in search of general cultivation without a certain plan, forms a connection with all these different characters, leaves each enriched with the spirit of his occupation and with an insight into its true nature. Constantly rising from the less to the more perfect, from the lower to the higher, he shakes off one error and prejudice after the other and becomes himself more wise; for he learns to love and esteem every calling in life, and closes his apprenticeship by passing over from manly endeavor to activity, a perfect reconciliation with the world, and to that permanent union, which is the general end of every apprenticeship, marriage.

* The original has: Wie Albrecht Duerer sie hat gesehen.

This marriage-life is the theme of the *Wahlverwandtschaften*. Marriage is the basis of all moral and civil virtues. It rests on Love and Faithfulness; its object is to preserve that love which silently but irresistibly attracts two persons and makes them one. Where this love is wanting, the law of marriage and that of the heart will be at war with each other. The law of love is a strong and a sacred power; it demands its rights; and, like a dark fatality, forces us to acknowledge its claims even against our will. But the law of marriage is more mighty, yet no less sacred. Both laws are harmoniously united, when the hearts of married persons are one in love; when on the other hand feelings and views, desires and cultivation are of an opposite character, these laws will be in conflict. If either one of an externally united couple should from an affinity of nature and of soul, be attracted to another person, it would be not only natural but delightful; but then being thus attracted they will either pine away and consume themselves by a vain and ever unsatisfied longing, or if not strong enough to resist and exercise self-denial, they will fall a victim to the power of the marriage law. Matth. 5: 28, and John 8, 7.

> Drum prüfe, wer sich ewig bindet
> Ob sich das Herz zum Herzen findet;
> Der Wahn ist kurz, die Reu' ist lang.—*Schiller.*

In the above Romances the education of the individual is accomplished and the care for personal welfare is relieved. Hence the *Wanderjahre* present to us the generality that prevails and which every individual must serve. Purposes, designs, great aims, and the objective world we must learn to honor and to revere. Moral powers must reign with a merciless rigidity; man must submit; and if he becomes guilty of a mistake, for

> Es irrt der Mensch so lang er lebt;

he must atone for it by resignation and self-denial, or heal the wound by devoting himself more earnestly to the interests of society in general. What subjectively rests in man, is here objectively realized in the world. Every one has to examine himself and discover his talents, and then

seek the proper sphere for their exercise, confine himself to it, but within this sphere he must exert himself without intermission. Two great doctrines we are here taught: "If you find your sphere of labor, revere its laws! if not: Deny yourself and continue your search." The basis of such a life is education, as resting on well-digested principles, which must be pervaded by religion and morality. Among all the occupations and interests of our race education is the most important.*

I presume that I might sooner succeed in giving you an idea of a new and beautiful plant by merely exhibiting the outlines of its flower, without mentioning its splendid colors and agreeable fragrance, or the rich stock with its many leafy branches, than try to give any adequate notion of the beauty, richness, depth and fullness of Goethe's works by such indications. Life, in all its ramifications, with all its deep interests, through which the golden thread of love is woven in every direction, is laid open before us; the most opposite characters, from the most volatile to the purest, most pious and devoted, appear and disappear, and all receive in the most poetical manner their appropriate reward and position. And how could I, without giving a specimen, convey any idea of that language which with incredible flexibility and richness varies, with the nature of the object, its ever new beauties and rhythmical periods, its charming figures, its blooming fullness, its striking accuracy and its power to express and exhaust every feeling and every thought. For this is to be noticed repeatedly, that with Goethe, form and expression are not external, but seem to grow forth from their contents; that his poetry is not merely beautiful in contents, but equally so in form, to which from his earliest youth he paid the greatest attention.

It remains yet for me to speak a few words of the *moral* and *religious* character of our Poet, for he himself consid-

* Hotho's review of Goethe's works, Vol. XXI. XXII. XXIII. Berliner Jahrbuecher. December, 1829.

ered this of the highest importance. "If a Poet is morally free, we will feel it in reading him. Whatever he does or has done, will by his power transfer us into the same disposition in which he was when he did it. A free and cheerful disposition of the artist will make us free and cheerful; a discontented one will likewise communicate discontent to us. A great nature will elevate the reader!"—To know something at least of his moral life will be found indispensable to the student of his works. For his life as well as his poetry was the work of his strong will. They do, therefore, not only mutually explain each other, but they form one *whole*. His poetry is a continued confession of all he experienced in his life, and his life, the result of a will that reigned over every desire and passion, is Poetry itself. He felt nobly, he thought nobly, he expressed himself nobly, and he lived nobly.

Zierlich Denken und suess Erinnern
Ist das Leben im tiefsten Innern.

His great object and aim was to get a clear consciousness of all his faculties and powers, to improve and cultivate them and to make his own by *will*, what was his by nature. Thus he gave them a moral tendency and his *natural inclination* to the Beautiful became *moral love*. He did not suffer himself to regulate and limit his studies by his inclinations, but conquering all prejudices and reluctance in himself, he directed his attention to every object containing truth, which he loved on its own account and not because it was useful, which he loved to communicate in the form of beauty because he considered it intrinsically desirable. This was in general his moral relation to *art* and *science*. All his activity had reference to the human race and proceeded from love of the good, the true and the beautiful. Not like celebrated performers on an instrument, who select their pieces more for the purpose of showing off their skill than of benefitting their hearers, did Goethe ever desire to display his talents or show his superiority, but love of his fellow-men and love of truth alone could induce him to undertake serious works.

Edel sey der Mensch
Huelfreich und gut!
Denn das allein
Unterscheidet ihn
Von allen Wesen,
Die wir kennen!

He ennobled himself constantly, but only as a part of a noble whole. "Only all men together constitute the human race; hence let every one endeavor to get an idea of this great and beautiful whole and, acknowledging his own limits, let him do with modesty in his place what he is able to effect for the well being of the whole. This whole, as it consists of the human race, living in all regions, existing in all centuries, contains in itself every power from the lowest animal tendency to the highest energy of mind, and if the various talents distributed among all are properly developed, they will form one whole. Every talent is important; each has the energy required to unfold itself; and if the one improves the useful, the other the beautiful, and the third the true and noble in life, they will all only when existing together form a whole." These noble views of Goethe on our race as a whole, base themselves on his Metamorphosis of plants. Every plant is a whole consisting of parts. It commences its growth in a globular and fluid point which is scarcely perceptible in the flower of the mother plant. In it no different parts yet exist; nevertheless all of them proceed from it. The first formation, arising from this point, is that of the pericarp and kernel. When the seed is fully ripe and cast off from the mother plant, it will, when sown, produce formation after formation, yet so that every successive formation repeats the preceding one, only in a more rapid manner. The germ at first is split into roots and leaves and while the former seek the dark abode of nutritious juices, the latter rise towards the sphere of light, clothing themselves with a lovely green. Every bud repeats this process of the seed, by bursting the outside and sending forth a leaf, more delicate, however, and more perfect, more highly colored, until a number of leaves clustering around one point, form a new

and large bud, which incloses the mystery of the bloom, and, bursting, unfolds its full beauty. So all proceeds from one point. The leaves of the stem become leaves of the bud; these become leaves of the flower, and these again become filaments. It is the same in the animal world. The caterpillar proceeds from joint to joint and finally forms a head. And what thus takes place in individuals, occurs also in the mass. The bees, a series of individuals that attach themselves to each other, produce as a whole something which forms the conclusion, and which may be considered the head of the whole, the Queen. Nor is it far otherwise with our race. Isolated, man is powerless; an integral part of the great family, he will be important, whatever his station may be. Only let him follow Goethe's advice,

> Im Ganzen, Guten Wahren
> Resolut zu leben!—

Poets are nothing else than the flower of the whole nation, the joint product of the mass, the organ which reveals the soul and life existing in every single branch and leaf of the whole stock. It is scarcely credible that the man who considered his existence, his genius and energy, so interwoven with that of the rest of his race, should have been charged with a want of patriotism. True, he was opposed to revolutions, he desired merely an improvement of that which was good in old institutions; for seeing the evil consequences of arbitrary innovations with his clear eye, he could not be drawn into a momentary enthusiasm, that would rather tear down than build up, rather destroy than correct. "If our race were perfect, we would have perfect governments!" was his motto! Let every one be faithful in his sphere and he will soon gather around him a small number of such as will aid and assist him. We are free, not because we acknowledge nothing above us, but because we have something to revere. Revering it, we raise ourselves to it and prove that the better and higher has a hold upon us. Laws and institutions are therefore necessary, and the acknowledgment of something sacred is

indispensable to true Liberty. Every one is free, who is humble and knows how to control himself. Once he said to Eckermann: "You see how spacious my residence is, and yet during the last six months two rooms have been sufficient for me!"—Such views of course would not appear patriotic to those that desired to rule rather than to be ruled. Envy and jealousy too had their part in producing this malicious charge; but since Heine has publicly confessed that he aspersed the lofty character of Goethe from envy, Boerne, Menzel and consorts have lost their favor with the public and can no longer sully the bright fame of the favorite of the German nation.*

Another principle, which he acted out in his life, was that of justice. "Let us be just towards others, for we

* How well Goethe knew his opponents, will appear from the following remark:

"The number of my opponents," he once said, "is Legion; and yet it is not impossible to classify them. *First*, I have opponents from stupidity. These are such as never understood me and found fault with me without knowing me. This large class has wearied me very much; yet I forgive them, for they knew not what they did. A *second* large class consists of those that envy me. They cannot look with favor upon the fortune and position which I have gained by my talents. They endeavor to tarnish my honor and would like to destroy me. If I were miserable and unfortunate they would cease. A great many oppose me because they do not succeed themselves. Among them there are men of talents, but they cannot forgive me for eclipsing them. *Fourthly*, I have opponents that have good reasons. For since I am a *man*, and as such have human faults and frailities, my writings cannot be free from them. But as I place much value upon my cultivation and have necessarily labored to ennoble myself, I have been constantly progressing, and it has often happened that they have censured a mistake which I had long before corrected. These good men have offended me least; they shot at me when I was miles in advance of them. In general a finished work became indifferent to me; I never took it up again, but always commenced something new. Another large class of my opponents has arisen from different modes of thinking. It is said of the leaves of a tree, that not *two* of them are wholly like each other, and so among a thousand persons there are not two who will wholly harmonize in disposition and manner of thinking. Supposing this to be a fact, I must feel astonished less that the number of my opponents is so great, than that I have so many friends and adherents. My whole age dissented from me, for it was wholly *subjective*, while I was entirely *objective*, and thus stood alone and had the disadvantage."—*Eckermann's conversations with Goethe.*

deserve esteem only when we know how to esteem! When we accustom ourselves to reflect with pleasure on the high virtues of others, we shall give a proper place to our own virtues and thus gain ourselves!" How much Goethe lived and acted in accordance with these views, might be made to appear from a collection of his noble, benevlent and highly modest judgments on Shakspeare, Byron, Calderon, Schiller, Herder and Wieland; from the frequent comparisons he instituted between himself and Shakspeare in favor of the latter; from the value he placed on every calling and talent and product that was deserving in any degree of attention. It was easy for him to resign his own views for those of others, if he found them superior, or to enter the manner of thinking and reasoning of those who differed widely from him. He rejoiced in meeting with any new theory, though it should affect his own unfavorably, and frequently he would feel himself induced to commence a study anew which he had been in the habit of considering as finished in its results for himself.

Stets geforscht, und stets gegruendet
Nie geschlossen, oft geruendet!

It was this disposition which rendered Goethe great, both in character and in literature. He was great indeed by his natural talents, but as every thing human is limited, so his genius had its limits. But being willing to acknowledge these limits, he was enabled to raise himself above them by study, diligence and perseverance. Hence it was, that by the time critics discovered an error or a weakness in his works, he had already corrected and conquered it and was engaged in something far superior. Not the limits of our talents make us appear insignificant and little, but the desire to deny or conceal them; not talents in themselves make us great, but a will that is determined to cultivate and ennoble them by moral principles. The latter was the case with Goethe, and hence it was, that in others he loved nothing more than a strong and decided and correct will. Any one who possessed energy and firmness of moral power might be certain of his favor, though

he should not be gifted with any particular talent. Every business in the world is carried on by moral laws; all depends on our moral personality, on *love* and a firm *will.* Hence it was, that Goethe never attempted to *determine* the will of any person, but only sought to inspire every one around him, even his servants, with *resoluteness* and the love of *good principles.* This silent power gave him an unparalleled influence over all connected with him, and secured him their love, their gratitude and everlasting friendship.

Tokens of kindness, received from friends or strangers, he would always acknowledge gratefully and in the most appropriate and delicate way. When the citizens of Weimar once celebrated his birth-day by illuminating the street in which he lived, he sent his two little grandsons the next day from house to house to express his thanks. His friendship was pure, firm and lasting. His intimacy with Schiller is sufficiently exhibited by the six volumes of letters exchanged between them. Whatever presented itself to the mind of the one, was communicated to the other, so that the one frequently gave the thoughts which the other formed into verse. With Zelter, one of the first musical composers of our day, he kept up for more than forty years, a most interesting correspondence, which has lately been published. With Lavater, likewise, he continued an uninterrupted intercourse by mail for ten years, which has become highly interesting to his admirers since its publication. His attachment to the Grand Duke was so great that Wieland once said: "If I ever should get displeased with Goethe and remember how much he has done for the Grand Duke, I would thank Master Goethe more for it than even for his literary productions." One example of his friendship for this noble sovereign is so beautiful that I cannot pass it by entirely, though time will allow me only a partial communication of it. This great man during the time when the French reigned in Germany, had aided many sufferers and was suspected by the French of an unfriendly or hostile disposition. When Goethe was informed of this and of the dangers arising from it, he ex-

claimed with deep emotion: "What is it that these Frenchmen demand? Since when is it a crime to aid one's friends and old companions in arms, when they are in distress? . . I tell you, the Grand Duke ought to act as he does. He must act so! He would do wrong, if he should act otherwise! Nay, if he had to lose his country and people, crown and sceptre, he must nevertheless not violate his noble disposition nor neglect what the duty of a sovereign in such cases demands of him. And if the worst should come, as was the case with his predecessor John; if both his downfall and his misfortune were certain, I shall not feel feel distressed, but with staff in hand I will accompany our sovereign in misfortune, and faithfully remain by his side. Children and women, when they shall meet us in villages, will raise their weeping eyes and say to each other: this is old Goethe and the former Grand Duke of Weimar, whom the Emperor of France has dethroned because he was faithful to his friends in misfortune." Here the tears rolled profusely down the cheeks of Goethe and after some time he continued to say: "I will become a ballad singer; I will go into all the schools and villages, where the name of Goethe is known; I will sing of Germany, and make the children learn my songs by heart that when they become men they may dethrone the French and reinstate my sovereign!" The Grand Duke knew well what a precious jewel in his crown this great poet was. When once many distinguished strangers were at the court of Weimar, the Grand Duke and Göethe happened to be in different rooms. By and by all the strangers collected in the room of the latter and only two being left with the sovereign, he rose with the words: "Let us go likewise to pay our tribute of respect to Goethe."

His powers of conversation were very great. "When Goethe," some one says, "indulges the cheerfulness of his nature, it is as if the sun were rising. All limits vanish away before his mind and the whole universe seems to lie in his eyes, in his forehead, and in the features of his face." Yet he would always observe a proper measure; and when others forgot themselves, he would grow serious.

His influence with the Grand Duke was unlimited; he used it, however, only for the promotion of talent, merit and honesty. His rich experience had to serve the same end; and therefore he gathered young men around him to aid them in their studies and give them his valuable advice. "We old men had to perform the task of committing errors; but of what use would all our seeking and our endeavors be, if young men should run over the same road again? Thus we would not get any farther!"

He entertained very rigid views of domestic life. Reinhard, the celebrated pulpit orator, frequently expressed his astonishment at the moral correctness and simplicity of his style of living. All kinds of comforts and luxuries were against his nature. He had no sofa in his study, but only an old wooden arm chair, even when he was 82 years of age. He was frugal; rarely ate in the evening, and never, as a servant of his for twenty years voluntarily testified, did he indulge wine too freely, or even make use of it often.

His activity was astonishing. It spread over all the branches of practical political economy. He had new turnpikes built; mining was improved; and meadows gained by erecting dams and distributing the waters of the Ilm; he devoted himself to the University of Jena and raised its reputation and character by carefully filling its chairs with able men. He established Institutions of all kinds, superintended libraries, museums, collections of minerals, coins, etc.; he had the city of Weimar and its environs made more beautiful by art; its old gates were removed, ditches filled, an observatory established, and wherever his acute and observing eye noticed any defects, he felt himself impelled by his nature to assist in removing them. If we consider that besides these many near and distant circles of activity, his time was employed in scientific investigations in Meteorology, Mineralogy, Morphology, Optics, in writing fifty-five volumes of the most noble Poems, Dramas, Romances, Histories, Biographies, Criticisms, and in keeping up a correspondence with the most distinguish-

ed persons of his time, which alone would fill a great number of volumes,—we cannot help asking: How was all this possible? By two things. First, by the clearness and order, which, as they reigned in his breast so they ruled also over all his business. Whatever he did, was done in its season, and at once neatly and well. Every visiting card, every little Poem was dated, that in re-reading these pieces, he might be able to remember the disposition in which he was when he wrote them and thus obtain a complete view of his life, which lay clear and open and transparent before him, every one of whose moments and pulsations was determined by his will. He effected so much, in the second place, by making the best use of his time. He looked upon it as his greatest inheritance:

> Mein Erbtheil, wie herrlich, weit und breit
> Die Zeit ist mein Besitz, mein Acker ist die Zeit.

He rose, to the end of life, every morning at five o'clock; and continued to labor till evening. His life was but a succession of labors. "Labor was his employment, change of labor his recreation." And as he commenced early in the morning and rested only late in the evening, so he began early in the morning of his youth and rested only when he died. His mind did not grow old, but remained young and vigorous; and as the setting sun frequently before disappearing shows himself once more in all his glory, so Goethe was great even in his decline. He was only reminded of his age by seeing so many of his early companions dropping away from his side. "When I look back upon my earlier and middle life and consider in my advanced age, how few are left of those that were young with me, I cannot help thinking of a visit to a watering place. When one arrives one makes the acquaintance of those that have been already some time there and will shortly leave. This loss is painful. Now one becomes attached to the second generation, with which one lives for a time and becomes intimately connected. But these also depart soon and leave us alone with the third class, that arrives shortly before our departure and with which one has no desire to form intimacies!"

As I approach the close of these loosely connected characteristics, I hear many a one silently ask the question: "Did he, who drank so fully of every created beauty and sung of every noble deed and lived in the regions of truth, ever mention Him with a word, who is the Fountain of all beauty, the Source of all goodness and the Author of all truth? Did he seek for *Truth* and *Beauty* every where, but in the Lord of creation find none?" These questions might be framed into one: "Was Goethe a Christian?" Upon this answer the final judgment on his character must depend, for only that is good and praiseworthy in man which proceeds from the Spirit of Christ; only that is permanent and ever valuable, which gives witness of our love to the Lord. The more the answer must affect the character of this great man in our judgment, the more will charity and meekness suggest caution. And above all ought we to be willing to lay aside our prejudices in favor of certain forms in which we are accustomed to see the spirit of the Christian Religion utter itself. The Lord is also there, where His name is less frequently mentioned, and His Spirit may live and act where we do not see the accustomed forms. Nor is it always an infallible sign of genuine piety to hear a man constantly speaking of sacred things. In this respect we must be willing to be guided by the confession which our Poet once made in a letter to Lavater: "My Beloved Friend! You speak to me as to an unbeliever who desires to comprehend and have Truth demonstrated, because he has experienced nothing in his own heart. And yet the very opposite of all this is in my heart. I only feel and express myself differently from others." So he wrote to Pfenninger: "Perhaps I am foolish not to express myself as you do. I have experienced what you have experienced, and only express myself in different words."* Did he not sing early in his youth:

* In the Encyclopedia Americana we have read in the article on Goethe the following words: "He was also led by the reading of several religious works to construct for himself a strange theological system, of which New Platonism was the ground-work." This system he formed early in his youth (1769)

Der Du von dem Himmel bist
Aller Leid und Schmerzen stillest
Den, der doppelt elend ist,
Doppelt mit Erquickung fuellest.
Ach! ich bin des Treibens muede,
Was soll all' der Schmerz und Lust!
Suesser Friede
Komm', ach Komm' in meine Brust.

In his letter* to the new Pastor in N. N., he says: "I love Jesus Christ and believe in Him. There was a time when I was Saul, now I thank God that I am Paul." "I thank God for nothing more than the certainty of my faith. For upon this I die, that I have no happiness and no salvation to hope for save that which the eternal love of God grants me." "I consider faith in the divine love which in Christ dwelt on earth, as the only ground of my salvation." And how, without having experieneed it, could he have described so faithfully the operations of faith upon the heart of a lady? Having considered herself for a long time safe, she is aroused from this slumber and asks: What is faith? "To believe the narration of an occurrence to be true, what can that avail? I must be able to appropriate its effects and its consequences. This appropriating faith must find a condition of mind, which is un-

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and it was as transitory as the disposition in which he wrote his Werther. The fourth volume of Goethe's Autobiography appeared only after his death; this treats likewise of his early life and nevertheless exhibits already an entire change in his religious views. The remarks above are based on it and on the whole poetry of Goethe.

* This letter Goethe had intended to publish again in his collected works, but he did not do so. The greater part of it may be found in Goeschel's Schilderungen Goethe'scher Dicht-und Denkweise I, 206. It was this letter that first attracted Lavater's attention to Goethe, and was the commencement of a long and happy friendship. He wrote at the same time several other treatises in the same style, as for instance, two biblical treatises on the ten commandments; one on the speaking with tongues on Pentecost. These Essays he published at his own expense and distributed them gratuitously. "Here and there a review made favorable or unfavorable mention of them, but soon they were forgotten. My father preserved them carefully in his Archives, else I should not possess a single copy of them. I intend adding them, and some few other things of the kind, unprinted as yet, to the new edition of my works." Goethe's Werke, XXVI, 105.

known to the natural man. Almighty God! grant me faith. I once wrestled and prayed in the greatest distress of my heart. I leaned myself on a little table at which I sat, and covered my face with my hands and wept. Now I was in the state of mind in which one must be if God shall regard our prayer. My soul felt itself attracted to the Cross on which Christ grew pale. My soul approached Him who became man and died for us, and from that moment I knew what faith was." And he who wrote these beautiful words, wrestled himself; he studied the Bible from his earliest youth and was anxious at one time to connect himself with the Moravian Church. The mere difference of opinion on the doctrine of depravity,—for "no doctrine," he says, "can purify us, except one that will first humble our pride"—which he explained somewhat differently from the Moravians, prevented his joining them. He became alarmed, when they told him that he was on the scale of Pelagius, and under the most serious impressions he studied the Bible again; and, as nothing could, to use his own words, separate him from the love of Christ, he formed a system of his own. He continued from that time to take the deepest interest in Missions and expressed publicly his gratitude to the venerable Dr. Knapp for keeping him acquainted with the progress of the missionary cause. He acknowledges too in his Biography that Daub, by his "*Studien und Kritiken*," revived his interest in religion. His intercourse with Lavater, with Haman, with the celebrated princess Gallizin of Russia, so well known for her piety, and who esteemed him highly, with Stilling and other pious men, bears favorable testimony to his interest in religious matters. Young Stilling used to say, that the world knew only the inferior qualities of Goethe, *his heart* was known to him alone. And well might Stilling say so, for in many a time of need he received unexpected and most generous aid from this, his noble friend."*

* Of the many interesting anecdotes concerning the intercourse of Schilling with Goethe, I will only copy two from Goeschel's Schilderungen Goethe'scher Dicht- und Denkweise, Part II, p. 8.

Of the Christian religion, it may easily be presumed, he spoke with the highest reverence. "It is a power, by which suffering and fallen humanity from time to time raises itself and which is beyond all philosophy and needs not its aid." He disliked all criticism in religion. "They attack the books of Moses; if the destructive criticism is any where injurious, it is so in religion, for here all rests

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In Strassburg we find twenty young gentlemen, most of them students, at the dining-table. Pleasure and mischief are not wanting: wit, animated and animating, flows in rich veins through the cheerful circle. Now some, with whom others were soon associated, tried to tease Stilling who had lately arrived, on account of his old fashioned dress and his biblical faith. Stilling in mild words turns aside the coarse and rude wit.

But even the best and most cheerful humour may degenerate into inhumanity and cruelty, when it hits and wounds the weak side of man always on the same place and thus violates in the individual the dignity of man in general. And here it hit the most true and tender part of the human heart, the eternal in the breast of the mortal. The old coat was but a sign of the poverty of the youth and of his riches: and his faith in the word of God was old indeed, because its contents are eternal, but even therefore it was eternally young.

Stilling however directs their attention only to the spiritless and lifeless nature of a wit, long ago used up by the French; but it avails nothing; his contradiction makes evil worse. Then a youth hastily rises, until then the most mischievous cheerful of all and steps forth and raises with power his youthful, heroic voice, to vituperate such "Satanic sarcasm"—as he called it—and to suppress it. This was—Goethe. From that time a tie of friendship and brotherhood was drawn around the two young men. "Pity" Stilling says, "that so few only know the heart of this noble man."

Who does not know, how miserably poor Stilling lived during the early part of his life. Care for support rested hard on him. Once he had to pay $70 for a year's rent, and he had not a cent. Then the waves passed over his soul. Often he ran into his bed chamber, fell upon his face, wept and prayed for help to God. And when business called him away, Christin (his wife) took his place: she wept aloud and prayed with a zeal that might have moved a stone; yet no hope to get so much money was to be seen. At length Friday came, when the payment was to be made: it was the last term. The two married people prayed and labored the whole morning; the piercing anxiety of the heart sent forth continually deep sighs. At ten o'clock the letter carrier comes with a heavy letter. Stilling takes it; it was Goethe's handwriting. On it stood the words: "*With* $115 *in gold.*" The poor man is astonished at receiving so much money. He opens the letter, reads and finds that friend Goethe took and without his knowledge published the MS. of "Stilling's Youth," and that now he sends him the fee for it from Weimar, his new residence.

on faith, which one cannot regain, after it is once lost."* "It is best, without criticism and doubt, to appropriate the religious and moral doctrines of the Bible." This principle he leads out in his Prometheus, in his Faust, for there he teaches the doctrine, that *humility* becomes man. His faith in the immortality of the soul was firm and unshaken. "No right minded man will suffer himself to be stripped of his belief in a future existence." Once, when taking a ride he seemed to be lost in meditation, watching the setting sun. "Even while setting it is the same sun! When one is 75 years of age, one cannot help thinking sometimes of death. The thought of it does not disquiet me; for I am firmly convinced, that our spirits are indestructible. They must live from eternity to eternity. They are like the sun, that only to our earthly eyes seems to set, while in reality it never sets, but continues to shine constantly."

If any one is willing to accede to the request of Goethe, as expressed in his letter to Lavater, and to seek for the spirit independently of forms, he may find in all his works a great deal of Christian truth. For he sings of the vanity of all things; and again he sings of something that is permanent in all changes;—he rejoices in the pleasures of life and again he knows that there is rest only in the grave. The spirit is to reign over the body and we must learn to resign the world. The law is a holy power and all desires must be silent before it. Sin is the ruin of man, for

Die Suende weh dem Menschen thut!—

Whoever violates the divine law, poisons the root of his happiness. He frequently, it is true, describes sin in attractive colors, but only to raise virtue the higher. If he had painted sin so ugly, that none would have been willing to own it or recognize his own in it, he would have effected nothing. But by making his readers first feel

* "In Poetry" he added, "this destructive criticism is not so injurious. Wolf has destroyed Homer, but the poem itself he could not injure; for this Poem has the miraculous power of the heroes of Wallhalla, who in the morning cut each other to pieces, but at noon sit at the table with entire limbs."

that the sin described resembles their own, he could exhibit the glory and dignity of virtue and its permanency, on the one hand, and the ruin of sin, on the other, with more effect. So in his Faust, sin is represented in an agreeable dress, but Gretchen repents, suffers and submits willingly to a higher judgment. Faust himself, in the second part, is handed over into the hands of angels, that by the infinite power of mercy he may be saved. "There are strange critics," Goethe once said. "They find fault with Wilhelm Meister, because he is too much in bad society. But by making bad society the vessel in which I could deposite what I had to say of good society, I gained a poetical basis and a variegated one too. Had I painted good society by good society, no one would have been willing to read the book."*

I cannot close these remarks without mentioning a Poem full of love, of piety and peace, written by our Poet when he himself was near the peace of the grave. It bears the title: "The Child and the Lion." Its object is to show how a child by gentleness and love, by *piety*, that expresses itself in hymns and sweet melodies, conquers the wild tyrant of the forest and makes him mild and obedient. The lion is not destroyed, but tamed. It is not the physical power of a giant but the gentleness of a child that leads him about. By love lions shall become lambs; the leopard shall lie down with the kid and a little child shall lead them. The form of this poem is beautiful beyond conception. It commences in clear and transparent prose in the narrative style. The prose becomes more poetical with every page, till finally it passes over into a lyric song. As a luxuriant plant sends forth one full and vigorous leaf after another, but all only for the purpose of supporting

* We must consider in addition, that a Poet confesses openly all his thoughts and feelings, as they at the time move his heart; and as every man has to regret many of his actions, so the Poet may look with displeasure upon many of his poems. Goethe at least had lost in his higher age all relation to and interest in some of his productions; like the sting of a serpent they were left by the road side; while others remained a living part of him even in old age.

the flower that is to come; so in this poem, all parts are there only on account of the flower, which is the idea that *piety* alone can conquer the savage disposition of man. And who would not admire the bloom of this Novel, when at once it bursts upon us:

Engel schweben auf und nieder,
Uns in Toenen zu erlaben,
Welch ein himmlischer Gesang!
In den Gruben, in dem Graben
Waere da dem Guten bang?
Diese sanften frommen Lieder
Lassen Ungluck nicht heran:
Engel schweben hin und wieder,
Und so ist es schon gethan.

Und so geht mit guten Kindern,
Seliger Engel gern zu Rath
Boeses Wollen zu verhindern,
Zu befoerdern schoene That.
So beschwoeren, fest zu bannen
Lieben Sohn an's zarte Knie
Ihn des Waldes Hochtyrannen
Frommer Sinn und Melodie.

Denn der Ew'ge herrscht auf Erden,
Ueber Meere herrscht sein Blick:
Loewen sollen Laemmer werden
Und die Welle schwankt zurueck.
Blankes Schwerdt erstarrt im Hiebe
Glaub' und *Hoffnung* sind erfuellt;
Wunderthaetig ist die *Liebe*,
Die sich im *Gebet* enthuellt.*

Let us yet cast a glance at the last days of this great and noble man. His latter years were much cheered by his relation to all the distinguished artists and literary men not only of Germany, but of all Europe. Lord Byron had long before dedicated some of his works to him and looked up to him with much reverence. On the 28th of August, 1831, he received a splendid present from fifteen friends in England, among whom the names of Walter Scott, Lockhart, Thomas Carlyle, Fraser, Lord Gower, Churchill,

* These verses have been thus arranged by Goeschel in his Schilderungen Goethe'scher Dichtweise.

Southey, Wordsworth and Procter were found.* He had the pleasure of seeing his Faust translated into English—of which afterwards, in one year, no less than seven or eight different translations appeared in that tongue —into French, into the Swedish and other languages. His Iphigenia was rendered accessible to the Greeks by a translation. Werther's sorrows inspired a Chinese artist to represent them in a series of pictures. Russia followed with a benevolent eye his rise and progress. Artists honored him in a public manner. *David* of Paris, travelled at

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* I copy the letter, accompanying this beautiful present.

To the Poet Goethe on the 28th August, 1831:

"Sir: Among the Friends, whom this interesting Anniversary calls around you, may we "English Friends" in thought and symbolically, since personally it is impossible, present ourselves to offer you our affectionate congratulations. We hope you will do us the honor to accept this little Birth-day gift, which as a true testimony of our feelings may not be without value."

"We said to ourselves: As it is always the highest duty and pleasure to show reverence to whom reverence is due, and our chief, perhaps our only benefactor is he who, by act and word instructs us in wisdom; so we feeling towards the poet Goethe as the spiritually taught towards their spiritual Teacher, are desirous to express that sentiment openly and in common. For which end we have determined to solicit his acceptance of a small English gift, proceeding from us equally, on his approaching birth-day, that so while the venerable man still dwells among us, some memorial of the gratitude we owe him, and think the whole world owes him, may not be wanting. And thus our little tribute, perhaps among the purest, that man could offer to man, now stands in sensible shape, and begs to be received. May it be welcome and speak permanently of the most close relation, tho' wide seas flow between the parties."

"We pray that many years may be added to a life so glorious; that all happiness may be yours and strength given to complete your high task, even as it has hitherto proceeded, like a star 'without haste, yet without rest;'" The words, "without haste, yet without rest," were the motto given to the Present from Fifteen Friends, and with reference to them Goethe replied:

Worte, die der Dichter spricht,
Treu in heimschen Bezirken,
Wirken gleich, doch weiss er nicht,
Ob sie in die Ferne wirken.

Britten! habt sie aufgefasst
"Thaet'ger Sinn, das Thun gezuegelt;
Thaetig Streben ohne Hast,"
Und so wollt ihr's denn besiegelt.

his own expense, not invited by a Prince, but impelled by his own admiration, from France to Weimar to mould Goethe; and in the year 1831 a splendid marble bust with a noble letter from the hand of this celebrated artist arrived in Goethe's house.* In the same year a medallion was struck in Italy bearing the likeness of Goethe on the one side and on the other the inscription: "The 28th of August, 1831." A beautiful house brought to light among the ruins of Pompeii was named in honor of him: "Casa di Goethe." Walter Scott visited it and expressed his determination not to return to England before having seen the German Poet. Thorwaldsen erected, at his own expense, a monument to the young Goethe, who died while journeying in Italy. Italy's greatest Poet, Manzoni, knew of no greater pleasure than to hear that Goethe was satisfied with his works.† Madame de Stael, the Prince of Ligne, Benjamin Constant belong to his earliest admirers in France. Delavigne, Victor Hugo, Cuvier, Geoffrey de St. Hilaire paid him on every occasion their tribute of respect, and frequently appealed to his authority in Science

* This bust was accompanied by the following letter:

"Monsieur!

Aussitôt que mes jeunes pensées ont pu se fixer vers la contemplation des sublimes ouvrages de la nature, mon admiration a été pour les grands hommes, qui sont sa plus belle création. J'ai étudié la sculpture, comme un moyen plus durable de consacrer leurs traits; je leur ai voué ma vie, toutes les sensations de mon âme. Il m' était réservé, comme un indigne bonheur, de reproduire les traits du plus grand, du plus sublime. Je vous offre cette faible représentation de vos traits, non comme un ouvrage digne de vous, mais j'ai osé en faire un fragment; un génie plus digne de vous la terminera.

Veuillez, Monsieur, recevoir favorablement l'assurance du profond respect de votre trés-humble serviteur,

DAVID.

† It would be impossible to enumerate here all the translations that were made of Goethe's works in different languages. His Herrmann and Dorothea was translated into the ancient Greek; other poems were translated into the Latin. A great number of commentaries have since appeared, and among them there are no less than seventeen on Faust, independently of the many *outlines and pictures* to it. On Goethe himself there have been written no less than from sixty to seventy different, larger or smaller volumes.

as decisive. Of his Metamorphosis of Plants Geoffrey de St. Hilaire said in the Academy of Paris: "When Goethe first appeared with his theory in the year 1790, little notice was taken of it and some considered the whole a mistake. And there was a mistake at the bottom of it, but one that can only be committed by a genius. Goethe was wrong in publishing it half a century too soon, before there were botanists able to understand it."

Thus honored at home and abroad, successful in all his undertakings, affluent in his circumstances and cheerful by nature, one would think him to have been the man whom Solon would not have hesitated to call happy. And yet he uttered these memorable words of himself: "They have called me a particular favorite of fortune; nor have I any intention to complain or find fault with the course of my life. Yet on the whole it has been nothing but labor and sorrow, and I may truly say, that during 83 years I have not had *four weeks* of true *happiness*. It was the constant rolling of a stone, that always was to be lifted anew. I would not desire to live my life over again; as little as the fully developed plant could wish to return to its narrow and contracted state of buds and seed."

His day was closing. Having finished a number of works before his eighty-third birth-day he hastened once more to Ilmenau, the place of his early endeavors and joyful hours. The deep silence of the woods, the fresh breezes of the mountains, inspired him with new life, and strengthened, he returned and felt himself impelled to resume new meditations on nature. The doctrine of colors was reviewed, corrected and corroborated; the nature of the rainbow was investigated anew; the spiral tendency of all the formations of plants more accurately ascertained. He once more felt youthful:

> Von allen Geistern, die ich je angezogen,
> Fuehl ich mich rings umlagert und umringt.*

* Who is not reminded by these lines of the words which Goethe wrote early in his youth in imitation of Ossian: "Warum weckst du mich Fruehlingsluft? Du buhlst und sprichst: "Ich bethaue mit Tropfen des Himmels!"

Geoffrey St. Hilaire's and Cuvier's discussions attracted his attention; he read and reviewed them. On the same day he wrote a great number of letters. On the 17th of March, five days before his death, he recommended warmly and affectionately his favorite Institutions and the persons engaged in them, to his influential friend and physician, Dr. Vogel. On the 20th he signed an order to assist a person in distress. This order, written by his own trembling hand, is now preserved in the library of the Grand Duke at Weimar. On the 22nd the silent messenger gently approached him and called him to his eternal home. Pressing himself gracefully into one corner of his chair and exclaiming "*more light!*" he departed this life.

Of his external form I may be permitted to say yet a word. Poets are generally sickly, "for the extraordinary task which these men have to perform demands a fine organization, that they may be susceptible of delicate impressions and hear the voice of nature. Such an organization is in conflict with the world and its elements and may easily be hurt." Goethe had a healthy and strong constitution. He gave his physician little to do and the celebrated Hufland, who attended him for ten years, speaks much of the vigor diffused equally through his body and soul, and of the harmony in which both his physical and psychical functions cöoperated. Productiveness, the character of his mind, was also that of his body. A rich nutrition, quick and full sanguification and reproduction, critical self-restoring and fullness of blood characterized his constitution. His body was large, strong and of regular form. Erect and straight, he had his hands generally folded on his back. His breast was broad and highly arched; his limbs full and softly muscular; his feet neat and of the

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Aber die Zeit meines Welkens ist nahe, nahe der Sturm, der meine Blaetter herabstoert! Morgen wird der Wanderer kommen, kommen der mich sah in meiner Schoenheit, ringsum wird sein Auge im Felde mich suchen, und wird mich nicht finden."

purest form; his head covered with a silky, thickly grown white hair; his neck torous; the whole body covered equally with a rich flesh, except the head. His breath was easy, but intermingled with sighs; he spoke slowly, but with the dignity of a monarch.

Art. II.—INFANT SALVATION.

INFANT SALVATION IN ITS RELATION TO INFANT DEPRAVITY, INFANT REGENERATION, AND INFANT BAPTISM. By J. H. A. Bomberger, D. D., Pastor of the Race Street Evangelical Reformed church, Philadelphia. Lindsay & Blakiston. 1859. 12mo. pp. 192.

This little volume treats successively of Infant Depravity, Infant Regeneration, Infant Salvation, and Infant Baptism. It contains many things which are good, beautifully and forcibly expressed and well worthy of being seriously laid to heart by parents: but it also takes a few positions, which I consider erroneous and untenable. In the third section, which is by far the largest, the esteemed author endeavors to prove, that *all little children dying in infancy are saved, whether baptized or not.* I propose to examine his arguments and show that they do not establish the doctrine. This will lead me to notice not the excellencies, but rather the defects of the book.

"*In all God's covenant transactions with men,* CHILDREN *are included in the covenant with their parents.*" p. 58. This is the first argument. The examples of Adam in Paradise, of Noah after the deluge, of Abraham, and of the New and Better Covenant, to which the author refers, are beautiful and forcible illustrations of the fact that children are always included in the covenant with their parents. This I presume all will admit. Provision is indeed made in this way

for their salvation, but it does by no means follow, that all will therefore be saved. The fact that they are included does not make their salvation certain. For adults too are included in the covenant, and yet this is no proof that they will all be saved. Nothing can be said of certain conditions,—faith and repentance—in regard to these: because the argument is the fact that they "are included in the covenant," and since this can he affirmed alike of the adult and children, they are therefore equally entitled to its advantages. In my opinion this argument by itself does not prove the salvation of any one, whether parent or child, much less of all children.

The Heidelberg Catechism, Question 74, tells us, that infants "as well as the adult are included in the covenant and church of God." What is the inference? That they are therefore saved? No. For instead of inferring the salvation of any or all from their inclusion in the covenant, it says they shall therefore be *baptized*, and "admitted into the Christian Church and be distinguished from the children of infidels as was done in the old covenant or testament by circumcision." All the children of the Jews and Gentiles are included in that New and Better Covenant; they have therefore equally a right to be baptized and thus "be brought into actual participation in the redemption of Jesus Christ." p. 16: and yet according to the Catechism the baptized shall "be *distinguished* from the children of infidels," although the latter are in like manner included in the covenant. The argument of the Heidelberg Catechism and that of our author, are the same: and yet their inferences are not alike. The former infers the right to be baptized, but the latter infers their salvation even without baptism.

The inclusion of the children of the Jews in the Abrahamic covenant, guaranteed to them the right to be circumcised—not the certainty of salvation: and if circumcised, they were entitled to all the temporal and spiritual blessings of Judaism. So the inclusion of all children in that New and Better Covenant, secures for them the right to be

baptized: and if baptized they have the promise of salvation through Jesus Christ. Were not the male-children of the Jews to "be cut off" from the people, in case they were not circumcised, notwithstanding their inclusion in the Abrahamic covenant? Gen. xvii. 14. But more of this hereafter. It does therefore not follow from the fact that they are included in the covenant, that all little children are saved, whether baptized or not.

"*Suffer little children, and forbid them not to come unto me: for of such is the kingdom of heaven,*" Mat. 19:14. p. 75. After giving an explanation at length of these words, the author says: "The conclusion, therefore, to which a candid consideration of this incident, and the various phrases, which occur in the Gospel report of it, lead us, is undoubtedly this: that our Lord teaches the salvation of all little children." p. 109. From this conclusion I respectfully dissent. Let it be distinctly noticed, I deny not that all little children may be saved,—they may or they may not—Scripture being silent, this question is undecided; but I deny that *this passage of Scripture* proves that all are saved. Let us examine it, and also our author's remarks.

He tells us our Lord "does not say; 'Suffer *these* children to come unto Me;' but in the most general terms which language affords: Suffer children." This statement I regard as unfair. It is true our Lord does not say: "Suffer *these* children:" and it is also equally true He does not say: "Suffer children:" but He says: "Suffer THE little children." It is known, our English translation of this passage of Scripture, is defective in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. By referring to the original we find that Christ said τα παιδια, and these words are used alike in Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Luther in his German translation rendered them correctly, *die* Kindlein, alike in the three Gospels. In our English version of St. Mark x. 14. they are rendered: "Suffer *the* little children." This agrees with the original Greek, as well as with the German translation. The definite article "*the*" is omitted in our English translation of this passage, in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. It is therefore not correct to say that our Lord

used "the most general terms which language affords." Now it seems to me not to be fair, that the author should lay so much stress upon this imperfect translation, and use it, if not as an argument, at least in preparing the way for the introduction of his view on Infant Salvation. He cannot defend himself by saying, that he quoted the received translation. This is true: but did he not also quote the received translation of the passage: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations;" Matt. xxviii. 19. p. 170. Yet he corrects this, why not also the other? Any one in reading his remarks under consideration, can easily see that its correction would have required him to modify his language considerably. What precedes as well as what follows, shows that he desired to point out the universality of "the law of the kingdom, in regard to children." But this he could have done equally well by allowing our Lord to say: "Suffer *the* little children to come unto Me,"—the little children as contradistinguished from the adult, who have been coming unto Me from the beginning.

"*Of such is the kingdom of heaven.*" Our author tells us: "Strange explanations of these apparently plain and simple words may often be met with—explanations which lose sight altogether of the true and avowed purpose of our Lord in uttering them." p. 95, 96. Having stated and refuted some of them, he says: "We must therefore, adopt another sense of these words as the only correct one. And that sense is the one most obviously lying in the declaration as it stands, without amplification or paraphrase, of such (little children) is the kingdom of heaven." He has scarcely told us that the correct sense lies so obviously in the declaration as it stands, that it needs no amplification or paraphrase, till he amplifies or paraphrases it himself by inserting "little children" in the words of Christ.

What is the sense of the words: "Of such is the kingdom of heaven?" Our author answers: "The kingdom of heaven consists mainly and emphatically of little children. All who have died in infancy, a countless host, 'early lost to be early saved,' all these are safely housed

in that kingdom above." "The kingdom of heaven consists of so large a proportion of *children* saved by the blood of the Lamb, that it may be said with truth, of such emphatically is the kingdom of heaven." p. 102. 103. This I presume, our author will admit is a fair and full statement of his view, which he regards as the only correct one. If I understand him correctly, (and I trust I may not misrepresent him) he supposes there are so many children in heaven, that it can be said, of such is heaven, or of such does heaven consist. He accordingly understands the words as referring to "a great multitude, which no "man can number," and then concludes, that our Lord teaches the salvation of all little children." Is he however not begging the question? For in trying to prove that all children are saved, he says, "of such is the kingdom of heaven:" and now in explaining these words of Christ he tells us, "heaven consists *mainly* and *emphatically* of little children. *All* who have died in infancy, a countless host, *all these are* safely housed in that kingdom above." But this is the point in question, If indeed "*all who have died in infancy are in heaven,*" the question is decided. Does he not thus assume as a truth that all children are in heaven, and then use it to explain his argument: and after his argument is thus explained, he comes back again and gravely tells us, all children are saved. To say the least, I regard his view as also a "strange explanation of these apparently plain and simple words—an explanation which in like manner loses sight altogether of the true and avowed purpose of our Lord in uttering them." They can be misinterpreted and misused not only in the way he tells us others have viewed and used them, but also by viewing and using them to prove the doctrine of general Infant Salvation. There is indeed in heaven, "a great multitude which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues:" but whether this great multitude consists mainly and emphatically of little children, is a question which he has failed to answer satisfactorily.

He tells us: "*Because they are little children,* are they of

the kingdom of heaven." p. 103. Did he not prove successfully in the first section of his treatise, that they are by nature depraved,—conceived in sin and born in iniquity? In discussing their sinfulness, he allowed neither age nor size to annul it. Now however he tells us they are of the kingdom of heaven, because they are little. What becomes of his doctrine of Infant Depravity? Perhaps however, he will answer, not exactly *because they are little children*, (though he says so in his book), but because they are little children regenerated,—"joined to Christ in regeneration." True, he endeavors in the second section of his treatise to show the necessity of Infant Regeneration. It does, however, by no means follow, that all *are* regenerated. The adult too "must be born again;" and yet this is no proof that they *are* born again. You cannot infer the actuality of a thing from its necessity. All men need bread, and yet not all have it; for some starve. If I mistake not, he has advanced no argument to prove this point: for all his arguments are simply in favor of its necessity. Their regeneration ought certainly to be established, before it can be used as an argument to prove their salvation. If they "have been joined to Christ in regeneration," they will of course be saved, and the question is decided. But where is the proof, I ask respectfully, that all are regenerated?

Christ says "*of such.*" Let us examine these words. Such signifies: "of that kind," "of the like kind." Webster. It never means all, or its equivalent, "a countless host." It is an adjective and therefore limits or defines. Let me illustrate. If I point to several two story brick houses, and say "of such," do I mean all houses? You would not understand me so. For some are built of stone, others of logs, and others of marble: some have only one story, others three, four or more stories. I do therefore not mean all houses; but only those of this kind, in regard to size, material, appearance &c. If you see little, sick, dying children lying upon a bed and say "of such," do you mean all children, including the healthy and the strong? Do you not simply mean those of this class?

I need not multiply examples: every one knows what these words generally signify. The houses and the children to which I have referred, are indeed different among themselves, and on this account the illustrations might seem to be inapplicable. But our author by allowing "that some special efficacy was connected with the imposition of the Redeemer's hands upon those infants," has made a difference equally broad and marked between those who received and those who did not receive His benediction. In his beautiful and graphic description of the significance of the Saviour's treatment of those little children, he has pointed out very plainly whom our Lord meant by saying "of such."

Let us however also see what our author means by saying "such." On page 64 he tells us: "*Such*, we say, are the expectations" &c. "and *such* are the convictions" &c. Does he mean *all* expectations and *all* convictions? If I were to interpret his language in that way, he would have reason to complain of a gross misrepresentation, and would gently remind me that he did not mean all, but only that kind of expectations and convictions which he had described, and that every careful reader would understand him so.

Now what does Christ mean by the word τοιουτων, "of such?" I will venture to say, he means exactly what we mean by saying of such, viz: "of that kind," "of the like kind." We generally have no difficulty in understanding each other, when we use these words, why shall we have more difficulty in understanding them when our Lord uses them? Did He attach unusual and mysterious meaning to these apparently plain and simple words? Perhaps however, you are impatiently asking what kind? I reply that kind that "*come*" unto him. I will therefore, also amplify the words of Christ and say: Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such (as come unto Me) is the kingdom of heaven.

This explanation I think, will be confirmed by reference to the incident to which they belong. Read it care-

fully as it is recorded of St. Matth. xix. 13–15, or in the parallel passages of St. Mark x. 13–16, and St. Luke xviii. 15–17. Here are persons (probably parents) bringing little children to Christ: the disciples however rebuke them. There is now a dispute between the parents on the one hand, and the disciples on the other. The question is simply this: shall little children be brought unto Christ, or shall they not? The parents say, Yes: the disciples, No. Who shall decide this important and interesting question satisfactorily for all time to come? Behold, Christ is present, and both parties are willing to submit to His decision. He decides it in the affirmative by saying: "Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of heaven." The great question is decided. Little children may come to Christ, and if they do come, they are saved. Are not all little children thus virtually divided into two great classes, (just like the adult are and for the same reason) those on the one hand that come, and those on the other that do not come unto Him? To understand these words, it seems to me, we need only read the incident carefully, remember under what circumstances they were spoken, and mark the point at issue. Christ did not evade the question, which was thus put to Him by the parents and his disciples for decision, by giving them a dubious reply: neither did He tell both parties, that it is immaterial whether little children are brought unto Me, or not, for they are saved at any rate. No. He rather insisted upon them coming unto Him, was much displeased with His disciples for interfering, and encouraged the parents to bring them. Upon what principle or according to what rule can the words "of such" be interpreted so as to mean all or "a countless host?" The meaning of the words, as well as the tenor of the whole incident, is against such an interpretation. The terms are so "explicit" that I can scarcely see how they can be used as an argument to prove the doctrine of general Infant Salvation.

How are little children saved? This is an important

question and well worthy our attention. Some people have an idea, they are saved simply because they are so little and helpless. No idea, however, can well be more unscriptural than that; for it militates against the doctrine of human depravity, the necessity of the atonement and a living union with Christ. Our author plants himself upon far higher ground than that, by insisting upon Infant Depravity and a connexion with Christ through regeneration. Little children are therefore saved, not because they are little and helpless: for though young and small, they are conceived and born in sin and subject to pain, disease and death. But they are saved because they are brought unto Christ, and thus united to Him in a true and living way and made actual participants in his redemption. For out of Him, there is no salvation for any one, no matter how young or old he may be. He tells us solemnly: "No man —or more correctly, not any one,—cometh unto the Father but by me." John xiv. 6. He thus assures us in the most explicit terms, that none, whether adult or child, can be saved without Him. Hence we may understand why He insisted so earnestly upon the little children coming unto Him, and why He was much displeased when His disciples attempted to prevent them from receiving the benediction from His hands.

If we ask what object the parents had in view in bringing their little children to Christ, we are told "that He should put His hands on them, and pray." They were thus brought by the parents and invited by Christ to come, not because they were already pure and holy and heirs of heaven, but that He might make them good and acknowledge them as His children by redemption. Our Lord appeared in the world and solemnly invited young and old, children and adult, to come unto Him, because all were sinners and therefore needed Him as a Saviour. He accordingly says: "I came not to *call* the righteous but sinners to repentance." Luke v. 32. This view I think is confirmed by several passages in the little volume I am reviewing. "Rightly apprehended, then, the invitation of

our Lord, calling the infants to Him, involved a true spiritual approach to Him in his mediatorial character." p. 85. "His words of invitation reveal Him as standing with open heart, ready to receive them into His inmost and saving love." p. 86. Very true. But now it seems to me, the admission of such an approach and reception is fatal to the doctrine of general Infant Salvation. Or are also those children saved, who do not approach Him in His mediatorial character, and who are not received into His inmost and saving love?

The necessity of coming to Christ, even in the case of little children, is still further confirmed by the following beautiful remarks. "The law He here lays down must be allowed to operate as freely as the invitation: 'Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' And the phrase. 'Come unto me,' employed in both cases, means substantially the same thing." p. 80. I am aware he makes this statement to show that the invitation given to children, is as general as that extended to the adult. But now I also argue from it the necessity of its acceptance. If the invitation is alike, the duty enjoined is also alike. Christ invites the adult to come unto Him, because they are sinners, and only by accepting the invitation can they hope to be saved. If now the invitation: "Come unto me," means substantially the same thing in its relation to the adult and children, then the duty of acceptance which it imposes is also substantially the same in its relation to both classes of persons. I need not prove at length the ability of little children to come to Christ. Our author admits this in language sufficiently plain and strong. He says: "Infants though they be, requiring parental arms to bear them, they can as effectually and savingly come to Christ as adults, and by an easier approach." p. 86, 87. Of course they cannot come in the same way, that the adult come. For the latter shall come personally in the way of faith, repentance and prayer: deny themselves, believe in Christ and thus receive Him in the fulness of His mediatorial character as their Prophet, Priest

and King. The former, however, cannot come exactly in this way: for they have no sense of sin, no knowledge of guilt, and they cannot repent. Yet they too shall come to be "apprehended" by the grace of God in Christ Jesus. Believing parents shall therefore bring them to the minister of Christ, and ask him to "put his hands on them and pray;" and he shall receive and bless them in the name of Christ, and they have the assurance: "of such is the kingdom of heaven." Baptism I conceive to be the divinely appointed means of bringing them to Him; and of such *baptized* children, it may be said, in our author's language which he uses with reference to the children in the incident before us, "what was visible and corporeal, was but the symbol and pledge of deeper and invisible spiritual operations," p. 81; that Baptism involves for them "a true spiritual approach to Him in His mediatorial character," p. 85; that they are "received" into His inmost and saving love, p. 86; "that some special efficacy was connected with the act," p. 89; and that grace "streamed from the Divine hands of Jesus into the souls of these little children, as really as the life of the vine transfuses itself through the smallest and tenderest shoots," p. 90. His remarks on the reception of these children, and the significance of the imposition of the Saviour's hands are so good, that I can scarcely resist the temptation to transcribe them.

We are told Langé proposes that the words "of such," be rendered: "because *for* such is the kingdom of heaven." This proposition would be also as favorable, if not more favorable, than the common version to my interpretation of these words of Christ. If you ask *for* whom is the kingdom of heaven prepared, the reply must be, for those who are saved through Christ.

To confirm the view he takes of this passage of Scripture, our author quotes the additional remark of St. Mark and St. Luke: "Verily, I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall in no wise enter therein." After explaining how a little child receives the kingdom of God, he says: "It is thus, and

thus most prominently, that Jesus holds up these, and through them as types, all infants, as model members of His spiritual kingdom." p. 108. What infants are thus held up by the Lord himself as model members of His spiritual kingdom? Surely not "*all infants.*" This is again begging the question; and it also destroys the point of comparison. But those infants, that were thus brought unto Him, and had made a "true spiritual approach to Him in His mediatorial character," are the model members of His spiritual kingdom. By admitting that "all infants," even those who never come to Christ, are model members, is virtually representing Him as teaching that the adult can be saved without accepting His invitation: "Come unto me." It is therefore not correct to say, that "they—that is these words—seem plainly to teach that every little child receives the kingdom of heaven." p. 108. Neither can his amplification be admitted: "Whosoever does not receive the kingdom of heaven *as (every) little child receives it*, shall in no wise enter therein." Christ says simply *τα παιδια*.

I presume there is scarcely another passage of Scripture which is more frequently misinterpreted and misapplied than this: "Suffer the little children to come unto me," &c., and I make this remark at the risk of being charged with a similar offence. To say nothing of "pious and devout commentators," there are also many other persons ever ready to claim the promise without complying with the condition. If a child dies, it is often very consolingly said, "of such is the kingdom of heaven," without asking whether it was brought unto Christ or not. The eyes are thus joyfully fixed upon the words which contain the promise, whilst those are quietly passed by upon which that promise is based.

Our author also quotes the following words of Christ as being in favor of his position: "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones: for I say unto you that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." "Even so it is not the will of

your heavenly Father that one of these little ones should perish." Matth. xvii: 10–14. It will be observed that our Lord does now in this passage say, not "little ones," but "*these* little ones," which evidently implies that they were before Him and that He also very likely pointed to them. If this was the case, they too had been brought unto Him, and I can also appeal to these words in favor of my interpretation.

"*For the promise is unto you, and your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.*" Acts 11: 39. p. 118. This is the next passage of Scripture quoted in favor of the author's doctrine. I cheerfully admit that it asserts in plain terms that the promise is unto the Jews and their children, and also unto the Gentiles and their children—that all are included in that New and Better Covenant and therefore invited without distinction to come to Christ. "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." It will be observed that it says not whether some or all the children will be saved: it simply affirms a "promise," which shows that provision is made for their redemption and that now the means shall be used to secure it. This is the same argument of inclusion in the Covenant which we have already had under consideration: we need therefore not repeat our remarks.

"*Therefore, as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation: even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.*" Rom. 5: 18, 19. p. 128. This we are told is "another special Scripture proof of this cheering doctrine." Being a "special" proof, it claims our earnest attention. The conclusion of this argument is as follows: "As many as were made sinners without their moral assent, 'by one man's disobedience,' and who die before they reach the age in which men become personally responsible," so many, *at least*, shall

"by the obedience of one be made righteous." The whole human race was originally treasured up potentially in Adam, as its first representative, and when he sinned, his sons and daughters sinned in him. Christ the second representative of the human race, made an atonement, which is fully commensurate with the sin entailed by Adam on his posterity and also fully sufficient for all the actual sins of men. Their inclusion in Adam is the ground of their sinfulness by nature, and also constitutes their right to inherit that fatal legacy which he bequeathed to them. But something more than that inclusion is required: for unless a child is born naturally, it never comes into actual possession of original sin. "By the offence of one, judgment came upon all men unto condemnation" as they were included potentially in their federal head: but that judgment comes upon them individually in the form of an actual punishment only by their natural birth. For as long as a child is not "born of the flesh," it is subject to no pain, no sorrow and no death. Their natural birth is therefore necessary not only to become actual members of the human race, but also to inherit original sin. So on the other hand, Christ by virtue of his incarnation took up humanity as a whole, and thus he was prepared to make an atonement "for the sins of the whole world." 1 John 2: 2. This is the ground of salvation and constitutes the right to receive it. But something more again than this is required: for unless a child is now born spiritually it can never come into actual possession of the righteousness of Christ. "By the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life," as they were again included in Christ their second federal Head: but this free gift comes upon them individually in the form of an actual salvation only by their spiritual birth. This is therefore necessary to secure an "actual participation in the redemption of Jesus Christ." In proof of this I can appeal to the second section of our author's treatise, in which he affirms and vindicates the necessity of Infant Regeneration. The fallacy of his argument before us, consists therefore in

tacitly assuming that all little children "have been joined to Christ in regeneration." He admits the necessity; but fails to furnish us with the proof that *all are* regenerated. "As by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation: even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." You cannot infer, however, that all little children are "born of the Spirit," because they are "born of the flesh." Many shall be made righteous in Christ by His obedience, just as many were made sinners in Adam by his disobedience: but now as the natural birth is necessary in the case of the latter to inherit original sin, so the spiritual birth is necessary in the case of the former to inherit that righteousness which has been procured for them. As pertinent as our author's arguments are in proving the necessity of Infant Regeneration, so pertinent are they also in requiring him to prove that all little children are regenerated, before he can affirm their salvation.

"But the promised seed of the woman so far counteracts and remedies this sore evil—(viz: of the fall),—that none perish eternally because of that entailed condemnation. The inherited penalty is annulled." p. 133. What becomes now of the original or inherited sins of the adult? According to this view, they were forgiven and the penalty was annulled, when they were little children. Or was all this taken back again, when they grew up to manhood and did "by their own free, personal act willfully cleave" to their sins? It seems to me if sins are once forgiven, and if a penalty is once annulled, they are gone forever. Or is this sore evil of the fall counteracted and remedied, and is this inherited penalty annulled, only in the case of those who die in infancy? If so, by what authority does he make such a distinction in regard to inherited sin, between those who go down to an early grave, and those who grow up to manhood? Were they not in all respects alike in infancy? Did they not sustain the same relation to Adam, and also precisely the same to Christ? Surely if all little children "are destined by His grace to be received into

His arms as soon as they are born," their advantages must be alike. How can our author, therefore, according to this view, successfully maintain the doctrine of original sin in regard to the adult? That the Heidelberg Catechism calls for their "original as well as actual sins," will appear when we come to notice his last argument. The adulterer, the murderer and the pirate were once little children, and had they died in their infancy, I presume some would have been sure of their salvation. In speaking of Judas Iscariot, Christ tells us: it had been good for that man, not if he had died in infancy, but if he had not been born. Matth. xxvi. 24.

As already remarked, the conclusion our author draws from this passage of Scripture, is this, as many as were made sinners without their moral assent 'by one man's disobedience,' and die in infancy, "so many at least, shall by the obedience of one be made righteous." To confirm his opinion "that St. Paul really meant to affirm this very doctrine," he quotes the following: "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." 1 Cor. xv. 22. p. 136. This death in Adam the author refers to a bodily death, and being made alive in Christ, he refers to the resurrection from the dead. But resurrection is certainly not righteousness. To "revive the bodies of these little slumberers in their narrow tombs," is not making them "righteous." To establish his view of the previous passage, he ought to have planted himself upon universalistic ground, and said, as all were made sinners in Adam, so shall all be made righteous in Christ. But from such an interpretation he shrunk, when he came to explain these words. The two passages are not exactly alike, and hence cannot be used in this way. For the former refers to sin in Adam and righteousness in Christ: but the latter refers to temporal death in Adam, and the resurrection in Christ from the dead.

He uses also the passage of Scripture before us as an argument, if not directly at least indirectly, to prove his doctrine. Every one, I suppose will admit, that all, the

adult and children, became mortal in Adam, and that all will be raised up from their graves by Christ. But now although He will raise up all little children from their narrow tombs, it does by no means follow, that all will therefore be saved. He will also raise up all the adult from their graves, and yet this is no proof of their salvation. If this passage teaches universal infant salvation, it also teaches universal adult salvation. For St. Paul does not distinguish in this case between infants and the adult: he includes both in the word "all" in each proposition. I am pleased to find that our author by his own interpretation, has not only destroyed his argument, but also escaped the charge of teaching Universalism. For he has limited this being "made alive" to the resurrection, and resurrection is not salvation. Christ tells us there is a "resurrection of life," and also a "resurrection of damnation." John v. 89.

His remarks in regard to the good even infants may accomplish, their birth day, their sickness, their death, and their graves, are beautiful, and well calculated to touch the hearts of parents. Some scenes are thus vividly brought before their minds, through which they have passed, and in which they have been deeply interested.

Finally he says: "The last Scripture proof of the doctrine of general Infant Salvation which I shall adduce, is furnished by *the revealed object of the final judgment.*" p. 144. The only ground of everlasting condemnation in the judgment day, he tells us, will be personal sins freely committed by the sentenced transgressor. I cannot expose and refute the error of this argument better than by quoting the language of the Heidelberg Catechism. The tenth Question asks: "Will God suffer such disobedience and rebellion to go unpunished? Answer. By no means, but is terribly displeased with our original as well as actual sins: and will punish them in his judgment temporally and eternally." Actual sins and personal sins, I presume are synonymous terms. It will be observed that according to the Catechism, God is terribly displeased with our *original* as well as actual or personal sins, and will *punish*

them, (the original as well as the actual or personal sins) temporally and *eternally*. Is it then correct to say: "the *only ground* of everlasting condemnation in the judgment day, will be *personal sins* freely committed by the sentenced transgressor"? There is evidently a discrepancy between this statement and the doctrine of the Heidelberg Catechism in regard to the object of the final judgment. If the doctrine of general Infant Salvation requires such a view of the judgment, it is *prima facie* evidence of its erroneousness.

He says: "Read the Saviour's description of the character of those who shall then go away into everlasting punishment, and tell me, can departed infants be included in that class"? p. 145. I answer by saying: Read the Saviour's description of the character of those who shall then go into everlasting life, and tell me, are departed infants included in that class? Again he asks: "When did they deny Him before men, that it should be supposed He would deny them before His Father in heaven"? I reply by asking: When did they confess Him before men, that it should be supposed He would confess them before His Father in heaven? Equally irrelevant are his remarks in regard to the character of barren fig trees, the unprofitable servant, and the guests that spurned the wedding garment. It is a rule: "From negative premises you can infer nothing."

It seems to me, the esteemed author has omitted a strong, if not one of the strongest arguments in favor of Infant Salvation. It is found in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans vi: 3–5: "*Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection.*" Being thus buried with Christ by baptism into His death, infants participate in the grace of the Gospel, and in this way the benefits of his me-

diatorial work are not only promised to them, but also transferred to them. Being planted together in the likeness of His death, they shall also be planted in the likeness of His resurrection. This argument of course proves the salvation only of the *baptized*, not of the unbaptized. Are not therefore these words of Paul a refutation of the doctrine, that all children are saved, whether baptized or not.?

His doctrine of general Infant Salvation, necessarily implies that some will be saved without baptism, (for it is known that many die who have not been baptized) and yet the author wishes to show the importance of Infant Baptism in the fourth section of his treatise. A question, therefore, meets him in the beginning, which he states in the following words: "But why, if children dying in infancy will certainly be saved, whether baptized or not, why have them baptized at all." p. 158. I have endeavored to give his replies to this queston "a candid consideration," but must confess they do not satisfy me: for it seems to me, his arguments and illustrations serve to prove only the *right* of infants to be baptized. That I am not mistaken, is evident from his own concluding remark. For he says: "If, therefore, the considerations just presented satisfy you, as I think they must, that even such children, (viz: those dying in infancy) *are entitled* to the sacrament," &c. p. 162, 163. See also p. 161. That all children have a *right* to be baptized, because they are included in the covenant, and because redemption from sin is promised to them, all will admit who have faith in the doctrine of the Heidelberg Catechism. But this is not answering the question: "Why have them baptized at all, if they will certainly be saved without baptism?" By admitting their certain salvation, it will be no easy matter to prove the necessity, or even the importance of Infant Baptism. And this is one of the most common and plausible objections to it. Just so soon as parents think it unnecessary or even unimportant, they will neglect to have their children baptized. Were I an unbeliever, I would be disposed to say:

He tells me that my unbaptized child will be saved, and that is all I want. I ask not what he says of Infant Depravity, and Infant Regeneration and Infant Baptism: he may adduce never so many passages of Scripture in favor of these doctrines, and be never so logical in stating and explaining, and never so eloquent in defending them; if in the end he only assures me that my child will be saved, I am satisfied. By giving me this assurance, he tells me that his *baptized* child is no better than mine, and mine is no worse than his: that his has gained nothing, and mine lost nothing. For *both are saved.* Why therefore baptize it? Please prove the necessity of Infant Baptism, after admitting the certain salvation of the unbaptized.

In this connexion I most respectfully remind the esteemed author of his own language. In speaking of the neglect of Infant Baptism, he says: "It is because infants are thought to be somehow released from innate sin and sure of salvation, even independently of the Gospel plan of salvation, that it is held to be practically unimportant, or at least unessential, whether they be baptized or not." p. 15. Does he not himself think they are "*somehow released from innate sin and sure of salvation,*" by allowing their salvation without baptism? Does he not also hold it "to be *practically* unimportant, or at least *unessential,* whether they be baptized or not?" Perhaps, however, he may answer, not "independently of the Gospel plan of salvation." But pray what is this Gospel plan of salvation? Undoubtedly the redemption through the Lord Jesus Christ. The atonement, however, by itself as long as it remains without and beyond man, will not save him: it must pass over to him, to deliver him from the law of sin and death, and impart to him a new principle of life and immortality. He admits this in the following words: "We do know, likewise, that in order to be saved by Jesus Christ, they must be found in Christ, be quickened in their souls by Him and have His atonement really applied to them." p. 42. But how "applied?" The power of the Holy Ghost is truly necessary: but must not also means

be used, not only in the case of the adult, but even in the case of little children? The redeemed are miracles of grace, saved in a mysterious way, but not without means. Just as Christ used means in performing miracles—clay to open the eyes of the blind, bread and fishes to feed the hungry, and water to make wine,—so he also uses means, even *his own*, in making us participants in the blessings of his atonement. Hence he appointed the Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Supper, and so solemnly enjoined their use. Are they not means to be used in carrying out that plan?

In all covenants with man something must be done on his part. Thus, for instance, all the members of the human race were included potentially in "the first covenant made with Adam in Paradise." And yet that inclusion by itself was not sufficient: there was to be obedience or disobedience. Adam disobeyed, and that disobedience of their federal head was the means of bringing death upon the whole race. Rom. 5: 12. So also in the Abrahamic covenant. All the children of the Jews were included in it, and entitled to all the temporal and spiritual blessings of Judaism. And yet they did not receive these blessings, unless they were circumcised. Circumcision was the divinely appointed means of receiving them into the covenant and of preparing them to enjoy its advantages. They had not only a *right* to be circumcised, but the circumcision was the means or the condition upon the fulfillment of which life itself as well as all the blessings of Judaism were suspended. The uncircumcised were excluded from the covenant and disinherited. All male children were accordingly to be circumcised: and in case a child, though included in the covenant and entitled to its blessings, was not circumcised, it was not allowed to inherit the blessings of God's people. For the Lord told Abraham: "That soul shall be cut off." In their case the promise did not "hold unconditionally good." If "denied the sacrament by the negligence or unbelief of parents," were they not excluded from the covenant, disinherited and put to death? Was

it not "thus in the power of a skeptical father or mother," to prevent them from enjoying life, together with all the advantages of the people of God? Our author tells us: "Indeed if they neglected it they should be condignly punished, (I say they, the negligent parents, not the unoffending children) by being at once deprived of those children, of whom they thus proved themselves so unworthy." p. 166. He thus admits in terms sufficiently plain the necessity of circumcision as a condition of enjoying the privileges of Judaism. Such negligent parents, it is true, were punished by sustaining the loss of their children: but the punishment itself fell most directly and heavily upon the children themselves. For they lost far more than the parents did. Their loss was life itself, together with the enjoyment of the temporal and spiritual blessings of Judaism. Gen. xvii: 14. Were not their exclusion, dispossession and temporal death significant? Did they not point to something similar beyond that which was seen and temporal? Did not the covenant look to a spiritual and eternal inheritance, of which Canaan was but a type? It will be remembered that these uncircumcised children were thus excluded, disinherited and put to death, according to a divine command. Their death was not accidental, nor even the result of some malignant disease, which had baffled the physician's skill, but it was a punishment inflicted by a judicial sentence. If unworthy of a temporal life and a residence in Canaan, why worthy of a spiritual life and a home in heaven? If not fit to be with the Jews in the temple at Jerusalem, why fit to be in the upper Sanctuary? Could it be said of them in that popular, but questionable language, "early lost to be early saved?" If they were "unoffending," the punishment seems to have been unjust. They had no voice in deciding the question of their circumcision, just like the sons and daughters of Adam were not consulted in regard to the propriety of eating the forbidden fruit in the garden, yet that did not screen them from suffering the penalty. The descendants of Adam might just as well be called "unoffending:" and yet of

them it must be said individually, what is said of the uncircumcised male child of the Jews, "he hath broken my covenant."

Now we are told: "Baptism was substituted in the place of circumcision." p. 168. Very true. See also Heidelberg Catechism, Quest. 74. Our author declares, "the fact itself is undeniable. St. Paul affirms it in Colossians 2: 11, 12." What is the inference? If the disobedience of Adam was necessary to bring death upon his descendants, and if circumcision was necessary in the Abrahamic covenant to secure the blessings of Judaism, is not Baptism in like manner necessary to secure the blessings of the New and Better Covenant? If indeed, "This law of the Old dispensation was transferred to the New dispensation," p. 168, are not now the unbaptized like the uncircumcised, also excluded and disinherited? If simply "the outward *form* of the sacrament was changed," it seems to me, that then Baptism is equally necessary in the New dispensation. The attentive reader feels that our author's argument of circumcision proves too much for him. For in speaking of the circumcision of the Gentile proselytes, *adults and children*, he says: "This was made the *invariable condition* of their being admitted to that great typical feast of the Jews, which so prëeminently foreshadowed the spiritual blessings of the Better Covenant." p. 167. It accordingly establishes not only the "*right*" to be baptized, but also the necessity. And this is more than he wants—more than is consistent with his doctrine of Infant Salvation. If circumcision was "*the invariable condition*," is not Baptism also "*the invariable condition*," because of its substitution? With such examples of the conditions of the covenant before me, and his admission of the necessity of circumcision, I cannot admit the conclusion that all children will certainly be saved, whether baptized or not.

In conclusion, I most respectfully quote the author's statement of the benefits of Infant Baptism as a refutation of his doctrine of general Infant Salvation. Those benefits are as follows, viz:

1. *In Baptism the child receives, through the promised mercy of God in Jesus Christ, immediate release from the penalty of original sin by a formal covenant transaction.*" p. 177.

2. The second benefit secured, *is the official removal, from the child properly baptized, of the stain or pollution of native depravity.*" p. 177, 178.

3. The third benefit, *is the present renewal of the nature of the child in Christ Jesus by the Holy Ghost.*" p. 179.

4. The last direct benefit which he specifies, *is that God graciously receives such children into special covenant relationship with Himself through Jesus Christ, makes them the objects of His peculiar care, mercifully promises to bestow upon them such spiritual blessings as will promote the growth of grace granted at their baptism.*" p. 180, 181.

It will be seen that he does not hesitate to say in plain terms what he regards as the benefits of Infant Baptism, and I have no disposition to quarrel with him in regard to this point, yea I am rather pleased that he represents Baptism as a means of grace, and therefore rises above many modern authors who look upon it as an empty form. If now, however, *in Baptism the child receives immediate release from the penalty of original sin—if Baptism is the official removal of the stain of native depravity—if it is the present renewal of the nature of the child in Christ Jesus by the Holy Ghost*, and if *grace was granted to it at its baptism*, what becomes now of the *unbaptized* children? If these are the benefits of Baptism, then the unbaptized cannot possess them, or are they communicated in some other way? And yet we are assured they are saved. Can they be saved without these benefits—without a release from the penalty of original sin, without the official removal of the stain of native depravity, without the present renewal of their nature in Christ Jesus, and without grace being granted unto them? To allow the certain salvation of the unbaptized is virtually to say that those benefits are after all of little or no account so far as their ultimate happiness is concerned. It is saying to the baptized, You have gained nothing in the end; and to the unbaptized, You have lost nothing. You

are both saved. If, therefore, the above mentioned benefits are really of any account in securing the salvation of the baptized, they are to that extent a refutation of the doctrine of general Infant Salvation.

Taking all these things together,—"keeping in view the Saviour's treatment of little children, and His declaration concerning them,"—remembering that all covenants have certain conditions, upon the fulfilment of which their blessings are suspended,—adding to these the argument of St. Paul in Romans 6: 3–5, and the above described benefits of Infant Baptism,—let me ask, has the respected author established the doctrine, that all little children dying in infancy will certainly be saved, whether baptized or not?

I have examined this little volume with much interest, and I trust also with profit: but failing to establish this doctrine, it has served only to strengthen the view which I held before. Had the author limited himself to the salvation of baptized children, the most of his arguments would be relevant and forcible, and his book would be calculated to do much good: but by allowing himself to include all children, and thus even the unbaptized, he has involved himself in inconsistency and neutralized some of his forcible statements. I cannot conclude without expressing my regret that I have found it necessary to differ with a beloved brother in the ministry on such an interesting and important subject as Infant Salvation.

N. S. S.

Pottstown, Pa.

Art. III.—THE CLOSING CHAPTERS OF THE BOOK OF JOB. THE IDEA OF THE DIVINE SOVREIGNTY.

The Epic Drama of Job, as we may style it without irreverence, or detracting, in the least, from its claim to the highest inspiration, is divided into three distinct parts, the introductory prose narrative or prologue, the intervening discourses from chapter iii. to chapter xxxviii., and the grand finale. The great thought of the book is suggested in the first, its explanation is given in the third; the middle part, though by far the largest, is incidental and preparatory to this development. If this view be correct, then the key is to be found in the introduction. The wonder is that commentators should have thought of looking any where else for it. We should rather say, the key so far as it can be found at all; for it becomes the great question whether this is not the real design of the book, to teach us the incomprehensibility of the divine ways, or the negative, yet by no means barren, fact, that God's dealings with men and earthly things have not always their ultimate reference to men themselves, but are sometimes grounded, or may be grounded, wholly or partially, in reasons belonging to the super-human and super-earthly sphere. We are ever seeking such reason in the human destiny in itself considered, or in something which may be regarded as mere human discipline either in this world, or for the world to come. And this may be true, if by human discipline be meant unquestioning submission to the divine will whether understood or not, and that on the ground of an a priori conviction that such will must be connected with an infinite knowledge and an infinite goodness. There are reasons, high and holy reasons, but these may altogether transcend the sphere of earth. Man may be their im-

mediate subject, and yet they may have ultimate reference to something altogether aside from human destiny. Thus there is an intimation, and more than an intimation, that even the Church is not for itself alone, or that its mere human salvation, though so important and exclusive an aim for us, is not the highest end as concerns the universe of ascending powers, or the wider kingdom of God—"Which thing the angels desire to stoop down that they may see,—" That now unto Principalities and Powers in the Heavens, there might be made known, through the Church, the *greatly varied* (πολυποίκιλος) or manifold wisdom of God."

Such a thought is impressed upon us in the opening scene of this book. We may call it a mythical accommodation, or a transcending actuality, yet still the great truth remains the same. Not only is the transaction super-earthly but the reasons are super-earthly. Human happiness, human integrity, human discipline are involved in the trial, but it is not ultimately made, nevertheless, for human happiness, or human culture, in any sense that we can see, or for any thing terminating in human destiny in itself considered, or aside from the universal divine government. It is, indeed, "written for our learning," but the lesson we are to learn, and which it may do us good to learn, is, that both our destiny and our discipline are connected with things beyond the human, things we cannot know, and to which, therefore, we must submit without knowledge, unless He who is higher than all choses to reveal it unto us, —in other words, that the reasons of the divine proceedings in this world must be often incomprehensible, except so far as this very fact of incomprehensibility is taught us for our discipline in faith, and unquestioning assent to the divine righteousness. Paradoxical as it may seem, there may be a revelation of the highest value *in* the unknown, and *of* the unknown. Man may be the earthly exponent, and it is much for him to know, it may be salutary for him to know, that he may be the earthly exponent of problems that relate to Principalities, and Powers, and Thrones, and Dominions, good and evil,—that his earthly drama is, in

short, connected with other worlds, widely separate in space and rank from the human sphere. We do indeed revolt at the thought that our sufferings here serve merely as the solution of curious problems for beings of a higher order, or that they constitute merely an experimentum factum in corpore vili, according to that philosophy, or that theology, which would ever sacrifice the parts for the wholes, the individuals for the races, the races for that soulless abstraction the "whole of being." This cannot be the true doctrine of the divine sovreignty. We get it not from revelation, we get it not from conscience; it is not human pride but a true faith in God that rebels against it. It comes from the blind study of the physical orders.

> 'Tis Nature lends this evil dream,
> So careful of the type she seems,
> So careless of the single life.

But we cannot receive it. The individual must have something that is for itself; whatever has been truly informed by the eternal Word must have its *proprium*, however far down it may be in the scale. Even in the lowest forms of life God must have some higher thought than is declared by this all-sacrificing theory. Our heart goes here with one who has been called a sceptical poet,

> That not a worm is cloven in vain,
> That not a moth with vain desire
> Is shrivelled in a fruitless fire,
> Or but subserves another's gain.

Even the lower creations "wait with longing for the manifestation of the sons of God," and little as we are in ourselves revelation assures us, as nothing else can assure us, that our Maker does not cast us off. "We must needs die, and we seem like water spilled upon the ground that cannot be gathered up again, yet does God devise means that his remote ones be not wholly expelled from him,"*—*ne penitus pereat qui abjectus est.* Both Scripture and conscience, or the a priori light of the soul, require of us to hold this firmly, and yet, in perfect consistency with it, it is good

* 2 Samuel xiv: 14.

for us to think, it may be even elevating for us to think, that the ratio we bear to lower things may be similar to the ratio that is borne to us by powers and worlds above. It is not good for man to fancy himself at the summit, or any where near the summit of created being. He rises when he sees his lowliness, in other words, the hight above him. Faith is the spiritually ennobling power, with whatever physical rank of being it may be connected. The Scripture describes man as a worm, but when he gets a view of his Father God looking down upon him a vertice coeli, then it is that the more humble his place the more sublime his thought, the greater his true moral worth as he rejoices in the ranks of being above and the glory of God as manifested therein, yea the clearer his vision of the divine heavens as he gazes upward from the sight-aiding valley of humiliation.

In this ancient* book of Job the curtain of the invisible is slightly withdrawn, and we have a glimpse of this idea. The scene opens with the heavenly throne, the Sons of God, the Great Malignant Power. There is a defiant denial of any such thing as true goodness or true faith on the part of a finite being, of any true submission to God on the ground of the unquestioned divine power as ever fulfilling the command of a divine wisdom and a divine goodness. It is assumed that there can be no unselfish submission having as its reason faith in the holy without reference to any present or future life, or to any discipline or destiny, or any conceivable good or happiness, near or remote, that might be regarded as the *motive*, or the selfish moving cause to such submission. "Job does not serve God for nought." And this the Evil One means to affirm of every finite being. No one serves God for nought. He denies that there can be any act that does not proceed from

* It is well known that the antiquity claimed for this book is denied by some modern criticism. There is not space nor time, in the present article for its proof, and the writer can only say here that a careful study of its internal evidence has fully convinced him that Herder is right in assigning it a date older than any writings of Moses.

a near or a remote, a gross or refined, a carnal or a spiritual selfishness. There can be no pure love of right, no unselfish submission to God because he is God, no rapt adoration of the Holy One on the ground of his holiness unseen in its reasons yet unquestioned as to its essence and idea. Thus it will be seen that a future life for the sufferer cannot furnish the solution of the problem, and is, therefore, not to be looked for as furnishing the express or implied lesson of the book. No doctrine of compensations either in this world or another can satisfy this malignant yet most sublime question. Satan might still reply, and the reply would have received still an addition to its force: "Does Job serve God for nought?"

In the dramatic representation it is God who first makes the challenge. He knew, what Satan could form no conception of, that there might be a finite being,—one very low, it might be, in the physical scale—who could yet partake of the infinite unselfishness. He knew that his almighty power and grace could bring forth and sustain such a being. "Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in all the earth, a man whole and straight, (*integer et rectus*) a man fearing God and departing from evil?" It is vehemently denied by the fallen angel,—such a man does not exist, such integrity cannot be found. It is even implied that God himself could not make such an one. All are as evil as himself. All virtue is but a barter, all righteousness but a bargain of some kind. Job's fear of God is not the transcending, holy, self-forgetting reverence—the reality of any such thing is utterly denied—but a crouching service for pay; his love is, at the highest but a selfish gratitude, a carnal complacency in the blessings so abundantly showered upon him. Change thy dealings with him, and his moral relations, his moral character, are instantly changed. Right, for him, no longer exists when severed from all connection with his happiness, his destiny, as the measuring standard. "Put forth thy hand now." The Hebrew particle here is very expressive. It is a sneering disjunctive implying a strong negation like the Greek *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ*—"No, no, just try him

now," or as the Vulgate well renders it, *sed extende paululum manum tuum*, "but put forth thine hand only ever so little," lay but a finger on him, touch any thing that he possesses, and see "if he will not curse* thee to thy face." A full commission is given to try the experiment, and the evil angel goes out from the presence of the Lord.

Here then is the great design of the book. It is the settlement of the question thus started in the super-human world. The defeat of Satan, the moral power of God triumphant in the fact of such a faith, and such an integrity, even though brought out in this poor inhabitant of the lower sphere,—this is a finale far beyond any conceived of in the Homeric or Miltonic drama. It is for the soul of Job they contend;† this is both the prize and the scene of the conflict. On the one side is the Mightiest of Apostate powers, on the other "Michael the great Prince of his people,"‡ the Good Angel, or the Angel of Good who figures so largely in the eastern traditions, and who is not obscurely alluded to in the intervening chapters of this book. It is the Angel of the Presence, the מלאך מליץ, the *Angelus intercedens*, or "One among a thousand"§ It is "the Witness in the Heavens" the "Watcher on high,"‖ It is the Goel or next of kin, the Redeemer anciently proclaimed, the אדרון, the last Adam, or *Survivor* Kinsman,¶ the "Avenger of blood" who was to stand over their dust and redeem his slain brethren from the dominion of Hades. Such is the conflict; but to reveal this is not the end of the poem; at least we are not told so. Such is the discipline, and such the human hope that emerges from it; but again, to reveal this

* We are satisfied that this old rendering of ברך gives the true force of this much disputed passage. Still it comes to very much the same thing on the other rendering if we observe carefully the force of the adjuring particles אם and לא. "And see *now whether or no* he will bless thee to thy face?"

† Compare the Iliad xxii: 161.

‡ Daniel x: 13–21; xii: 1.

§ Job xxxiii: 23.

‖ Job xvi: 19, "Testis meus in coelo, conscius meus in excelsis."

¶ Job xix: 25.

is not the end of the drama; at least we are not told so. Neither is it to teach us the fact of another life, or the need of a hope in another life to clear up the problems of this. On the contrary, we are surprised to find how it is kept out of view, or thrown in the back ground when introduced, as it is sometimes, incidentally, and for collateral effect. Here and there are glimpses of such an idea coming in rather as a musing soliloquy or a wondering conception barely presented to the mind, whether as an individual suggestion or as a part of the better thinking of the age, and then dismissed as having little or no connection with the argument or the denoument of the drama. There passes before the soul, occasionally, the transient thought of another state of being, sometimes as the promptings of suffering, or again as the old Arabian idea of some future renovation of man and the earth, but it immediately departs, leaving the darkness dense as ever, the great question still unanswered. The remembrance of the old promise of the Goel or Redeemer gives a momentary strength. In such passages as Job xix: 25, he seems to have for the time a vivid concepton that some Great One is contending for him against the malign evil power, but the thought is not pursued. Even after that great expression of trust in the conquering Redeemer which he wished "engraved as a testimony upon the rock forever," how soon do we find him talking again in the same desponding querulous strain: "why do the wicked live, why do they grow old, why do they increase in power and prosperity?"

What some have thought the great question of the drama receives no solution in these intervening discourses. But perhaps it is awaiting the denoument; the previous darkness is all the greater, that the light when it breaks upon us, may be the more brilliant. When the donoument comes however the problem remains still unsolved. Not only is the future life in its connection with the present destiny still kept out, but no allusion is made to any subordinate idea connected with it, as preparatory to such a revelation, or as showing the need of it. In fact, it

stands wholly aside, as furnishing, even if revealed, no adequate solution of the question with which the poem opens as started in the super-earthly scene. The whole of human destiny, regarded by itself, and separate from all things else in the universe, would not be sufficient for such an explanation. It would be only taking us a step beyond the present, it would still be partial and is, therefore, wholly left out in this mysterious close, whose only lesson seems to be that first, and, for man, most necessary, doctrine, that "Gods ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts,"—that "*he can do all things*," and that we are to believe that all that he doeth is right, good, holy, just, merciful, whether we can see how it is or not. Interesting as is the knowledge of a future life, there is a higher still. Such a submissive unquestioning faith on the part of a finite being is of more value, it is, indeed, a higher spiritual attainment, it brings us nearer to God himself, than any amount of knowledge, ever, as knowledge, unsatisfactory, because, as knowledge, it must be not only imperfect but ever infinitely far from the perfect. Without such faith, too, coming first, the knowledge would not be true knowledge; for here, if any where, must that great maxim of Anselm hold true, *Credo ut intelligam*. We must believe that we may understand.

May we not see in this thought something of a reason for that mysterious reserve which, throughout the Old Testament, is maintained in respect to a future life. It was not good for man that he should be first taught this knowledge that he was to live again, and how he was to live again. It might make him presumptuous, speculative, full of the conceit of a curious spiritual science, unless something else were previously taught which might turn such knowledge to good, and make it a means of humility instead of the vain theorising of the reason, or the lawless roving, of the imagination.

There is, indeed in the Old Scriptures the thought of a divinely sustained future life, and yet we may say it is but a thought, a hope, not expressly revealed any where but

some how springing up in the human soul and ripened by the divine Spirit, that there is still for the righteous departed a "living unto God,"* by reason of which hope He is justly styled the "God of the fathers" the "God of his people," "their dwelling place in all generations"† even the generations that are past regarded as still making a continuous living community with generations on the earth.

It is difficult now to separate this thought of another life for man from the theistic idea. We can hardly conceive of a spiritual religion without it. But it was not so in the early world. Men were devout, godly, deeply religious, in other words, they had a true spiritual faith, they regarded themselves as "living to God," and as living in God, although they had none, or the faintest notion of what would become of them after death. There was really something most sublime in this patriarchial faith,—the soul thus standing on the shore of the unknown, before it the great ocean of being, but no glimpse, and only the dimmest hope, of any isle or continent beyond. It was the wonder of the unsearchable, so different from the worldly indifference which grows out of our petty advance in science. Knowing nothing of nature but its greatness and divinity, with history all a blank, having no guide in any outward experience, with no knowlede of what might befall it here or in any world to come, it still trusted God the one great spiritual source of being,—trusted him for its *all* of life, its whole of destiny.

With all its dimness, too, and outward ignorance, this earliest thought of Deity clothed him with epithets that have never been surpassed in sublimity. No where are there such grand names of God as in the book of Genesis. He is El-Shaddai, El-Olam, El-Elion, All-mighty, Eternal, Most High. Each passes beyond every known boundary of the sense,—stronger than all power, enduring beyond all time, higher than all hight. The *conceptual* knowledge

* See our Saviours interpretation of the Old Testament, Luke 20: 38.

† Psalm xc: 1.

attending this patriarchal *idea*, how small, it may be thought, when compared with our science! Yet how unphilosophical in us to regard this limitation of sense imagery as at all the measure of its spirituality! "The strength of the hills," the years beyond the flood, the topmost altitude of the visible sky, such were the bounding phenomenal *conceptions* out of which these epithets arose; but the *idea* (to make the necessary distinction which Hamilton and Mansel so strangely overlook) the *idea* itself, with its three vast *infinities*, eternity, all-mightiness, transcending rank of being, this lay in the patriarchal mind as perfectly *thought* as by our proudest modern science with all its accumulated facts of forces, space, and time.

So stood this grand patriarchal theism. God was all in all. The human destiny was lost sight of in the contemplation, or rather was regarded as wrapped up in it. All living was involved in the idea, and if there was a future life, it was a "living unto God." The first form of the doctrine was that of translation. God took away the righteous to be with Him. And so was it told of Enoch when he was no longer found* on earth. A man so holy, they said, must still be living; somehow and somewhere he still "walked with God." It was a bare thought not yet risen to the rank of a dogma. It was the first faint light dawning upon another existence after the total darkness that followed the primeval sentence of death. A holy life suggests the idea in the minds of men, and all the divine language of the promises, though seeming to carry an earthly aspect, does yet confirm it: "He calls himself their God;" they could not, therefore, be wholly lost, they must, at least, in some sense, "still live unto Him." But of psychological conditions they knew not, they thought not.

* Heb. xi: 5. The Apostle's language, taken from the Septuagint, is a full but a fair translation of Gen. v: 24—"*And he was not.*" Vulgate, *Non apparuit, he appeared no more*, or *he disappeared.* The imperfect tense in the Greek would imply the idea of a failure after continuous search It was a strange disappearance. Men long sought for him afterwards, as they did for the bodies of Moses and Elias, but he could no where be found.

They were learning that other first and greater lesson in theology. The spirit world was the second, only to have its true value for souls here trained in absolute, all yielding submission to the higher dogma. Is there not much in modern experience to show the evil of reversing this order of ideas, of coming to regard the human spiritual destiny as the primary thought in religion, and God as something ministerial or mediate to it. We refer not now to the naturalistic form of spiritualism so rife among us, but to much that appears in the better thinking of the religious world. We may yet learn from the Old Testament. We may see a glory in its theism thus standing alone in its sublimity. Boast as we may of our progress in science and theology, unless this order is preserved, our faith, our reverence, our highest thought of God, may fall far below that of the Syrian Pilgrim, or of this ancient son of the East whose sufferings and experience are recorded in the book before us.

Such was the state of the earliest belief in a life to come; but that other awful doctrine these old Scriptures are full of. Here there is no reserve. Every where are we met with the idea of an absolute divine sovreignty as connected with an absolute divine righteousness in which we are to confide whatever may be the human destiny,—to believe in it all the same, and to adore it all the same, whether man is the creature of a day, and created for brief temporary ends, or has an existence immensely prolonged in the flowing aeons, or even absolutely eternal. When this first faith, this unquestioning submission is not first taught, and carefully preserved at whatever cost, this other dogma of a future life, or a spirit-world, not only becomes a speculative conceit liable to be corrupted (as it was among the Greeks and other heathen nations) both by fancy and philosophy, but may actually lead man farther from God by widening the range and so increaing the power of his unhealed selfishness.

Such seems to be the lesson taught in the close of this wonderful poem. Most readers, we think, will admit their

astonishment at two things, so different do we find them from what something in our own thinking, countenanced, apparently, by certain declarations of the book itself, had led us to expect. The first is the passionate outbreak in the third chapter, or the beginning of the strictly dramatic part; the second disappointment is felt when we come to the sublime theophany at the close. We wonder at the absence there of any such explanation of the mystery as we are led to expect, especially if we follow the common interpretation of the plan and design of the book.

In respect to the first, how abrupt the transition! From God's answer to Satan (ch. 2 : 3) and especially from Job's noble declaration (ch. 1 : 20) after the loss of his property and children, we expect an attitude altogether different from that presented in the opening of the third chapter. "The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken, blessed be the name of the Lord:" the triumph over Satan, whether regarded as God's triumph or Job's triumph, would seem complete. There is indeed something in the second infliction that might seem severer than the first. It consisted not only in the sharp bodily pain he was made to endure, and which, to some human temperaments, is so terribly unendurable, but in the nature of the revelation as tending to produce the despairing thought that he was personally cast out, given over by God to the utmost torment of a most malignant adversary. It has some, though a faint resemblance, to that other mysterious cry which so surprises us by its extreme and unexpected agony—"My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me." Still we are not prepared for the abrupt transition here. Even when Satan had put forth his hand and touched his flesh, he still shows this hearty trust, this sublime patriarchal faith: "Shall we receive good at the hands of God and shall we not receive evil." The acknowledgment of the absolute divine sovreignty and the inconceivability of its doing what is unjust, seems complete. "In all this Job sinned not with his lips nor charged God foolishly."

Seven days and nights of silence are passed, and how

changed the scene! Job opens his mouth and curses his day. Has Satan triumphed, or do we forget that the contest is not between him and his victim, but between Satan and God, or rather the Great Guardian Angel of humanity, the Goel or Redeemer, to whom Job so mysteriously, yet so pathetically, alludes in subsequent passages. This Mighty One is to triumph, but it is to be in his servants weakness. To this final victory the temporary fall was to be subservient. It is not declared that Job was to exhibit no sign of failure. We are not to press the Hebrew word commonly used to denote perfection or integrity to any such extreme. Any other view would make it that false stoicism, so different from the Scriptural resignation to the holy and rational divine will. It would, moreover, leave no room for any dramatic representation; and when we speak thus of the book as a drama, we do not thereby weaken its claim either to inspiration or historical verity. There is to be a real conflict. It is prepared in the superhuman sphere, but it is to be fought here on earth, and in the human spirit. The earthly actor fails in the beginning; he would fail utterly were he not sustained throughout and finally made conqueror by the divine interposition. And this victory too; it is a different one from what many a reader would expect. It is not the victory of insensibility, or of mere endurance; it is not the victory of a soaring philosophy, or of a hyper-religionism making a merit of its humility. Job is all sincere. There is no show, no cant of any kind, no mere sentiment about him. He struggles, he pleads, he argues to the very verge, and sometimes beyond the verge, of irreverence. How bold, yes we may venture to use the word, how manly is he in his expostulations with his Maker: "Why hidest thou thy face from me, and countest me thine enemy? How many are my iniquities, O show me my transgression? Wilt thou show thy power against the leaf that is driven by the wind, wilt thou pursue me as the light stubble? For thou writest bitter things against me, and makest me inherit the sins of my youth: Thy hands have wrought my form, they

have fashioned me all around, and wilt thou destroy me? Yes, I will say unto God, O condemn me not, but tell me why thou strivest with me: Is it good that thou shouldst oppress? Hast thou eyes of flesh? Seest thou as man seest? or are thy days as man's days, that thou dost seek after my iniquity, and make inquisition for my sin? For what is man that thou shouldst make him of such great account, that thou shouldst so set thy mind upon him? that thou shouldst visit him every morning and be trying him every moment? Have I sinned? What, then, have I done unto thee, O thou watcher of men? Why hast thou set me as a mark, *quare posuisti me contrarium tibi?* Why dost thou not take away my sin, and remove from me mine iniquity? Why contendest thou with me? O remember that my life is wind: therefore I refrain not my mouth, I speak in the anguish of my spirit, I complain in the bitterness of my soul." Only a hyper-piety would find fault with this. The spiritual volcano is laid open, but though it sends up strange and even fearful shapes, it is better thus, than if it were covered over by a religionism, not hypocritical indeed but, false and self-deceiving. Instead of thrusting them down again, as though there were some merit in ignoring ourselves, and refusing to look at the uprisings of our hearts, evil and rebellious though they be, Job lets them all come forth. He does not try to feel virtuous simply by shutting his eyes or inducing an artificial consciousness. Instead of regarding such forced suppression as either deliverance or cure, he lets his doubts, his agonizing scepticism have, for the time being, its full and natural course. He argues with his Maker. It is that sublime style of expostulation which so strikes us, and, sometimes, almost terrifies us in the grand Old Testament men of God.

Job means to be truthful at all events. He will not appear better than he is. He would rather submit unconditionally than for any false reason. He does not see his sin, at least the sin they charge him with, and he will make no falsely humble or hypocritical confessions. He will not

even strive to feel humble, merely for the sake of the humility as some fancied virtue, or in the hope of some fancied reward. God is right he knows, but O how he longs to see it, how earnestly he pleads that his Maker would show him wherefore he so fiercely contends with him, and then, after such a struggle, how sublime the real triumph, when, through the divine interposition itself he is brought to see that he must make this confession whether he knows the reason or not. When at last he humbles himself in the dust, in no artifical humility, but in real self-abasement produced by an immediate sense of the divine presence,—when he cries out, "I know that thou canst do all things," "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee, wherefore I abhor myself and repent in dust and ashes"—this was the victory, this was that "saying of Job respecting God," or rather, as it should be translated, "that saying of Job to God," which is pronounced *right*, and which his three friends had not, with all their reasonings, nor even by a sense of the divine presence, been brought to utter. Over them the Evil One still had power. They rested in their traditionary lore which they had received "by the hearing of the ear," their fine-woven arguments respecting the divine equity and providence confined mainly to human destiny, and often seeming to the reader more logically correct, as well as more graphic in their applications to human life, than the passionate ejaculations of the mourner. But they had not been brought to say with Job, "Now mine eye seeth thee," seeth thee in thy terrific power, thy wondrous sovreignty, thy all silencing Majesty, "therefore we abhor ourselves and repent in dust and ashes." Here then was the wondrous difference between them and Job, and not in any inferiority of argument they had exhibited. They had gazed upon the divine interposition, they had, doubtless, been impressed with the sublimity of the storm and the awful voice that proceeded out of it; they might have called it adoration, and prided themselves upon the high conception it had produced of God's physical greatness; but they did not fall on their fa-

ces, they did not say, "we are vile," they did not repent, they did not feel that they and human destiny, and all their arguments respecting human life drawn from itself alone, whether regarded as brief or long, or from the thought of God as subservient to its real or fancied good, were swallowed up, annihilated, as it were, in the inconceivably vaster thought of God's own absolute, eternal, all powerful, all sovreign being. It was in this, and not in their reasonings, that "they did not say unto God the thing that was right," as Job had done; and hence it was that he was accepted, and they were condemned, he was made the holy mediating priest, and they were directed to make their expiation through the sacrifice offered at his hands.

In respect to this second ground of astonishment, much that might be said has been already anticipated. When Deity appears, there is no allusion to the respective arguments. They would appear to be utterly passed by as unworthy the dignity of the scene. God comes not in the whirlwind to decide between the sententiousness of Eliphaz, the treasured lore of Bildad, the high argument of Zophar, the eloquent vindications of Job, and the rhetorical fluency of Elihu. These are all excellent in themselves, a sublime ethics, a noble wisdom, abstractly true, divine, we may truly say, (as coming from fervent men of God moved by the heavenly breath,) yet human in its applications, and, as an argument on the divine ways, presenting after all a human casuistry. Aside from the rich instruction they are all necessary to the plan of the drama, and especially to the closing effect of this inspired poem; yet still may we say reverently, and with all deference for those who have thought otherwise, it is not the design of this closing scene to decide the questions debated or the argumentative merits of the respective speakers. Never was there a sublimer colloquy than that presented in this old Arabian *seance*, yet God does not break through nature merely to become the umpire in such a contest. This was not the issue presented to Satan in the celestial scene. It was to try the faith and the submission of Job, to show that the evil Ac-

cuser was false when he said that even man, low as he might be in the scale of being, could not be brought to submit to God, and "to serve God" from the highest and holiest of motives, or unless he knew that, in some way, such service was connected with his own happiness, or his own fancied good, whether in his earthly or some greater and far more enduring destiny. God pities, indeed, our ignorance, but such a knowledge of the divine ways, if possible for us at all, must be preceded by that very submission which it was the design here to produce. We must first believe that we may understand, and without this, all our reasonings are but a "darkening counsel by words without knowledge."

At all events, whether we are right or not in the interpretation of its meaning, there can be no doubt of the fact of this mysterious omission. Throughout the divine allocution there is no answer to any of the questions which some have supposed it was the design of the book to settle. There is no allusion to any future life as furnishing the key to the mysteries of the present. There is no intimation that it was any purpose of these dramatic scenes to teach any lesson preparatory to such belief, or as leading the mind to feel its necessity either as recompense or explanation. There are, beyond all doubt, allusions in this book to the old Arabian form of belief in a future life as the *ahherat** or renovation, but all this is incidental in the

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* It is the Hebrew אחרית, as it is used in Numb. xxiii: 10. Whosoever examines carefully the frequent use of the word in the Koran, must see that it is not a late dogma brought in by Mohammed, but that he every where refers to it as the doctrine of very early times, which, together with the unity of God, he had come to revive. The wicked are represented scoffing at it as *asatiru 'l-awwalina*, *Fables of the Ancients*, which these earthly men of sense no longer believed. See the Koran *Surat* xxv: 6, and many other places. In its earliest form, it did not correspond exactly either to our idea of the spirit-world, or to the doctrine of the Resurrection. It was the cyclical latter day of the renovation of the heavens and the earth, such as seems to be alluded to in the right interpretation of Ps. cii: 27. It was the *novissimum tempus*, when a new order of things came round and man lived again. Hence Job calls his Goel, or Redeemer, xix: 25, *Ahharon*. He is the *novissimus homo*,

argument, and in the closing words of Deity it is not even alluded to. Human destiny, in all its aspects, present or future, is left wholly out of view. There is one all prevalent, all pervading thought, the absolute divine power as proof of the absolute divine sovreignty.† In this there is, of course, a demand of submission on the ground of an absolute wisdom, and an absolute right, but it is implied. The ideas are strictly inseparable in the full thought concerning God, but for the human mind there is an order of reception. The first is to be learned first, acknowledged first,

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the "Last Adam," the Great Saviour, whose triumph on the earth, or o'er the dust, belongs to the *akharith* or latter day.

This old doctrine of "the Children of the East" we find, too, in the language of Balaam, Numb. xxiii: "Let my death be like that of the righteous, and let my latter end, אחריתי, be like his." The interpretation of the neologist would confine it to the present life, but what an anticlimax does it make, what a sudden collapse in the associated train of thought! This strange Seer who had come from "beyond" the great "river" of the east, is uttering the language of his mysterious trances. He is looking, or supposes himself looking, far down the stream of time. It is in connection with these visions that he sees the hosts coming "out of Chittim," he sees the "humiliation of the Assyrians," he beholds the "Star rising out of Jacob." The *dunia* or *near world*, *al ajalat*, the *rolling or hastening world*, as the Arabians called it. (see Koran xvii: 19, lxxvi: 27, and especially lxxv: 20, where it is put in contrast with *akherat*) is prophetically passing away. There comes before his mind the *mundus novissimus*, the great day of renovation; and how consistent, as well as sublime, the declaration: "Let my death be that of the righteous; let my *akharith*, my lot in the ahharith, or *new world*, be like his." Moriatur anima mea morte justorum, et fiant *novissima* mea horum similia.

† It might be said that this resembles too much the Mohammedan fatalism. But there may be true aspects even in a false religion. We may, perhaps, learn something from the Koran. Especially is it interesting to us when regarded as preserving some of the earliest Arabian (or common Shemitic) belief,—even such a view of the divine sovreignty as we have found in this earliest Arabian poem, now a part of our own Sacred Writings. It is one of the sublimest features of Mohammed's book, this reflection of the old patriarchal faith. The neglect or omission of other views of the divine attributes may have given this an undue relative prominence, but no one can say that in itself it is overstated. As presented, too, in the common Arabian literature, it often commands our reverence as well as our admiration. We may refer to a remarkable example of it in that work of imagination, the Thousand and One Nights. Surrounded as it is there by the fanciful and the absurd, still

and implicitly received as the ground of any true trust is the second and third. When we are assured of the almighty power, then may we joyfully believe that the wisdom cannot fail, the righteousness cannot be inefficient in bringing out all that is wise and right, whether in the sphere of human destiny alone, or in reference to higher spheres or super-human transactions to which the earthly destiny may be wholly or partially subservient.

In presenting this idea it simply remains to give an exegetical interpretation of the passage in which it is principally brought out. There are many things that strongly favor it; there are others that can hardly be reconciled with any other hypothesis.

"And God answered Job out of the *whirlwind*," xxxviii: 1. It is the same Hebrew word we find in Psalm cxlviii: 8 —*Spiritus procellarum faciens verbum ejus*,—"*the storm-wind fulfilling his word*," or rather, in more literal accordance both with the Hebrew and the Latin, that "*carries forth or*

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we cannot help recognizing it as in fact the very doctrine of this book of Job presented in its most affecting form. The poor weary porter with his heavy load sets himself down to rest by the gate of the rich Sinabad. There comes to him the melodious sound of stringed instruments, he hears the voice of warbling birds, he beholds the pomp of servants, slaves, and pages, he gazes upon the luxuries and flowers of the paradise that surrounds the splendid mansion, there blows upon him the odor of exquisite viands and delicious wine; but instead of repining at the unequal distribution of the divine gifts, or "charging God foolishly," or claiming compensation in another life, he raises his eyes to heaven, and thus pours forth his soliloquising hymn of prayer.

"O Lord! O Creator! O Provider! O Ruler of all! Thou givest to whom Thou wilt without reckoning! O Allah, I implore Thy forgiveness, I turn to Thee repenting. O Lord! There is no charging Thee with respect to thy power; for Thou art not to be questioned regarding what Thou doest, and Thou canst do whatever Thou wilt. Extolled be thy perfection! Thou enrichest whom Thou wilt, and whom Thou wilt Thou impoverishest! Thou magnifiest whom Thou wilt, and whom Thou wilt Thou abasest. Glory to Thee, O Allah! How great thy state, how strong thy power! There is no God but Thee. How high thy dignity! How excellent thy government! Thou hast bestowed thy favors upon the owner of this place; Thou hast given him riches, he is surrounded by affluence, he delights himself in pleasant odors and delicious meats, he enjoys the obedience of many servants. Thus hast Thou appointed unto men what Thou wilt, and what Thou hast predes-

utters his voice." It is the voice itself, the terrific tornado, through which more than through any other phenomena in nature there is manifested, or *speaks* to us, the irresistible power of God. And this is the utterance from the beginning to the end of this inexpressibly sublime theophany. It is power, irresistible power, power "that can do all things." No other divine attribute is presented; there is hardly an incidental allusion to any thing else. There seems, now and then, an almost concealed reference to some moral or benevolent purpose, as in v. 15, "*From the wicked their light is taken away,*" but we see, in the immediate context, that "the wicked," the impious, here, are terms rather used to denote the cruel, the gigantic among men; so that the idea of power is still the prevailing one. There is here as throughout, the same ever sustained thought: God can overcome all opposition, no strength can stand against him; "the wicked are dragged to light,

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tined for them; so that, among them, one is weary and another is at ease; one of them is prosperous, and another, like me, bears heavy burdens through a life of abjection and fatigue. I find myself afflicted by trouble beyond measure. Strange is my condition, and heavy is my load, whilst others are free from wretchedness; they are blessed through life with happiness, and never, for a single day, have borne a load like mine. All men are alike in origin, but how great the difference Thou hast made between them. Yet, in saying this, I utter no charge against Thee, O Allah! O my Lord! For Thou art wise, and with wisdom and justice hast Thou judged."

Mohammedan as it is, there is something here both sublime and pathetic. It is the pure theology of our older Scripture, although most of the phrases in which it is expressed are taken verbally from the Koran. We may say, too, that though surrounded with the grotesque, such a representation of a perfect submission of the soul, such a losing of the individual self in the absolute and sovereign divine existence is in harmony with our own Christian belief. Instead of undervaluing, or giving it a false conception in our minds, we should thank God that such a doctrine of the primitive Shemitism had been, by any means, preserved by other descendants of the Patriarch, though out of the line of the Church.

The idea of compensation in another life belongs to the New Testament, but as a *reason* (one of the reasons we might say) of the divine proceedings. As a *motive* of human submission, it would be at war with the very notion of submission; to regard it as a chief ground of righteous conduct would be, what Satan charges, a serving God for pay. It would make the piety of Lazarus as selfish and as calculating as the worldliness of Dives.

the high arm is broken." So also in v. 41, where benevolence to the dumb animal races might seem to be intimated, and the language may be used collaterally as having that significance, still, when read by the light of the whole context, it is yet that same unchanging idea,—power, almighty power, extending to the minutest objects, as unwearied in its universality as in the rarest exhibitions of its omnipotence. The work of creation, the laying of the deep "foundations of the earth," the "shutting up the sea with doors," the mighty forces by which are produced the succession of day and night, the subterranean upheaving powers, the strong "gates of Hades," the rapid energies by which "the light is parted," the "way to its dwelling," or that hidden chamber in nature—still so unknown to our science—whence the light making power penetrates through all other material forces and reaches even to the abode of the spirit,—the "treasures of the snow and hail," the "birth of the dew and the rain" still baffling all research,—the vast celestial influences as represented by the language and conceptions of that day and still unchanged in their essential mystery by any modern knowledge,—the mighty power, be it attraction, or called by any other name, that "holds together the Pleiads," and "draws fast the bands of Orion," and "turneth round the constellations of Mazzaroth each in its season,"—the voice that "calleth for the lightnings," and they come forth and say, "Lo here we are,"—the hand that made the heavenly harmonies,* rationem coelo-

* Job xxxviii: 37. Instead of "*the bottles of heaven*," as in our translation, the Vulgate renders נבלי שמים *Concentus coeli*, the "harmony," or "concert of heaven,"—evidently taking the word in the other sense, which it has, of the *nabla*, (a species of cithara) as it is used Isa. v: 12; xiv: 11: Amos v: 23; vi: 5, and other places. Literally rendered according to this view of the word, it would be, "*the harps of the heavens*"—the same word denoting both harp and bottle from some resemblance in shape and hollowness. The common version makes a good and suitable sense, though not so striking as the other. It is strengthened by its association in the first clause. "The bottles of heaven" is an Arabic expression for the clouds. The other rendering suggests the old thought of the "Music of the spheres," as alluded to in Psalm xix: 1–5, and this, the Latin translator evidently had in mind in the expressions *coelorum rationes* and *concentus coeli*.

rum, and the unchanging motions of the celestial orbs,—all are presented as only varying exhibitions of that one great attribute which, for the time, challenges the undivided attention of the soul. The creation, too, of the human spirit, "the putting wisdom in the inward part," are brought under the same category. It is from the same all-quickening force, whether as exhibited in the primal motions of vegetable life, or in the higher energizings of the rational soul. In all there is ever predominant one thought overshadowing, if not excluding, for the time, every other. It is everywhere power, omnipotent power. The human *conceptions* through which, as finite diagrams, the divine and infinite *idea* is to be represented, are chosen, locally and ethnologically, for this very purpose. To an eastern imagination this would be especially exhibited in the grander phenomena of the heavens, and in the greater animal creations on the earth; and hence those pictures of Behemoth and Leviathan, the one the "chief of the ways of God" on the land, the other His mightest known work in the waters.

It is a display of power, we might almost say, and we would say it without irreverence, that seems to exult in its arbitrariness, in giving no reason for what it doeth and no account of its ways. "Who hath made a way (a law) for the lightning of the thunder, when He makes it to rain upon the land where no man is, on the waste wilderness which no son of Adam inhabiteth?" The ideas of utility, of benevolence, are by no means denied, but every reader must confess that they are wholly, and, it would seem, designedly, left out of the picture.

God is almighty, and, therefore, man must submit to Him, submit to Him unconditionally without asking reasons, or seeking reasons for such submission. He is to believe first and then he will understand. The truths of infinite wisdom and infinite goodness are assumed. They must, if taken along at all, be thus assumed as a priori truths of the soul, for they cannot be proved from nature. The facts on which such an induction must be built are

comparatively so few, the known is such an infinitesimal in respect to the unknown, that the most boasting Baconianism only shows its folly in attempting to reason from them as the *sole* ground of argument for so vast, so universal a conclusion. How can a belief in the infinite be built on finite premises, unless the idea already belongs to the soul. How could we ever trust these partial inductions except as collateral to that a priori thought which is inherent in the very image of God in man, however it may be darkened by his fall! We carry with us these rays of the eternal light, or we should never find them, we should never even look for them, in nature.

And so, it would seem, it ought to be in respect to the other attribute of power. Why then, it might be asked, this display in its behalf, this mighty array, not of argument, but of impressive and illustrative representation? Unless the human soul has become wholly demonized, or brutalized, we cannot think of God, if we believe in God at all, as unwise or malignant. But the deepest experience of the fallen humanity, whether it be the uncultivated or the philosophical, shows that there is in us a strange lurking scepticism in respect to the infinity of the power. This may seem a paradox. Some would affirm just the contrary. They would say that we find it easier, in fact, to believe in the resistless power than in the infinite wisdom. The former, it might be maintained, is the attribute that first and most obviously presents itself to our minds. It is so, doubtless, in regard to the first impression, yet sooner than the others is it affected by the associations that connect us with the finities of matter. Like the ideas of Wisdom and Righteousness, this, too, belongs to the image of God in man, but by reason of lying nearer to the plane of the sense it is the first to be weakened by it. An attentive study of ourselves, historically and psychologically, would show that there is no divine attribute we are so drawn to measure by our own standard of finite knowledge, and to limit by our own imperfection, whether of conception or idea. Our own knowledge, we see, ever goes be-

yond our power; we *know* far more than we can *do;* our thought does not take effect in nature, and we do not easily get out of the derived prejudice that there is something in it which yields not to *thought* at all, a stubborn "nature of things" resistless even to the Divine thought and the Divine volition.

There is a scepticism here that shows itself, though in a different form, in all human minds. It ever tends to put our idea of God under the control, somehow and somewhere, of something we represent to ourselves under the conception of nature, or "a nature of things," having somehow its necessity in itself, and, in its ongoing, at least, if not in its origin, separate from an ever controlling divine power. In the common mind, invariable sequence, unexplained and unknown scientifically, produces this prejudice ever growing stronger as the world grows older, so that it becomes more and more difficult to think out of it. In the philosophic and scientific it is essentially the same delusion, but taking the more deceptive guise of law ever substituting itself for the law-giver and the law-executive. This is to the more cultivated what fate, or necessity, or nature of things, or any thing else we may choose to call it, is to the vulgar. The one prejudice blinds us through the sense, the other bewilders the scientific reason; but in both there is the like feeling, that God *does* not "do all things," and hence the transition is readily made to the thought, the unowned thought, it may be, that some how such a mode of acting through an orderly nature is from an inherent necessity actually making finite the attribute of omnipotence though leaving limitless the wisdom and the skill. We tend to the conclusion, though we hardly dare to say it, or even to think it consciously, that it could not be otherwise. Hence that strange repugnance, (ever growing with the age of the world) to believe in the supernatural, or even to admit the possibility of the supernatural, and which more or less affects the scientific mind unless controlled by grace or the teachings of revelation. With all its pride, it is, in this respect, very near akin to

the more vulgar thinking which is described as resting, without reason, in the regularity and unbrokenness of natural sequence.

But why then, it might be asked, is not the appeal here to God's *supernatural* power, some strong examples of which must have come through tradition to Job and his friends? We answer, and reverently we trust, that the same method was not needed then as might be required for an age that had more of the scientific scepticism, or the time hardened,, vulgar prejudice. It has been said that these questions in the 88th chapter of Job would seem now altogether beneath the knowledge of this age; our science would answer every one of them. We would not reply to this false boast farther than by observing how it shows the very fact here asserted, or the tendency to extend our really infinitesimal knowledge of physical sequence over all the unknown as well as the nearer ways of the infinite power. It is enough here to say, that though these questions are outwardly clothed in the conceptions of that age, and some of them may be said to have a highly poetical aspect, yet every thinking mind must see that they extend to those remotest *interiora* of causation compared with which our highest modern science has hardly advanced beyond the surface.

If God should speak to our present knowledge, it might, or might not, be in a different voice. But nature then was new; the boundaries between the natural and the supernatural were, in a great degree, unknown. Especially in that wild Idumean life did the outer world put on this form of wonder. The regular sequence had doubtless produced its lulling effect, but in the then state, not of knowledge merely, but of thinking and feeling, the mind could be roused from such a physical stupor by the presentation of the great and remarkable in nature as well as by the traditionary supernatural itself. There are certain reasons why the former might have even a more powerful effect. To the ever musing thought it was only necessary to present some of these greater motions of the physical world in

a new and startling light. Hence the striking imagery of the passage. Hence what even now startles the reader, that peculiar method of so presenting natural phenomena as ever to suggest some still remoter causation, some deep interior lying still beyond, and farther still beyond all induction whether it be of the ancient or the modern science.

Thus to the earliest mind, and especially to the Arabian, the presentation of the most striking natural phenomena might create a stronger conception of the divine, and so make that *conception* best to represent the *idea* of absolute almightiness. Especially would that be the case, if (as the book presents it to us, whether dramatically or actually) such presentation is given as proceeding from the very mouth of God himself.

In this appeal to the great natural instead of the supernatural, we think we find an evidence of the remote antiquity of the writing. The historical supernatural in its most striking features, belongs to a later date. The primitive patriarchal mind had not yet so lost its faith and reverence as to stand in much need of it. The divine appearances in Genesis were more like friendly visits than as signs and wonders or miraculous attestations. In those days the vast, the wonderful in nature yet connected itself vividly with God, and was in this respect, almost equivalent to the supernatural. In later years, the debasing effect of the Egyptian naturalism had so sunk the patriarchal mind, that it required the highest exhibitions of the direct supernatural to startle the Israelites into a recognition of the God of their fathers. Hence the dread scenes of Sinai and of the Red Sea. Hence the wonders of the desert, the moving cloud, the pillar of fire, the cleaving of the rock, the passage of the Jordan, the "arm of the Lord" visibly "stretched out" for their deliverance in the wars of Canaan. We cannot resist the conclusion that, if the book of Job had been written centuries after these events, as some maintain, it would have adopted the same mode of appeal so universally and constantly employed by the Jewish prophets; especially since the scene of the poem, as we

have every reason to believe, is in the very neighborhood of some of the most striking of these miracles. In the subsequent Jewish writings, these wonders of the Exodus and the desert are never lost sight of; they are repeated every where; the greater part of the lyrical and prophetic imagery is drawn from them, even where they are not directly alluded to as historical events.

How different is it with this book of Job? There are, indeed allusions to the supernatural; we find it in the closing chapters; it is mingled with the great natural as though from each of them was derived a similar and equal representation of the divine power; but this supernatural, as the most careless reader must perceive, is all of that traditionary patriarchal kind that stands separate from the peculiar miracles of the later Jewish history. The creative acts, the old giant wickedness and its dire overthrow, the avenging flood, the impious Babel builders, the destruction of the ancient cities of the plain when "brimstone was scattered upon their habitations,"—allusions to these are found in various places in the book. They are mingled, as we have said, with the more awe producing natural, as though they were all one train of mighty sequences, and nature herself were but the continuation of the same almighty energy that spoke the earth into being and afterwards covered it with the waters of the flood. In these reepects the style and thought of the book are wholly patriarchal, varied from Genesis only as affected by the outward in Arabian scenery and the nearer local connection with the earliest Egyptian knowledge. Its supernatural is patriarchal, its natural is patriarchal, and in both we discover a striking difference between it and all subsequent Hebrew writings. In these, "the great works of the Lord sought out by all who take pleasure therein," are neither physical wonders, nor the great supernatural works of creation, but the supernatural national deliverances. These were ever to be "told to their children, and they were to tell them to their children's children, that they might set their hope in God."

But why this exhibition of pure power whatever form it takes, whether of the natural or the supernatural? Why does the Infinite so overwhelm his finite creature with a display of his own omnipotence? What bearing has it on the great argument of the book? Why is it this attribute, rather than God's goodness and wisdom of which they are to be convinced, and which is to solve the problem, or show it to be insolvable? We think that an answer to these questions will be found by one who examines carefully the course of thought and argument which had been pursued by all the speakers. No one of them had, in terms, denied the Divine omnipotence, and yet, some how, there is, throughout all their reasonings, an implied limitation. They do indeed seem, at times, all of them, to vie with one another in magnifying this attribute of power. "The measure thereof," says one "is broader than the earth and longer than the sea." "Who knoweth not," says Job in scornful reply, "that the hand of the Lord hath made all things?" As an abstract truth, to be received in some form, there is no questioning of it. "He doeth great things" says Eliphaz, "things unsearchable and marvellous without number." Not to be outdone in this, Job follows in a still loftier strain. "He is mighty in strength; He removeth the mountains and they know it not; He shaketh the earth out of her place; He spanned the heavens all alone; He sealeth up the stars; He walketh upon the waves of the sea." And yet the conclusions of all their speeches betray the feeling of an impotence somehow existing in the very "nature of things," and in some way connected with the solution of the puzzling, problem they have rashly undertaken to solve. There is something in Job's condition which makes it impossible it should be otherwise. It must be so, and with this they would seem alternately to rebuke and comfort him. They cannot get out of the thought that all this strange proceeding must have reference alone to the human destiny. It is connected directly with Job's sins, and Job's discipline for his own sake, and should there be made by them a direct reference

to another life, it is still limited by the same conception. There is ever a falling short of that idea which must stand first if recognized at all,—the idea of the absolute divine sovereignty that has its reasons ever, but those reasons transcending, as they often may, the sphere of the human in its widest conceivable extent whether present or future. There is the same impotency of conception in Job. He cannot understand why God thus deals with him, and is sometimes tempted, therefore, to regard his case as hopelessly beyond even the divine strength. It is some relentless nature, or some malignant adversary that is thus persecuting him, and God cannot help him. It is not thus said in so many words, but such is the feeling of the despairing spirit; otherwise we cannot excuse Job from a sin that can only be characterised as the very blasphemy of rebellion. He would seem to regard the prosperity of the wicked, and the misery of the pious, as something which God himself can hardly prevent in certain circumstances. For, if he can, why do the former oftentimes go on in uninterupted prosperity? Why does "one die in the fullness of his enjoyment being wholly at ease and quiet, *robustus et sanus, dives et felix*," whilst "another dieth, in the bitterness of his soul and never eateth with pleasure." Why is this, unless there is some power thwarting that great power which they dare not imagine to be either unwise or unjust,—that good God whom they can easier think of as limited in strength, than as having any bounds to his knowledge or his love? The despondency is unrelieved by any thought of compensation in another life. At least, it does not come in here, where we should so much expect it. The immediate context altogether excludes it; "they lie down alike in the dust, alike do the worms cover them."

There is indeed a puzzle about it which they cannot understand. If God does not do all this, the physical evil as well as the physical good, then, who or what is this other power? "The earth is given into the hands of the wicked; He covereth the face of the Judges thereof; if not,

then who is it?"* They are perplexed, they cannot bring themselves to deny directly the divine power and the divine agency, yet still the cloud is upon their souls. They are not brought to that clear recognition of absolute sovreignty which, although it may be said to solve by silencing, is first required to give meaning to any other solution. They do not fully acknowledge that which can alone give value to the wisdom and the grace; for what absolute ground of hope and faith can there be in a knowledge and a goodness, however infinite, that might be baffled by any failure of omnipotence?

We do not say that these views wholly solve the difficulty of the book, but they furnish the best explanation of that unexpected appeal to the pure power and absolute sovreignty of God which marks its striking dramatic close. So Job seems to have felt, and for thus feeling, and thus confessing, he is commended, as "saying to God the thing that is right." He cannot wait for the end of this sublime assertion of omnipotence. Even while the awful voice is proceeding from the storm cloud, there is heard the language of his deep humiliation: "Shall he that contendeth with the Almighty reprove him?" (that is, shall one dare to reprove the Almighty by contending with him:) "Lo I am vile." Rather: "Lo I am *light*," *levis*, *transiens*, mere nothingness; "what shall I answer thee, I will lay my hand upon my mouth. Once have I spoken, but I will reply no more,—twice—but I will not repeat it."

But it is at the close that he is brought to his fullest confession. There is something very peculiar in the language. It presents that soliloquizing ejaculating style we so often meet with in this book, and which, when understood, furnishes the key to the solution of some of its most difficult passages. "I know that thou canst do all things:" He repeats to himself the great truth as though, with all

* Job ix: 24 "*If not, when and who is he?*" Our translation is very poor. The Vulgate is better, as well as the Greek—*Quod si non ille est, quis ergo est?* "*If it is not He that doeth it, who, then, is it?*" The Hebrew אם here is a strong particle of appeal. "If it is not He, then pray tell us, who it is?"

his speculative admissions, he had not felt or comprehended it before. It was abstract, far off, dimly seen through finite and inadequate conceptions. Now it is brought nigh. There is something that makes him *feel* it as a truth though transcending all finite modes of representation. "I *know* that thou canst do all things." Let Hamilton and Mansel say what they will, this language is not an unmeaning sound, a mere empty negation. Here is Scriptural authority, and that grounded on the deepest inward feeling, that a human soul, a finite soul, has something within, some power or faculty that holds as its own, and claims as its own, the cognition of the infinite. Here is Scriptural proof that without such a thought, or until this thought is some way reached, there is no true religions faith, no true "evidence of the things unseen." The expression of the idea in language may have a negative or a positive form, but in itself it is one of the most positive affirmations of the soul, whether we can accompany it with an adequate sense conception or not. I know that Thou art *El Shaddai*, Omne Sufficiens—*Παντοκράτωρ*,—Almighty. "Nothing is beyond thee." If we take the Syriac Sense of יִבָּצֵר here it might be rendered transitively, "nothing *fails* Thee or baffles Thee," "there is nothing to which Thou art unequal;" and in this view we have the direct antithesis of El Shaddai in the sense given by the old Greek interpreters, *ἱκανός, αὐταρκής, Sufficiens.* "I know that Thou canst do all things;" and then, in his musing awe he repeats to himself that language with which Deity had commenced the startling address. It would seem never to have left his thoughts though followed by so many intervening interrogatories. "*Who is this that hideth counsel by words without knowledge?*" There is a slight difference in the language, which has perplexed the commentators. In the first passage (xxxviii: 2) or as it is employed by God himself, it is the Hebrew word meaning to *darken;* here it is another verb signifying to *conceal*, to hide away. But it is the same thought and the mere verbal difference only exhibits more clearly the simplicity and

naturalness of this soliloquising style. This startling demand of the mysterious voice might have been regarded as a rebuke to the somewhat diffuse eloquence of the the last speaker Elihu. "Who is this that hides himself in such a multitude of words? Who is this that is shedding darkness on the high argument he has taken in hand? But Job thinks only of himself; every other speaker is forgotten; he is alone with God. From the beginning, from the moment the awful question broke from the thunder cloud, it has been ringing in his ears. It has brought him to a new way both of thinking and of feeling. He has lost sight of others; he no longer thinks of comparing himself with others, or of asking who has the victory in the argument, who has the better in the accusation or the defence. He thinks of his own rash speeches, his own dark querulouslesness, and in utter astonishment at his own self-ignorance he says over to himself the words of this astounding interrogatory.

Thus viewed we see the force of the illative particle as it is used, in such a style as this, to connect the silent thought with the abrupt exclamation that follows. In the interpretation of musing or ejaculatory expressions this must often be kept in mind; and when the line of association is thus safely drawn across the intervening chasms these broken musing utterances become thereby the highest style of emotional language. Whilst equal clearness is preserved there is more of *soul* than in the regular discourse, where feeling is often lost in logical coherence, and life is sacrificed to form. It is thus these abrupt particles may be said to contain the *vis vivida* of language. They startle by their suddenness, their seeming unconnectedness, and yet carry with them the most vivid significance in thus pointing, as they do, to the expressive silence. Especially is this the case with the Hebrew words of transition, and nowhere can there be found a better example of it than in the one here used, xlii: 3. "*Therefore* have I uttered, לָכֵן הִגַּדְתִּי what I understood not." The rendering of the particle thus strongly and prominently makes it too formal, too

logical. Every reader feels that there is something wanting as well as something wrong. What inferential or causal connection between the ideas of the two uttered sentences taken merely in their outward consecution? But adopt the interpretation of the musing soliloquising style, in which the broken ejaculatory language is ever springing out of unuttered intervening thoughts, and we have just what we need for the most expressive filling up. The לכן shows that the mind of the awed and introspective speaker had been all along upon himself in connection with those first fearful words so vividly remembered. "It was I, *then*,"—as though the reason and application of the language had suddenly burst upon him, like a conclusion flashing out from an inward train of reasoning clear as the light yet too rapid to be expressed,—"it was I, *then* who darkened counsel by words without knowledge,"—"it is I, *then*, who have declared what I knew not, wondrous things far above me that I understood not." All others are forgotten. Their false reasonings, their false accusations provoke him no more. He is drawing nigh to a truth which before had been traditional, speculative, abstract,—of which "he had heard by the hearing of the ear"—but now his soul is becoming absorbed in its infinity. The case is between himself and God, his own infinitesimal littleness and the divine immensity of power and wisdom. He is lost in the contrast. "It is I, *then*," who have spoken thus. I reasoned of God from my dim finite conceptions, from my faint traditionary knowledge. Now He comes nigh to me, even as he came in the old theophanies; it is *my* attention he demands, it is *with me* he comes down to reason. It is Job repeating to himself in this same awe-struck style the former words of Deity as though, by such repetition, he would fasten their deep impression upon his soul: "Hear now and I will speak; I will ask of thee and do thou make me to know." They are not strictly Job's words, but God's words that Job is saying over to himself, and wondering at the greatness of their condescension, as though he had said: "It is the Eternal, then, who, makes to me this challenge:

I had heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear, I had the knowledge which came from the fathers, I had the lore of our ancient Eastern schools, but now mine eye seeth Thee." The contrast between the eye and the ear is commonly explained as denoting the deeper and more interior thought of God as compared with the more outward conception. This is doubtless a true view; but we cannot help thinking that, whether dramatically or actually, there is a reference, in this *seeing by the eye*, to an actual theophany or praeternatural appearance of God in nature then exhibited, and to its direct moral effect upon the soul in bringing startingly nigh the thought of God and His almighty strength.

Let naturalists or pseudo-spiritualsts say what they will of the want of moral power in miracles; still the deepest feeling of the human spirit testifies to the contrary. Want of faith, want of piety, want of reverence, all come from the dullness or obscurity of the Divine idea in our souls, or the putting it far off in our thought. Whatever brings it nigh and compels us to think of it suddenly and *exclusively* must have a mighty moral effect in resuscitating such idea, and giving stronger colors to such conception. The dullest naturalist, at the sight of a real and unquestionable miracle, would cry out as the Gadarenes did of old, "depart from our coast," for we are unholy. It is not so much because it helps the reason, as because it compels us to think of One whom most men do not like to retain in their knowledge. Neither is it because the supernatural offends the reason that some so dislike it, but because it brings God before the soul without the shelter of a speculation or a causality. And so, too, is it with the more striking exhibitions in nature itself. The thunderstorm, the earthquake, in this resemble the supernatural. The suddeness gives us no time for our usual resort to the shelter of law and causal sequence. Such phenomena place God right before us. A sense of utter helplessness favors the conception, and hence it is that most men, if not all men, are religious when the rapid lightning bolts are falling around them, or the earth is rocking beneath their feet. In our books, and

in our laboratories, we know that these events have just such sequences of cause and effect as enter into the slowest movements of the natural world, but here the rapidity startles us. Let the chain, speculatively considered, be ever so long in its links, still the power that seems to go through them in a moment, comes to us with all the religious awe of some near personality. Almighty, irresistible force is the first conception, and then follows immediately the thought of something *separate* from nature, of something unutterably pure and holy.

Whichever mode of interpretation we take here, or whether we regard them as combined, the effect is the same. Job is overwhelmed, driven out of his logical consciousness, if we may use the term; the thought of God stands out before him in its almightiness. He has the idea of the Infinite. A contrasted sense of his own nothingness is forced in upon the soul, and thus viewing it we have the full force of the next illative particle in this passionate language: "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth Thee,—*therefore* I abhor myself and repent in dust and ashes." *Abhor* may not be the best rendering here for the Hebrew, but it evidently requires some superlative term of self-rejection. The verb has no object expressed, and so it may be referred either to himself personally, or to his remembered speeches. In either case it is a total self-renunciation. He rejects himself, his righteousness, his words, his works. The other verb is the one commonly used for repentance; but the context gives it an intensity of meaning that makes us resort to its primary sense. It is the heavy drawing of the breath, a long deep, murmuring sigh. "I bemoan myself," I sigh over myself, my misery, my vileness, "I repent in dust and ashes." We want the Vulgate word here as coming nearer to it than our more abstract or merely intellectual notion of penitence: "*Ago penitentiam in favilla et cinere.* The latter part of the expression carries the same deep feeling of humiliation: "*In dust and ashes.*" They are the emblems of human frailty and dissolution, the one the matter from which, ac-

cording to the Scriptural language, man's body was formed, the other the remains to which all organic substances are reduced. The whole language conveys not so much a sense of guilt, though that goes with it, as of utter vanity and nothingness,* self loathing that such a being should have ever manifested pride, or petulance, or presumed to contend with the Almighty.

The other parties gazed upon the storm-cloud, and heard the awful words with rapt astonishment, it may be, but without humiliation. They may have thought it all intended for Job, and been waiting to see what effect it would have upon him. They might have regarded the manifestation, and its silencing display of power, as all on their side, and as showing the divine condemnation of the sufferer. Job alone falls upon his face, confesses himself vile, proclaims his own nothingness, his entire self-rejection, his recantation of uttered follies, his painful sighing penitence in dust and ashes. In this he was accepted; for this he was approved; for this abasement he was exalted; it was this, and not any superiority in the argument whether special or general, that was "saying unto the Lord the thing that was right."

With this view of the scene so fully warranted by the graphic language, we are prepared to interpret the divine sentence passed upon the dramatic praxis as all brought to its intended issue in this closing confession.

"And it came to pass that after the Lord had spoken

* So Job says, xxx: 19, "*I am like to dust and ashes.*" The language is patriarchal. "Repentance *in sackcloth*" belongs to the later style, but "*dust and ashes*" is characteristic of the earliest writinge. It is a remembrance of the primitive doom, "*dust thou art and unto dust must thou return.*" Henee Abraham thus says of himself, Gen. xviii: 27, "*For me, to speak unto the Lord who am but dust and ashes!* These three are the only places where both words are thus used. We may say, in general, that this bemoaning of the individual frailty and nothingness is peculiar to the more ancient parts of the Bible. The prophets speak more of the social and political wretchedness. The other style of language we have in the Song of Moses, and in that solemn xcth Psalm which comes the nearest to those primitive times. The fact that this precise expression occurs only in Genesis and Job, gives an argument for the patriarchal character and period of the latter book.

these words to Job, he said to Eliphaz the Temanite: Mine anger burns against thee and against thy two friends because ye have not spoken to me the right as my servant Job has done." In applying, on the other hand, this decision to the whole argument of the poem, there are certainly great, if not insuperable, difficulties standing in striking contrast with the easier interpretation which connects it immediately with the closing words of Job. Why then has the former been so generally preferred? The reason would seem to be the taking of the great body of the book, from chapter iii to chapter xxxvii, as the main or more important part, and the introduction and the close as merely subordinate to the outward management of the drama. These long disputings must be explained on some consistent plan. The mind is intent upon finding out who has the better in the argument. We set out with the notion that they are to reveal, in some way, the great mystery of the human destiny in itself considered, the ground of God's dealings with man in respect to the present or the future life, and all this (we say it with all diffidence in opposition to the opinion of so many, though not all, of the commentators) blinds us to the pivot or grand fact of the poem as it appears in this closing theophany. As a drama, too, (for it is a drama, though not to be judged by any artificial rules) the middle parts must be subservient to the final and not the reverse.

On the other hypothesis the difficulties, we think, have never been solved. The reader is never satisfied, though, perhaps, despairing of finding anything better in that direction. The reasoning of Job's friends, as mere reasoning, their representations of the divine attributes, often seem truer, as well as calmer than those of Job himself. We are indignant at their unjust charges because we have been previously assured that the sufferer is innocent of any such crimes. We sympathise with Job's vehement protests of his integrity, and yet we cannot help thinking how he criminates, and sometimes violently criminates, his Maker! There is that in his deportment which seems

sometimes to justify what is said of him by Elihu, "What man is like Job who drinketh up scorning like water?"

Then again, too, there are truths uttered by the other speakers, divine truths, truths of inspiration we may regard them, which we may take, and which the higher Author of the book meant we should take, as maxims just and holy, though wrong, it might be, in their particular application, or as grounded, by the speakers, on the erroneous thought that their abstract verity would be denied by Job. The whole of it, thus viewed, becomes that sublime exhibition of the divine in the human, of God's thoughts uttered through human thoughts and human conceptions, which makes the entire book one grand lesson to us in the chapter of the supernatural in our world. We can separate, if we choose to do so, the merely human,—the impatience, the blindness, the wrong application of undoubted heavenly truth. These are the earthly media through which the great revelation is accomplished,—God's thoughts coming to us through our thoughts, and his high ways through our finite mundane conceptions. The caviller may not make this discrimination, but the pious soul does it without effort, taking the holy precept yet seeing the error of the special use, admiring these grand specimens of the olden time, loving their truthful piety, their patriarchal simplicity, their primitive elevation of thought, their pure Arabian theism, and yet seeing their human imperfections as through them shines with an enhanced glory the manifestation of the divine greatness.

Thus viewed, the book becomes valuable to us not only as a whole, but in its special precepts. Every part is "profitable for doctrine, for instruction in righteousness." We need not fear the condemnation of any divine verdict, in gathering what is precious from all the speakers, as well as from the supposed approved words of Job. We may even give the former our special admiration. What more pure than Eliphaz' conception of the divine holiness? What more grand than Zophar's thought of God's immensity? What more lofty than Bildad's idea of His high imperial

rule? "*Shall mortal man be more just than God? Shall a man be more pure than his Maker? He seeth darkness in his angels;*" Lo the transparent heavens are not clean in his sight:—To the utmost bound of thought is He *separate* from all that is finite or imperfect in the universe. "*Canst thou by searching find out God? It is high as Heaven, what canst thou do, deeper than Hades, what canst thou know?*"—The mystery of His being, the vastness of his energising, they transcend all conceptual power. "*Dominion and fear are His; He maketh peace in His high places:*"—He is the source of all authority on earth, of all law in nature, of all harmony in the heavenly worlds. But better than all, more precious in the divine sight than all, is Job's confession, his hearty self-rejection, his lowly penitence in dust and ashes. "*I know that Thou canst do all things.*" It is with him no longer a speculation; he *feels* the great truth. It is the true idea of the Infinite, no longer a proud abstraction, but a subduing light, a living thought penetrating the deepest chamber of the soul. "I know that Thou canst do all things; *Wherefore* I reject myself, and repent in dust and ashes."

The victory is won. Satan is defeated. The Goel, the Kinsman, the Friend, the Witness on High, to whom, in certain passages, Job so pathetically appeals, is triumphant. But the triumph consists not in clearing up the questions so long and with so much mutual bewilderment contested,—not in revealing to Job his future destiny, or any thing about the future destiny of man, (more than the few faint notions then already entertained by the ancient mind,) but in bringing the self-righteous reasoner to the full, unconditional, unquestioning recognition of that first greatest truth for man to acknowledge, the absolute and omnipotent sovereignty of Him who is at the same time infinitely wise and infinitely good. In opposition to a false philosophy and a false humility which are getting too much currency in the religious world, we maintain that one great end here is to bring man to that spiritual cognition for which this philosophy denies him any mental faculty, that spiritu-

al state which it ignores for the human as well as for the animal psychology—in other words, that recognition of the *divine infinities*, without which, whether for the philosophical or the common mind, there can be no true faith, no true religion.

"*I know that thou canst do all things.*" In this idea, this soul-vision of the absolute and the eternal, he feels his own nothingness, he flees from himself, he falls upon his face, he repents in dust and ashes. Not so his companions; and, therefore, he was commended and they were condemned.

The reader will see that we have made a slight change in the rendering of the passage. We have rendered the preposition אֶל as it is every where else translated, "*unto* instead of "*for.*" On this very change, however, is grounded the strongest philological argument for the interpretation we have given. To bring out the rendering of our common English Version there had to be a departure here from the almost invariable sense of this particle in the hundreds of cases in which it occurs, and this variation came from the general prejudgement of the spirit and design of the book. It had been assumed that the divine decision must have reference directly to the previous interlocutions, and therefore this turn, although a very unusual one, had to be given to the preposition to make it consistent with it. Noldius in his Concordance of the Hebrew particles gives but two or three places where it even seems to have that sense of *for* or *concerning*, and even these can be explained on the common usage. Throughout the Bible it has the direct relation and especially after verbs of speech. It is the language of address. The Vulgate has *coram me*, the Greek *ἐνώπιον*, *before* me, *in my presence*, which, although it may indirectly refer to the previous reasonings, can have its fullest and most impressive meaning only by being confined to the actual *παρουσία*, *presence*, or closing theophany. It is conclusive, entire, without any generalising or apparent summing up of arguments. It would seem to denote not a balance of right, as though Job had said more

right things concerning God than the others, but a whole and complete speaking on the one side, and an utter silence on the other: "Ye have not spoken *unto* me the thing that is right." In accordance with our view is that of Aben Ezra one of the most satisfactory of Jewish commentators. We need only remark that aside from the moral grandeur, nothing would be more inpressive rhetorically than such a close. The sublime decision refers to a single act, and is expressed in the briefest, the simplest, and, therefore, the sublimest language.

Schenectady, N. Y. T. L.

Art. IV.—DOGMATIC THEOLOGY—ITS CONCEPTION, SOURCES, AND METHOD.

Dogmatic Theology is the queen of the sciences. Born into the Christian world, not of blood nor of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man, but of God: her realm is that of grace and truth. All the other sciences, the natural, the mental, and the moral, as well as the religious, such as Hermeneutics, Exegesis, Polemics, Practical Theology, and Church History, are tributary to *this queen*—not arbitrarily so, but by divine appointment. By this it is not meant that they are not all of royal birth: they all derive their principles, not from the subjective understanding, not even from subjective faith, but from the objective, the eternal, the absolute Truth. This is one and undivided. In their ultimate ground therefore all sciences are one. The fact that we have a two-fold revelation of truth, the one natural and the other supernatural, by no means alters the case. Neither does the fact that we have many sciences militate against this view, just as little as the *many* human individualities destroy the idea of *one* humanity. Here as elsewhere the individual holds in the general, and the general grounds itself in the Divine.

The relation of the other theological sciences to Dogmatics is like the relation of the other graces of the Spirit to Christian faith. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ is, objectively considered, one and infinite; but when it actualizes itself in those who are made its happy subjects it becomes multiform. When, for instance, it produces that godly sorrow on account of sin which worketh reformation of life, it becomes *repentance;* when it enables its subject to trust in the Saviour, and in Him alone, for salvation, it

takes the form of *faith;* when it leads out the soul in acts of obedience and devotion to God, it is *love;* and when it enables us to look out of the windows of the soul for the fulfilment of the divine promises, it is *hope.* These, and all the other graces of the Spirit, are essential to Christian character. They are compared by St. Paul (Eph. vi. 10–17) to the different pieces of a soldier's armour. Faith is the shield, and as such the apostles give it the prëeminence above the other graces: it is among these as the sun among the planets, or as the heart in the human system. It is true, in another place the same apostle gives the precedence to love (1 Cor xiii. 13): "Now abideth faith, hope, and charity, these three; but the greatest is charity." It is evident, however, that reference is here had to the saints' blissful state in Heaven, where love remains, after faith has turned to vision and hope into fruition. But if we consider the Christian's present state, whilst militant on earth, even charity must give place to faith: this is the conquering grace: "This is the victory that overcometh the world even our faith" (1 John v. 6). Love indeed has its place in the conflict and does excellent service, but it is under faith as its leader, (Gal. v. 6): "Faith which worketh by love:" just as the general fights by his soldiers whom he leads on, so faith works by love which it excites. Faith is the principal and radical grace: when it is vigorous and strong the others are healthy and vigorous also; when this fails they too must fail. So it is precisely in the family of theological sciences. They are all of vast importance; they all do excellent service; none can be dispensed with; yet we must give the prëeminence to Dogmatics. If this science fail, all the others must fail also; but if this be sound and healthy they too may flourish; its life is their life. The *idea* of this particular science is derived from that of Christian Theology in general, and this last is derived from the conception of the Christian Religion. The adjective *Christian* here used reminds us that there are other religions besides the Christian religion. Over against these Christianity asserts that it is the only true, the absolute religion; squaring fully with all the

wants of humanity, it professes to answer fully to the true *idea* of religion.

We must therefore unfold the general idea of religion, from the facts of consciousness; then compare with this general idea, the Christian Religion, and develop from it the conception of Christian Theology and especially that of Dogmatic Theology.

1. THE CONCEPTION OF DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

Human consciousness involves a three-fold idea, namely, self-consciousness, world-consciousness, and God-consciousness. Neither one of these is complete without the other two. It is not possible, for instance, for self-consciousness to awake within us without a consciousness of that which is not self. Man finds himself in the world as a part of a great whole: he is surrounded by numberless objects which exist independently of him, and yet he cannot escape from their presence; he apprehends them under the categories of space and time, whilst he is also apprehended by them: "he is in the world." This is a fact of which he becomes certain, through sensation, perception, and apperception. But whilst he certifies himself of this fact, he experiences likewise the emptiness of the world; he takes it up in himself, in the way of reflection and thought, with all its contents, yet he finds in himself a boundless void which it cannot fill. "The world is in him;" but his personality, his self-conscious "*I*," is higher than the world and goes beyond it. Self-consciousness, therefore, cannot in the nature of the case, complete itself in world-consciousness, nor the reverse. The one cannot be without the other, and yet in themselves considered they cannot be the complement of one another. There is indeed, under this view, an actual conflict between them. Man, in desiring the objects of the world, often meets with denials, and when these objects yield to his wishes, they disappoint his cherished hopes and leave him without any solid comfort or enjoyment; he would sail upon the sea of pleasure, but its rolling waves scorn his bidding, and sink

his wearied spirit into deeper want and misery. Not only so: he cannot even observe all he desires; and he must often see what he does not wish to see. In his experience and volitions he is necessitated. He has a will, but in opposition to the world's stern external necessity it is mere arbitrariness and weakness. Thus there is a constant conflict. "Man is in the world, and the world is in man:" he is conscious of the world and he is conscious of himself: that is, he is at war with himself.

How can the conflict be removed? Not, as we have seen, by world-consciousness merging itself in self-consciousness; but by both uniting in the deeper and holier ground of God-consciousness. Here, and here only, world-consciousness and self-consciousness find their complement, and come to a full reconciliation.

This gives us the conception of *religion*. Consciousness as such must necessarily ground itself in feeling: when developed as God-consciousness the feeling underlying it must be religious: that is, religion is a central life-principle which develops itself in the form of feeling, thought, and volition in the sphere of God-consciousness. As such it is essential to humanity. It is just this which distinguishes man from the irrational part of the creation; he is a religious being. Conscious of his relation to the Absolute he also acknowledges the other relations which God has ordained; for instance, that of himself to the world, and that of the creation to the Creator. Feeling his dependence upon the world, which Jehovah holds in the hollow of his hand, he with childlike confidence trusts in Him. Conscious dependence upon the world and conscious dependence upon God are now harmonious. The conflicting elements of his inner being are reduced to a peaceful calm. His knowledge of nature and that of God are in harmony. The outward form of the world is to him but the diagram of its own eternal *idea*. This is full of thought, full of wisdom and of truth: he recognizes in it the voice of God speaking to him. The laws of nature do not now appear to him as stern and blind necessity, but in

their complex union they authenticate themselves to him as the very revelation of the divine will: in willing the different objects of nature the subjective volition is in *harmony* with God's law. In effect religion is the elevation of feeling, of thought and will, yea, of the entire being of humanity, into the higher and immediate unity of the God-consciousness. As such it is more than knowledge, more than practice, and even more than feeling separately considered; it unites all these in a deeper and more mysterious ground: *it is a life, a divine life in man.*

In the ancient systems of theology religion is defined to be the mode of knowing and worshiping God: "Religio est modus Deum cognoscendi et colendi." Essentially this is correct: we have here the form and the contents. The word *worship* expresses the form, and the word God expresses the contents. But according to the view expressed above, this definition cannot be regarded as complete in its formal character; because it presents it under two aspects, that of knowledge and worship. The Ciceronian derivation of the word *religion* (from relegere) and even some scriptural expressions (for instance the "knowledge of Lord") seem to favor the opinion, that it consists merely in knowledge, as it must be taught and studied. But it must be obvious to every one that even the study of religion has something peculiar in it. We can say of the faithful student of philosphy, "he is a good philosopher," and of the faithful student of theology, "he is a good theologian;" but who would say of him who is devoted to the study of religion, "he is a good religiosus?" When religious truth is communicated, it is expected through the understanding to reach the heart, and the fruit is expected in the form of actual life. If religion consisted in mere knowledge, it could be demonstrated as all other knowledge; but this is impossible.

"The philosopher Kant," we are told, "resolved religion altogether into *practice*. In doing so he did not mean to deny the existence of God; but he maintained that the finite mind is not capable of knowing or comprehend-

ing the Infinite or Absolute. He makes the practical side of human nature take the lead. According to this view morality is religion."

In regard to this theory it is sufficient to observe, that however close and intimate the internal connection between religion and morality, so that we cannot conceive of true religion without morality, nor of true morality without religion, yet the different stages of human development clearly show a remarkable difference; so that whilst the one momentum comes prominently to view the other remains on the back ground. There is such a thing as sincere piety, as for example in the case of David and the Patriarchs, which is not always accompanied with the purest morality. And on the contrary we have many examples of morality, in the form of self-government, chastity, honesty, &c., which are furnished by persons whose piety is too much like slumbering sparks under the ashes.

Morality is the harmony of the human will with the divine will: religion, as we have seen, is an original power, an original life in the soul. In like manner it can be shown, that those theologians who make religion consist in mere *feeling* have not fully comprehended its height and depth. *Feeling*, *knowledge*, and *morality* are the forms in which religion is developed, therefore neither one of them, separately considered, can be its full measure.

All these views are one-sided. Religion is objective as well as subjective: it completes itself in the union of both these sides. In it God himself is the object of human feeling, thought, and volition. "God is glorified in man," and man finds his highest blessedness in glorifying God. This idea of religion cannot actualize itself fully, except in the form of Christianity.

"The lowest form of religion is Fetichism. This confounds the absolute being with nature. The objects of nature are not worshiped as symbols merely, but as actually containing divinity, and as identified with it." This is the worship of idols among the Africans among whom *fetich* is an idol, and any object, a tree or a stone, is worshiped.

"Polytheism divides absolute being into the different objects of nature." This was the religion of the ancient Greeks and Romans; they had many gods.

"Monotheism is the belief in the existence of one God as the absolute unity. This unity considered as abstract is deism."

"Pantheism is the opposite of Polytheism: here the absolute takes up in itself all the objects of nature, so that every thing is God; the universe is God."

To this list might be added *Panchristism*, that peculiar form of Christian belief which so identifies the "new creation" with Christ, the incarnate Son of God, as to make *it* the Absolute in the same sense as *He* is the Absolute. Christ and Christianity are one. Christianity reveals itself, or Christ (which means the same thing) reveals Himself in the form of the Church. Christ is the Church, the Church is Christ: that is, the Church is God. Thus the "*panchristoi*" believe that the Church is God, and that she is to be worshipped, precisely in the same sense as the "*pantheoi*" believe the universe to be God.

Neither of these forms of religion answers fully to its true idea; they cannot restore man to his normal relation, they cannot bring him into a real life union and communion with God. Christianity alone, the religion of the Triune God, can accomplish this high and holy end. Christ alone unites in his person the entire fullness of humanity and the fullness of the God-head. It is in Him alone that the idea of God and that of humanity are fully actualized; and it is in Him alone that they are brought into real and harmonious union without confusion of natures. Christianity, therefore, though it cannot be said to be the Absolute himself, but rather the "new creation in Christ Jesus," is, nevertheless, the absolute religion: it gives "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men." Luke 2: 14.

As such it is *a redeeming power* and *a spiritual communion*.

The religion of *redemption* proposes to restore man to the favor of God, to raise him from his depraved and fallen

state to the position which he occupied before he sinned, and from which he may be carried forward to the holy end for which he was created. If it comes short of this it cannot be complete; and if it goes beyond this, it is forced beyond its own proper conception. But the relation of man to God, before the fall, was normal; therefore if Christianity restores him to this relation it must find him in a state which is not normal. The abnormal, or sinful state of man, however, is a historical fact. That is, sin has entered into the world and unfolded itself in humanity in the way of historical process. If this be so, that is, if abnormal humanity have a history, then the redemption of man must also be a historical fact. This we find actually to be the case. Christ Jesus entered the stream of the world's history; He placed Himself under the law which we were bound to obey. He took upon Himself the burden of the world's sin and guilt (Isa. 53); atoned for the same by His sufferings and death; He arose from the grave for our justification; He ascended into heaven, and ever liveth to intercede for us. Now when it is said that Christianity, as redeeming power, is historical, we must, by no means understand this as simply referring to the history of Christ's person and work upon earth; but we must understand thereby also the ever living presence of the Saviour in the world, by the power of his God-head and Spirit to carry forward the great work of man's salvation: "He *has* power on earth to forgive sins." Mark 2: 10.

But Christianity is more than redeeming power: it is *salvation unto life;* it elevates humanity into its own higher sphere—not outwardly or mechanically, but in the way of an internal life process. It is organic. Though truly catholic in its spirit, accommodating itself to all the relations and circumstances of human life, it is ever true to the law of its own being. It spreads in the world, not like the rivulet that loses itself in the river, or like the river that loses itself in the ocean, but in the way of life development, like the grain of mustard seed which springs up and becomes a great tree. It is not an interest then

that pertains merely to the individual, but it is the general interest of humanity. It is the communion of saints. In this communion the single Christian lives and has his spiritual being: separated from it he has no life in him. The branches which are in communion with the vine must also be in communion with one another. This communion is in the Church, "the body of Christ, the fullness of Him that filleth all in all."

Christian Theology now is the science which has this holy Christian Religion as its contents. The word *Theology* (from θεος and λογος) means the science of God. "It treats of the being and attributes of God, his relation to the creation, and the dispensations of his providence and grace to the human family."

When the science is qualified by the term *Christian*, it means the science of God, as He has revealed Himself in the special form of Christianity. It is the systematic development of the great facts of our holy religion. Like every other science, it is organic. The parts are held together, not mechanically; they are arranged, not according to the arbitrary notions of men; but they are related to each other and united by a fixed and an abiding principle which unfolds itself according to the law of its own life.

Like other leading sciences, Christian Theology also divides itself into various branches, such as the following: *Hermeneutics*, which treats of the laws according to which the Holy Scriptures are to be interpreted. According to Schleiermacher this is an art. It partakes, no doubt, of the character of art, but it by no means loses its scientific character on this account. *Exegesis* reduces the laws of interpretation to practice. In its widest sense it includes both the exposition and explication of God's word. *Apologetics* unfolds the evidences of Christianity, both the external and the internal. *Polemic Theology* is set especially for the defence of Christian truth. *Dogmatic Theology* unfolds the doctrines of Christianity as they form the contents of faith. It holds a central position in the family of theological sciences, inasmuch as it takes up the results of

exegetical and historical studies, (so far as they relate to faith) in the consciousness of the present, and thus unites them as a living system, from which again may be deduced the laws of *Christian Ethics*, and Practical Theology.* As such it is not a mere philosophy of religion, nor a mere history of doctrine; but "it is the systematic development of the synthesis of the great fact of redemption and man's need of the same."

2. THE SOURCES.

As religion completes itself in the union of human nature with the divine, according to the true etymology of the word (religere), the "sources" of theology are two-fold, subjective and objective. Or to speak with more philosophical accuracy (though not according to the analogy of the books) we should use the singular number and say the "*source* of theology" is subjective and objective. We deem this form of expression preferable because strictly speaking there are not *many* sources of theology, but only *one;* and this is not even manifold but only two-fold. We have the true source of this science in the form of *reason* and *revelation.* These terms are relative. Without reason there can be no revelation, and without revelation reason is a mere abstraction. In their union they are the *source* of theology. They must, therefore, have the same contents. This is the truth. The truth in the form of revelation is objective, in the form of reason it is subjective. By reason, in this connection, we understand the intellectual and moral nature of man. "Reason is nothing else than will with prevailing consciousness, and will is reason with prevailing practical tendency." As such it includes the idea of faith. It is allied to the supernatural and eternal. "It does not, like the understanding which has to do with the finite, depend upon the indications of the senses; it has the power of going beyond the limits of time and space, and of perceiving divine things in their own

* See Hagenbach's Encyclopedie der Theologie, and Dr. Ebrard's Dogmatik.

light." From this it follows that the idea of God is born in man; or in other words, he is *constitutionally* a moral and religious being. Those who deny that the idea of God is innate are perhaps not aware of their own inconsistency in holding the reason to be a source of theology. How can that be a fountain of life which has no life in it? And how can reason be a source of theology, when there is no theology, no idea of God in it? Without this *idea*, or the God-consciousness at least in possibility, reason has no contents, it is "without form and void." In this case the sun might shed his light, but there would be no eye to behold it; we might have a revelation of truth, but no power to apprehend it; God might speak but there would be no ear to hear.

It is just this fact that reason has the God-idea as its contents, which constitutes it the subjective source of theology. It is this that invests it with the power to investigate the evidences of Christianity, and to determine its contents according to the laws of rational thinking. The absolute reason is in God alone, and the finite can only fill its office properly as it rests consciously in the Absolute. In God's light alone it can see light.

Here it must not be forgotten that the light of God in man has become obscured in consequence of sin. "While experience teaches that the seeds of religion are sown by God in every heart, we scarcely find one man in a hundred who cherishes what he has received, and not one in whom they grow to maturity, much less bear fruit in due season." [Calvin.] "Men professing themselves to be wise have become fools." [Paul.] When the light that is in us has become darkness, how great is that darkness.

Whatever may have been the power of the human reason before the fall, we know from the history of the world since that sad event, that it has been totally unable of itself to discover the great truths of the absolute religion. This is sufficiently proven by the inability of the wisest men of the world to solve the problem of the universe. There is ground indeed for the belief that the obscure and imper-

fect notions which the heathen did entertain in regard to the Supreme Being, were the result of revelation in the form of tradition; not that revelation can by any means produce a religious nature in man; but the religious principle being innate, as we have seen, revelation is the necessary condition of its development. In the obscure light of a mere traditional revelation it was impossible for man by searching to find out God. Neither was it possible for him to discover the true relation of the Creator to the creation. Even Aristotle and Plato, the wisest philosophers of Greece, taught that matter was an emanation from the Deity. The former maintained that this emanation was *necessary*, and the latter that it was *voluntary*. Their idea was that by the creation of matter God became self-conscious or objective to himself. Failing thus to apprehend the truth concerning this fundamental relation, they could of course have no proper conception of the being and perfections of God. Hence upon the soil of classic Greece and Rome we find no systems of theology, and but imperfect systems of moral philosophy.

From all this it follows that the human reason must be brought under the illumining, the regenerating, and sanctifying power of supernatural revelation. The reason can be regarded as the subjective source of theology only in its normal union with the objective truth. The true knowledge of God, and the true knowledge of self are inseparable. Or as Calvin has beautifully expressed it: "True and substantial wisdom consists principally of two parts, the knowledge of God and the knowledge of ourselves. But while these two branches of knowledge are so intimately connected, which of them precedes and produces the other, it is not easy to discover. For no man can take a survey of himself, but he must immediately turn to the contemplation of God in whom he lives and moves. Since it is evident that our talents are not from ourselves, and that our very existence is nothing but a subsistence in God alone. These bounties distilling to us by drops from heaven, form so many streams conducting us to the fountain head."

We can only know the source of our being, and the high and holy end of our creation by the true knowledge of the Creator. We cannot come to a true knowledge of our own emptiness but by that of God's boundless fullness. We can discover our need of salvation from sin only by the knowledge of true holiness. We can realize the depths of our fall and misery only by the realization of the great fact of redemption. This fact is not revealed to us by the light of nature ; neither can it be deduced from the facts of consciousness: it can only be known from the Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. The Bible does not contain an abstract system of doctrines: though many portions of it are preceptive and poetical, yet as a whole it is to be regarded as a record of historical facts, all relating to the central fact of Christianity. It brings to us the glad tidings of salvation from sin and death unto holiness and life. But redemption, as we have seen, is not simply one fact among many others: it is the absolute fact of the world. As the power which brings men into life union and communion with God, it is the greatest power that has ever been revealed amongst men. Viewed as the reality which answers fully to its own idea, it is the absolute reality of the world. It is from this reality that all the other facts recorded in the Holy Scriptures derive their meaning and importance. This being admitted, we infer that God would so order the course of His Providence that the knowledge of these supernatural facts would be conveyed to the children of men in its ideal purity and holiness. It could not in the nature of the case be conveyed by men who are estranged from God. We cannot conceive, for instance, how the Bible could have been written by a man like Josephus, or any other unbelieving historian. The case demands that men, who were chosen as the authors of the Holy Scriptures, must have been brought from the sphere of nature into that of grace. But even the subjects of saving grace, the best and wisest men, are not entirely freed from sin and error in the present life. Hence we must conclude that the men who were chosen to record

the great facts of redemption were under the extraordinary influence and guidance of God's Spirit. From the fact of Christianity the inspiration of the biblical writers follows necessarily as a postulate. The most common argument, the only one indeed that can be adduced with any degree of plausibility against the inspiration of the Scriptures is, that it obliterates the individuality of the sacred writers. In other words, it is maintained that, if the Bible be the word of God, it cannot in any sense be human, and cannot consequently be a book for man.

This psychological objection rests upon a false conception of human individuality. It confounds the true idea of humanity with that of human individuality as affected by sin. It is *sin* that has marred the visage and spoiled the beauty of human nature. Humanity in its general conception is ever to be regarded as one and the same; but its unity by no means excludes the idea of diversity. This belongs to humanity as such. Individuality is the necessary form of its being. But sin is not essential to humanity; it is an "accidens:" it is the violation of the law of human life, as well as the transgression of the law of God as it has been revealed from Heaven. We admit that the individuality which has been transplanted from the sphere of sinful nature into that of grace has undergone radical changes and modifications: "Old things have passed away and all things have become new." But in which of these spheres is it the most truly human? It is just in the sphere of grace that it approximates its own idea; it is here that it awakens in its own proper likeness. Inspiration, which is only a peculiar form of gracious influence, or rather an extraordinary form of gracious guidance, therefore does no violence to human nature. On the contrary it is its brightest ornament and highest glory. Hence this objection is groundless.

The heathen idea of inspiration is that the individual consciousness is swallowed up, and loses its identity, for the time being, in the supernatural spirit. There is nothing analogous to this in the inspiration of the Bible. Here

the writers are all themselves, and we find their individual peculiarities impressed unmistakably upon their respective productions. Whilst they are kept absolutely free from error by the Spirit, in the communication of the truth of God, they write as men.

The fundamental law of inspiration we find in 2 Pet. 1: 21. "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The instruments which were employed were "holy men:" men who were renewed after the image of God, and were consecrated to His service. The faith which they had in common with the other children of God was the subjective ground upon which the inspiration was based. We must not infer from the words; "as they were moved," that these "holy men," were used as unconscious instruments, as for instance, a pen is used by a writer. God did not speak in and through them as through a tube: the "*holy men*" spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Inspiration had become the fixed habit of their minds, the law of their religious life, and the form of their knowledge. This was the element in which they lived and moved. There is properly no room here for the question whether their words were inspired or merely their thoughts. Words and thoughts cannot be separated. Their relation is internal and necessary, not external and arbitrary. Thoughts unexpressed are silent words, as thoughts expressed are audible words. To think is to speak internally. Language cannot be inspired without the inspiration of ideas, and on the contrary there can be no inspiration of ideas without the inspiration of words. All abstract questions of this sort have a tendency to perplex and confuse the mind rather than to aid it in its efforts to comprehend this important and interesting subject.

But if it be correct to say that inspiration is a peculiar law of human life, it must like every other form of life be progressive. This we find actually to be the case. Here, as elsewhere, we have "first the blade, then the ear, and afterwards the full corn in the ear." Inspiration, like the life of the just which shineth more and more unto the per-

fect day, has also its dawn and noonday glory. This is evident from sacred history.

The lowest form of inspiration is the *dream.* Joseph, for instance, was inspired by dreams. Here the connection between the objective truth and the subjective consciousness is distant and loose. The insipiration in this form, as well as in every other, is real and plenary. The subject is fully possessed by the Spirit, and is infallibly defended against all error, and guided into all truth; but the consciousness of this fact is dark and confused; as in all dreams the mind is active here without being perfectly under the control of self-consciousness; or, as in infancy the mind is active before self-consciousness is developed.

A higher form of inspiration is *vision.* Here there is a closer and clearer connection between the objective truth and the subject to whom it is revealed. We naturally think of Jacob's vision of the ladder, the visions of Ezekiel, Daniel, &c., of the Old Testament dispensation, and those of St. Paul and St. John of the New.

A still higher form of inspiration is *prophecy.* Here the subject is conscious of his prophetic mission, and of the Spirit's presence to enable him to foretell with unerring certainty the realities of the future.

In designating these different forms, however, we must not consider them as exclusive. Dreams and visions in some instances partake largely of a prophetic character. The lower form may be regarded as the higher in possibility, and the higher is the lower developed. The process completes itself and comes to its full meaning in Christ, the incarnate Son of God. He is not only the absolute truth; but he is also the absolute revelation of the truth. In Him, as said before, dwells the fullness of the God-head bodily and also the entire fullness of normal humanity. As such he is the contents, the entire fullness of the *Inspired Word.* The Holy Scriptures are thus throughout the unadulterated word of God and the genuine word of man. They bear the impress of the incarnation: *they are the divine human word.* In the incarnation "the word was made

flesh," the eternal Son of God became the Son of man; by inspiration the Word of God has become the Word of man. The Bible is the voice of God addressing us from the throne of His majesty—the voice of the Father saying: "This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him." All that is here written has reference to His person and kingdom: hence He Himself has said: "Search the Scriptures, for they are they which testify of Me." He is the substance, the meaning, and the entire fullness of the written word of God. The relation of the Holy Scriptures to Christ, is as close and intimate as that of form to contents. The Scriptures without Christ would be a dark cloud without water, a dense shadow without substance, an obscure word without meaning. Viewing them however as the Word of God, in the sense explained, they are a full revelation of His will in regard to our redemption and glorification through His only begotten Son. It is only in virtue of their living connection with the fact of the incarnation that they have been perpetuated in the world.

Christianity, starting as it does, in the incarnation, unfolds itself historically in the form of the Church. The Church is the fruit of the Saviour's birth, His life, His death, and His resurrection, as it is written: When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hands. Isa. 53 : 10. We have a striking type of this in the thirty-first chapter of Deuteronomy. We there learn that when Moses had completed the law of God, and had written it in a book, he gave it to the Levites, who bore the ark of the Lord, and commanded that it should be placed beside the ark of the covenant within the Tabernacle. A beautiful emblem this of the fact that the inspired volume, the Book of the Law and the Prophets, of the Evangelists and Apostles, is to be kept sacred in the Church, the true ark of the covenant of grace. It follows from this that as the relation between Christ and the Scriptures is internal and vital, that between the Bible and the Church must be inseparable also. The Church,

which is the body of Christ, is not only the bearer of His life, but also of His truth—not the truth simply as comprehended in her constitution and unfolded in her history: but of the truth also as it is given in the Scriptures. The Bible is the lamp which the Bride constantly holds in her hand whilst she is going out to meet the glorious Bridegroom. This is the bright medium through which God's Israel behold their pillar of cloud by day and their pillar of fire by night. The volume of inspiration is in the Church what the light of the sun is in the world of nature. Through the medium of the sun's light we behold the brilliant orb of day himself and all natural objects within the limits of our vision. So in the sphere of grace we behold, through the medium of the Scriptures, the bright and cloudless Sun of Righteousness, and the glorious realities of the "new creation." This is only possible, we add, in the sphere of grace. The truth of revelation can only be apprehended by regenerated reason, and reason can only be regenerated within the limits of the Christian Church. But regeneration by the Holy Ghost is just that which brings the finite reason into living union with the Infinite as it is in Christ. Reason as thus connected with the objective truth which forms the contents of the Inspired Scriptures, and the objective truth as revealed by the Scriptures to regenerated reason—that is, the objective and subjective in lawful union—constitute the source of Christian theology in general, and of course, in a special sense, of *Dogmatic Theology.*

This is the ultimate and normal source. The truth as it is taken up in the Church's confessions of faith, and as it is reproduced by the subjectivity of theologians, is to be regarded as a subordinate source.

It is not necessary here with the divines of the Cartesian School to speak of nature as a distinct and separate form of revelation, and consequently as a distinct source of theology. The truth revealed in nature can only be apprehended through the medium of conscious intelligence, that is through reason. But, as we have seen, reason can only

fill its office properly as it stands in the Absolute. Hence the truth of nature can only come to its full meaning in connection with supernatural revelation. In the sphere of Christianity they mingle their beams, and "both proclaim their source divine."

But before dismissing this part of the subject it is necessary to consider more particularly the relation of the truth as it is embodied in the Church's confessions to the Inspired Scriptures; then the relation of private judgment, or the productions of individual theologians, to the symbolical books.

1. According to the Roman Catholic view *tradition* is the product of the Holy Ghost as well as the Bible, and is clothed with the same authority. The ultra protestant, on the other hand, rejects tradition altogether; he would learn the way to Heaven through the Scriptures alone without any help whatever from the Church. The truth is to be found in the midst between these opposite extremes. "The relation of the true Bible principle to tradition is such that it places it neither parallel with the Scriptures, nor over them, but under them only, and measures its value by this standard."*

To make tradition either co-ordinate or superior to the Scriptures is to say at once that they are not a perfect rule of faith and practice. That which is perfect cannot be improved by any additions, or alterations; and every attempt of this kind is contrary to the Bible itself. "Ye shall not add to the words that I command you" Deut. 4: 2. See also Prov. 30: 6. and Rev. 12: 18. "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple, the statutes of the Lord are right rejoicing the heart; the commandment of the Lord is pure enlightening the eyes." Psalm 14: 8. The Apostle Paul likewise asserts the perfection of the Scriptures as a rule of faith when He says: "From a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures which are able to make thee

* Principle of Protestantism by Dr. Schaff.

wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." 2 Tim, 3 : 15. This they could not do if they did not contain all things necessary to salvation. In the Gospel according to St. John 20 : 31, 32, we are told that "many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples which are not written in this book; but these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, and that believing, ye might have life through his name." If any thing necessary to salvation were not in the Scriptures, they could not answer the end for which they were designed.

Here we have a full revelation, a perfect and infallible rule, a divine standard of truth lifted up above every other. Yet this is no reason why traditional truth should be rejected. As the revelation which God has given us in the form of the inspired words does not, as we have just seen, contradict the truth revealed to us in nature, so the truth embodied in the Confessions of the Church may be more or less in harmony with this perfect standard; it may be water drawn from this fountain, gold from this mine, light from this golden lamp. The relation of Church tradition to the Bible is like that of the stream to its fountain, like that of light to its source, or like that of gold to the mine from which it was taken. But the purest stream may be corrupted, the most brilliant light may be obscured and the finest gold may be mixed with alloy. So precisely in the case before us. The inspired Scriptures are as pure as God himself is pure, they are a perfect transcript of His mind; but the truth of the Bible as taken up in the consciousness of the Church, and expressed in her confessions of faith, and in this form handed down from age to age, is pure and infallible only so fas as the Church herself is holy and infallible. If the Church could not err at all we might make tradition co-ordinate with the Bible; but as infallibility belongs to Christ and His word alone, and as his Church in the world is militant; not yet perfect, but only going on to perfection; her symbolical books must needs be placed in subordination to the inspired word.

When she shall be perfected in holiness, fashioned like unto her glorious Head, without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; when she reaches her ideal, then her teachings will be in perfect harmony with the eternal truth.

Here, however, the question arises, inasmuch as the Church is not yet perfect, how far her traditions are binding, or in other words:

2. What is the relation of the theologian to Church authority? If, as we have attempted to show, the Bible belongs to the Church; if this infallible standard of truth that is lifted up by the Spirit is planted in the vineyard of the Lord as its proper ground, God must have delegated to the mystical body of Christ the authority and right to determine whether the teachings of those within its communion are in accordance with His word or not. That the Church has this authority cannot be denied. Does the idea of Church authority then exclude the right of private judgment? Not at all; but on the contrary the latter is dependent on the former as its necessary condition and ground. Without law there can be no freedom, and without general authority there can be no individual right. Supposing there were no general law governing society, no general authority exercised over its members, then they would be ἄνομοι, without law.

But we are told each individual can be a law to himself, and if he be a Bible Christian, he can be a Christian to himself. No conception can be more unphilosophical, or more contrary to the order of God than this. We know, for instance that all vegetation is the result of a general law of growth; all animal existence depends upon a general law of animal life; and so all individual human existence must depend upon a general law of human life going before. We know of no human beings, excepting Adam and Eve, and their posterity; and up to the present time men have always lived in society, verifying the Scripture: "No man liveth to himself." As individual existence is the result of a general law of life, the manner of that existence must also depend upon the same law. For instance, the

reasoning, the thinking, and speech of persons living in our day, must exemplify the law of reason, thought and speech, that obtained in the time of their ancestors. So in the case before us. Individual Christian existence is an impossibility without the general law of Christian life going before. We may imagine that if God were to permit a Bible to drop from heaven into the hands of some one in the remote corners of our world, who had never before heard of Christ or the Church, he might become converted and saved by this means alone; but the case is purely imaginary and proves nothing whatever. We know but of one Christ, one Church and one Bible; and these are inseparable. The Bible without Christ and the Church cannot save; it can only do so by virtue of its union with them. To illustrate: When Philip met the eunuch of the Queen of Ethiopia in the highway, he found him reading the Scriptures; his mind was predisposed to receive the truth; but he could not become savingly acquainted with it until Philip took the Scriptures and preached unto him *Jesus:* he then immediately believed and was connected with the Church by baptism. This verifies the observation that Christ is the truth of the Scriptures, as well as the life of His people. From this it is evident too that, as the general law of human life starts in Adam, so the law of individual Christian life starts in the Second Adam. "As in Adam all die even so in Christ shall all be made alive." And if we are made alive, born into Christ by the Holy Ghost, according to the law of life revealed in His person, then this law of life must be the governing principle of all our thoughts, words and actions: that is, all individual thought and judgment must be in agreement with the general law of Christian life—that law which was in force long before we were born either into the world of nature or into that of grace.

The private judgment that is in harmony with this general law of Church life is free, as it is written: "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." On the contrary the private judgment which opposes the general law

and authority of the Church, is not free; it is bound by selfishness and caprice. But as it has been conceded that the Church may err, suppose she were to bind men's consciences contrary to the word of God, how then? Would not the individual in this case have the right to resist the authority of the Church? We can best answer this question by supposing another case which is perfectly analogous. Suppose a citizen of this country imagined that the government of the United States with its constitution had bound him to do that which is civilly and morally wrong, would he not be bound to resist? Or may he not alter the constitution of the United States to suit his own conscience? It is obvious that his resistance and alterations will avail but little. He is at liberty of course to persuade all the citizens of this great Commonwealth to effect the desired alteration, if he can; and if he cannot succeed in this, he may modestly conclude after all that his private judgment is not superior to the united wisdom of our entire country, including the present and past generations. Thus the Church's creeds or symbolical books are not to be altered to suit the views of this or that theologian. In case he arrives at conclusions which contradict the authorized standards of the Church, it becomes him to study the entire history of the process through which the Church passed in settling the articles of her creed, and then in the light of the Sacred Scriptures, and in the light of dogmatic history, let him carefully re-examine the process of his own reasoning; and if he occupy the Christian stand-point, it is quite likely that the contradiction will be removed; if not, the burden of proof that the Church is wrong and that he is right rests with him. Let him spend his time in convincing her of her mistake; if he succeed well, and if not, let him die in peace; well for him if in the end he finds himself in the communion of the saints.

But the case we have supposed is hardly conceivable of the Church which holds the Bible as the only normal rule of faith. The Church that has a tradition which is not grounded in the inspired Scriptures, may bind men's con-

sciences contrary to the Word of God, but the true Church, which acknowledges no infallible standard of truth but the Bible itself, whose traditions and teachings all ground themselves in it alone, and whose confession of faith is but the form in which she has apprehended the truth as it is in Jesus, cannot bind the individual conscience to that which is wrong. There is no room here for individualism. The authority of the Church being but the authority of God revealed in the Bible, the one cannot be rejected without rejecting the other also.

From this it follows that the ultimate and subordinate sources of theology can only become available to the theologian as he stands in living connection with the Church. He that would study the laws of optics must have eyes to see; he that would enjoy the light which God has set in the new heavens must be taken up by the Holy Ghost as a part of the new creation: he that would behold "the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night" through the medium of God's Word must belong by covenant to God's spiritual Israel. The theologian who stands in the communion of the saints is to be regarded as a Teacher of God, and the results of his literary and scientific labors must be regarded as fruits of Church life—we do not say perfect fruits, or fruits fully matured; for this science, like all others, is not yet perfect, but is going on towards perfection. Yet all that the Church has given us in this form, that is, all theological literature, (especially standard works) may in turn, in the sense explained, be noted as sources of theology. The order, relative position and authority, is the following:

1. The Inspired Scriptures, the norma credendi;
2. The Church's confessions, the forma credendi;
3. Theological works, the fructus credendi;

The norm, the form, and fruits of *faith*, not beliefs.

METHOD.

"Methodology," says Dr. Hagenbach, "is nothing more than applied Encyclopedia; because the correct in-

sight into the nature and connections of science will lead to the correct treatment of the same, and as encyclopedical knowledge is the necessary condition of a good method, so the latter is the verification of the former."

The appropriateness of this remark will appear when we remember that the relation of theological encyclopedia to theological science in general is twofold: It is introductory; it stands at the threshold of the sacred temple of theological science and introduces the student to its inner realities. It is exhibitory; it gathers the best fruits of theological science and investigation and presents them to our view. The fulfilment of this twofold office is *method*.

Here again there are two extremes to be avoided: namely, a false empiricism and an abstract idealism. The theological empiric is one who is continually trying experiments in the religious world, just as the medical empiric does in his department, without having the necessary scientific training. He makes no account of Colleges and Seminaries of learning. For him the ancient proverb has full meaning: "Non scholae sed vitae discendum" (not the school but real life should be studied). He reminds us that the Apostles themselves were not scientifically educated; and hence he infers that the less scientific a man is, the more apostolical and evangelical. Quite an empirical conclusion. Those of the opposite class make the school every thing, while they ignore the order of God in real life. They delight in fine theories, in abstract speculations, and in scientific dreams.

Bacon very appropriately compares the rude empiric to the ant: the piles of sand heaped up by this insect cannot well have less inward connection than the confused productions which they are here used to represent. The ideal dreamer is compared to the spider; and it must be owned that between the fine spun theories of the one and the webs of the other there is a striking resemblance. Men of true science are like the bee: they gather their material from the various departments of real life, and their products are sweeter than honey dropping from the honey-comb.

In determining the true method of the science under consideration it is of the utmost importance to avoid both the extremes here mentioned. The school and real life, should not be regarded as opposite interests. Real life itself is educational, and Institutions of learning are designed to educate for real life. They sustain a reciprocal relation, the one to the other; so they should always exert a reciprocal influence. It cannot be expected, of course, that all men should become scientifically educated, yet the sciences are intended for humanity in its totality, and not merely for the few: they are realities. The science of Dogmatic Theology especially, being the most real, as we have seen, because it has the greatest of all realities, namely, the Christian Religion as its contents, reaches to the very centre of human life and to all the stages of its development.

The most natural method to be pursued in the development of its principle, might, at first view, seem to be that of the Cartesian divines, which grounds itself upon the distinction of *natural* theology and *revealed* theology. According to this are considered in the first general part, "The nature of man," "The God-consciousness," "The immanent law of religious conduct," "The fall of man and his need of redemption;" and in the second general part are treated "The Trinity," "Incarnation," "The person and work of Christ, &c.

To this method some of the best modern theologians have objected on the ground that it is not practical and not strictly scientific. That which God has joined together is here disunited. For instance the doctrine concerning God is treated partly at the beginning of the first general part, and partly at the beginning of the second. Doctrines are treated as entirely separated from each other, whilst at every point they should be carefully compared, and their union preserved inviolate.

The distinction between natural revelation and supernatural, upon which this method is based, may have its place in Dogmatics; but it cannot be the true basis of division; for, as we have already observed, they are but two

forms of one revelation, whereas the true division must ground itself upon the internal distinction in the Absolute One, the θεος, Himself.

For the reasons here given it is obvious too that the method of the Federalists does not reach far enough either. The division into the natural covenant, and the three economies of the covenant of grace, answers very well as an outline of the history of redemption; but this belongs properly to the department of Biblical History.

Recently we have been introduced to some theological systems based upon the familiar distinction of the objective and subjective: "*The knowledge of God objectively considered,*" "*The knowledge of God subjectively considered.*" To say nothing of the contradiction in the terms here used, the superstructure reared upon this foundation can never surpass in glory the temples of either the Cartesian or Federalistic schools, notwithstanding the defects already named. The distinction, of objective and subjective being, is of vast importance in every department of science; but it cannot be the true basis of a good "body of divinity," for the obvious reason that it is itself grounded in the temporal and the finite. It is true, God being a personal Being, we may view Him as standing on the side of subjectivity, and as He reveals Himself to our faith we may regard Him as on the side of objectivity; but strictly speaking, He is neither object nor subject: *He is the Absolute.* "Systematic theology," says Dr. Ebrard, "ascends upwards to the eternal purpose of God to glorify Himself, from which the acts of revelation have proceeded: it should not merely ask, what has God done? but why must He, according to His eternal nature, do this?" It investigates the realities of the creation (of both objective and subjective being), and particularly of human salvation, in their ultimate ground and deepest necessity.

In doing so all that is true in the systems above named can be retained, whilst every law of scientific investigation may be satisfied. Accordingly the division of dogmatical material must ground itself in God, in His eternal and es-

sential purpose to glorify Himself, as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the creation of the worlds, the redemption of man, and the consummation of all things.

This may be denominated the *Trinitarian Method.* It is by no means of modern invention: it has its full justification in history. We find it underlying both the natural and supernatural revelation of God. It is the ground upon which are gathered up the articles of our undoubted Christian faith in the form of the Apostles' Creed: and it forms the basis of all the best theological works of both ancient and modern times.

Tiffin, O. M. K.

ART. V.—SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY IN 1859.*

"Many shall run to and fro, and *knowledge* shall be increased;" this passage is a most truthful description of the present condition of our race. Science has furnished contrivances that have enabled us to overcome the inconveniences arising from distance, and, not content with satisfying old wants, seems to create new ones for the mere pleasure of satisfying them also. Action is impressed on civilized man wherever we find him. He is restless, fretful under restraint, impatient under reproof, and eager for every novelty that may gratify ambition or add to the wealth which his daily labors is collecting about him. The readings of science in the book of Nature have been so many and attractive, that her followers have almost forgotten the Book of Revelation and the truths contained therein. This is not however a necessary consequence. We can understand how one could wander

> "Into regions yet untrod,
> And read what is still unread
> In the manuscripts of God,"

and yet approach with holy awe, and the deepest faith, the perusal of the Sacred writings, which inspiration has given for man's comfort as well as his instruction. In the unrest of the present age, probably more than at any other period of the Christian era,—when the ocean has become but the highway for intercourse of great commercial nations,—when the barriers of exclusivism, which had shut

* L'Année Scientifique et Industrielle, ou Exposé annuel des travaux scientifiques, des inventions et des principales applications de la science a l'industrie et aux arts, qui ont attiré l'attention publique en France et a l'étranger, par Louis Figuier, Quatrième Année. Paris. 1860.

Annual of Scientific Discovery: or Year-Book of facts in Science and Art for 1860. Edited by David A. Wells, A. M. Boston. 1860.

out great countries from intercourse with the world for centuries, have been torn down,—when many run to and fro and knowledge is being increased,—amid all this toiling and moiling, this rapid reaping and gathering in of rich crops, there is much need that man shall cultivate a spirit of faith in the great Creator, a humble recognition of His power, so that he may be ready at all times to join in the apocalyptic shout which the Revelator heard "as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Allelulia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."

But while the student of science must not forget his duty towards the Power which produces the phenomena that give him constant delight, and enables him to contrive machinery to aid his fellow man in performing his daily tasks,—there is a duty also incumbent on those, whose studies lead them more peculiarly to the investigation of the Book of Revelation, to make themselves acquainted with the contributions which God is pleased to make mankind, through the medium of science. We may err by overlooking the claims of religion,—we may err by overlooking the wonders of science. Our task here on earth is to glorify God by every means within our reach. It is our bounden duty to use *all* the sources of knowledge within our grasp,—to rejoice in the wonderful works of our Father's hands, as so many manifestations of His Providence, "whereby, as it were, by His hand, He upholds and governs heaven, earth, and all creatures: ut quae terra nascuntur, pluvia item et siccitas, fertilitas et sterilitas, cibus et potus, bona et adversa valetudo, divitae et paupertas, omnia denique, *non* temere aut fortuito, sed paterno *ejus* consilio et voluntate contingant." From this point of view every collection of the contributions made by science to human knowledge, may be considered as eminently worthy of the study of the Christian philosopher. Such study should not lead him away from the Creator, dazzled simply by the wonders of Creation, but should make him feel like the psalmist who was constrained, when he saw all

things as it were put *under* man's foot, to cry out "O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is Thy name in all the earth." Each Year-Book of facts in Science and Art becomes a cause of wonder as well as thankfulness. We have glanced over the two which France and the United States have published, with so much interest, that we have thought it would be not out of place to present to our readers some of the facts contained in their pages. Both are prepared with great care, but commend us to Dr. Figuier, as the most interesting writer in the whole domain of science. Every thing he touches becomes brilliant with the light his sparkling intellect casts upon it. *L'année Scientifique* is one of the most readable books from the French press, and a translation of the volumes as they appear, with each recurring year, would place in the hands of English readers a most charming resumé of the doings of science.

We shall not attempt anything like a systematic examination of the range of Scientific Discovery in 1859, but select such subjects as may appear to be of special importance, reserving to ourselves the privilege of foregoing system in what claims to be but a friendly gossip with our readers. If we can only induce them to study the wonders of creative and inventive power, which the records of science afford, they will find proof of a God in Science as well as in History.

The progress of discovery is sometimes very singular. Those who have delved for years being denied the treasure, while the laborer of an hour may find it quickly at his hand. Discoveries are, to a certain extent, revelations. This is very well shown in the discovery of the new planet. Le Verrier, finding that the planet Mercury was undergoing some purterbations, which were inexplicable on the supposition that no planet exists between its orbit and the sun, accordingly concluded that there must be a planet moving in this place. He indicated a method by which its existence could be proved,—since "if the orbits of such a planet be slightly inclined on that of Mercury, one could seize the moment of its passage over the disk of the sun," and thus obtain

data which would lead to proof of its existence. All this suggested the necessity of accurate examination of the spots which are noticed on the sun's disk; but while astronomers, in their observatories, armed with the best instruments failed to detect signs of the new planet, a hard-working physician of the little village of Orgères, France, with an instrument, mounted by himself, discovers *Vulcan*, and Dr. Lescarbault is announced now as the discoverer, whose modesty makes him decline all testimonials, in the way of public banquets and presents, with which his professional brethren have been desirous of presenting him.

But while the heavens are revealing from time to time, orbs which have heretofore been concealed from man, the composition of the earth on which he lives is becoming more and more known. Aristotle's dictum that all matter was composed of four elements—earth, air, fire and water, could not be tolerated even by the alchemists, who advanced the idea that the three primal constituents were salt, sulphur and mercury. Modern discovery has furnished sixty three substances, called elementary because they resist decomposition into simpler substances, which are said to form, by their combinations, all substances found in nature. Dumas, the French chemist, asserts that it is impossible to prove that the bodies reputed simple are undecomposable. There is moreover such striking family resemblances between some chemical bodies, as Chlorine, Iodine and Bromine, that would lead us to the belief they are different forms of one and the same substance. Without having proof as yet of the idea that many of the elements are compound substances, we think that a light is about breaking on Chemical science which will reveal a nearer relation between its elementary bodies than is admitted at present,—and which will make much simple and intelligible that is now obscure. That this is no vague dream the late researches of Schönbein will clearly show. Surely every school boy fully understood the properties of Oxygen gas, and yet we find there is reason to believe that it is a compound body, consisting of substances known as ozone and

antozone, and these, combining with others, are capable of forming those substances which have heretofore been considered elements. But, we must pass on to subjects, elucidated by science, of more general interest.

Science is not only changing the nature of warfare by her improvements in weapons of offense, but also in supplying the adjuvants required for the proper conduct of a battle. "At the battle of Solferino, a high degree of precision in evolution was attained by the French army, by means of the telegraph. From each corps, once in position, a horseman rode off to the next division, unrolling on his rapid course a light wire, which no time was lost in adapting to a field apparatus; and the process was repeated all alone the French line of twelve miles. Hence the movement of the whole army was known and regulated like clock-work, on that decisive day. This arrangement had been planned in Paris, and a supply of gutta-percha covered metal thread forwarded with secrecy and dispatch."* Not satisfied with this novelty, the sagacious French Emperor employs M. Godard, the aeronaut, to make observations of the enemy, and obtain accurate information of the disposition of the latter. The balloon puts at the command of the commanding officer "a tower of great altitude, whence to contemplate all the surrounding country." It is only necessary to ascend to the height of several hundred metres and it may be held down by cords whilst an officer makes his observations." The Piedmontese government have gone even still further: M. Porro "has invented an apparatus by means of which it is possible to take a panorama rigorously exact of the whole horizon, in three proofs, by an operation that can be accomplished in a few minutes." Here then are three scientific discoveries brought to the aid of war, and made to do effective service in time of battle.

But this very subject of light-painting or Heliography as the men of science call it,—what wonders has it not already

* Annual, 140.

displayed? what wonders has it not yet in store for mankind? Every one knew from experience that in the moral world association would always leave a mark more or less ineffaceable, and evil communications are known to corrupt good manners; but it was a discovery of the nineteenth century that, in the material world, proximity as well as contact would also leave a mark more or less indellible. Acting on this principle,—striving to make permanent the image which the rays of light, reflected from an object, have the power of making, Daguerre, and others laboring in the same department of science, succeeded in the wonderful discovery of the art of sun-printing or Heliography. Inprovement upon improvement in this art has demanded attention, during the last twenty years, so that we have lost the capacity even of wondering at its advances, since they have become every day occurrences. With these improvements, operators have learned to shorten the time required for catching the image of the object and fastening it as it were on the sensitive material. Formerly minutes were required to produce any permanent impression; now, with the skillful operator a second is a very long period. The experiments of Mr. Waterhouse show that an image could be produced in the 1–9000th of a second, and "that when wet collodion was employed, one third of this time only was requisite, or 1–27000th of a second. This duration, however, inconceivably short as it appears, will seem to be a tolerable length of time, where we try to bring the mind to appreciate the rapidity with which Mr. Talbot performed his crucial experiment at the Royal Institution, when he photographed a *rapidly* revolving wheel, illumined with a single discharge of an electric battery. To a casual observer, or reader of this experiment, the wonderful part appears to be, that the wheel appeared perfectly well defined and stationary in the photograph, although in reality it was being rotated with as great a velocity as multiplying wheels could communicate to it. A little further consideration will, however, show that the time occupied in the revolution of the wheel was a planetary cycle compared

with the duration of the illuminating spark, which according to the most beautiful and trustworthy experiments of Wheatstone, only occupies the *millionth* part of a second." And as a companion to this experiment let us refer our readers to that of Mr. Skaife at Woolwich, consisting in the taking of a stereoscopic photograph of a bursting shell. This was taken just as the shell emerged from the smoke, and exhibited "three-eighths of an inch of the projectile's track, commencing at a distance of eighteen times the shell's diameter (13 in.) above the mortar, and 1½ inch visual distance above the head of the superintending officer in front. * * Particular attention is however called to a likeness of the human head, which so distinctly dominates in the smoke. The phantom does not appear to be the result of chance, for, on repeating this experiment, it is invariably reproduced at a certain phase of the smoke's expansion. Further, the apparition is not, nor can it, I believe, be seen by the human eye, excepting through the medium of photography, which, in its highest instantaneity, appears to eternize time, by giving, at the photographer's will, a series of pictures of things, which have their birth, marked phases of existence, and extinction, in a moment (from the 20th to the 20.000th part of a second), much too flecting to be noted by the naked eye."

If material agents enable man to discern objects that are otherwise not recognizable by his senses,—if the telescope reveals to him the worlds which people the immensity of space and the microscope the inhabitants of the tiniest particle of matter,—if photography fixes the record of actions almost as quick as thought;—if such wonders are being revealed to us through the refinements of science, are we not prepared to believe in greater wonders when the scales shall be freed from our eyes,—when the senses shall be freed from the imperfections, through which they now act, and shall be the inmates of a spiritual body. Every day shows the student of nature the truth involved in the great dramatist's words:

> **There are more things in heaven and earth,**
> **Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.**

While accuracy in experimentation and profound study have revealed us the phenomena of light, sound has not been neglected. The *Phonautograph* has been invented, and sound is made to register its vibrations, so that a faithful reproduction may be secured of all its curves. The aged Abbe Moigno exhibited to the British Association, the results of this invention in a collection of sheets of paper, "on which were self-registered the sounds of the human voice, organ pipes, &c., to the amount of five hundred or a thousand vibrations." Is it a wild dream that "the phonautograph will eventually be made capable of superseding every species of stenography, and not only the words, but the very tones of our talented speakers and actors will, by its aid, be registered for future generations." Madame Daguerre thought her husband mad when he endeavored to render the images in the camera permanent. Let us profit by her example and not reject the embryo of a discovery, which may be also developed to like gigantic proportions.

Some attention has been paid during the last year to the gradual elevation of the concert pitch of our musical instruments. The pitch is based upon very strict and accurate mathematical calculations. The increased elevation of pitch, which has gradually crept into favor all over the world, was first occasioned, it is believed, by the makers of wind instruments,—as by its elevation, greater sonorousness and brilliancy are obtained for such instruments. The *A* of the scale is now a whole tone higher than it was a century ago, as is shown by a comparison of wind instruments and church bells, made then, with those at present manufactured. The attention of distinguished singers has been directed to this evil. Difficulty has been found in executing vocally certain pieces of music unless they were transposed in a lower key. Some, trying to adhere to the composer's key, have converted what should be dulcet sounds into ear piercing shrieks. Jenny Lind stated that "there was a considerable amount of music that *she* could not think of singing at the present pitch; and music which she sang

with the greatest ease about twelve years ago, when the pitch was lower, she could not now attempt."

In view of "the increasing elevation of the diapason presenting inconveniences to music, composers, musicians and instrument makers," the French Emperor appointed a Commission to investigate the subject and to report upon the same. The Commission consisted of fourteen members, comprising eminent musicians, composers and professors of physics. A report has been made by this Commission, recommending that a standard diapason be adopted, and that all the musical establishments, under government control, be obliged to adopt the same. For those of our readers who may wonder how a standard could be prepared, we may mention that a certain number of vibrations will always form one definite sound. All that was necessary in determining the new standard, was to declare how many vibrations shall represent a certain note. In the time of Louis XIV *A* consisted of 810 simple vibrations, while, in modern times at the Grand Opera in Paris it had risen to 898. The French Commission have reduced it to 870 vibrations. This will in the course of time reach other countries, and the reduction of the diapason will be welcomed by vocalists with much delight.

Weights and *measures* continue to attract the attention of the powerful nations of the globe. So much is dependent on the accuracy of these for the existence of harmonious relations among mankind, that we can readily understand the injunction of Moses—to have a perfect and just weight, a perfect and just measure—and the declaration that those who have divers weights and divers measures "are an abomination unto the Lord." Each government reserves to itself the right of fixing the standards of *its* weights and measures. This has given us different standards, producing confusion and trouble in commercial intercourse between nations. Commissioners have been appointed by the principal nations to discuss this subject, and if possible to present some plan or system which could be adopted by all, thus establishing uniformity of weights and mea-

sures wherever civilization extends its influences. Nothing as yet has been done that bids us hope any speedy relief from our difficulties. Each nation seems so wedded to its own system, that it will be difficult for all to throw away old prejudices, and unite upon a compromise plan. Our own decimal coinage, and its convenience, suggests naturally the idea that *decimal* weights and measures would be the best. A late writer on the subject objects to this on the ground that a decimal system is really inconvenient because of the difficulty in making up fractional portions, and suggests that an octonary system be adopted, all weights, measures, &c., being regulated by series of eights. It is true this would require us to give up our entire system of notation, but the author thinks that would be of little account, and presents a system which is certainly curious, as it contains substitutes for all the old names used in computation at present;

Un.	Du.	The.	Fo.	Pa.	Se.	Ki.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Unty.	Duty.	Thety.	Foty.	Paty.	Sety.	Kity.
8	16	24	32	40	48	56
Under.	Duder.	Theder.	Foder.	Pader.	Seder.	Kider.
64	128	192	256	320	384	448

We shall not transfer the author's tables of weights and measures, which are equally as singular to the eye and as harsh sounding to the ear. May the future only furnish us some clue to the labyrinthine mazes which now surround the subject!

Every new occupation necessarily places man in new relations to those causes which produce disease. The question of the effect of railroads on the mortality-bills is beginning now to be agitated with some interest among statisticians and hygienists. The data collected are hardly sufficient to justify any conclusions as yet, though it may be interesting to see how much that is of importance is contained in this apparently unattractive subject. We shall present some thoughts from Dr. Figuier's book on this subject, which struck us forcibly in our examination.

Railroads must bear some of the blame for the increase of nervous diseases. This is particularly the case where their daily aid is employed to transfer business men from rural or suburban residences to their places of business. Dr. Wirm of London says "the fear of being left behind, produces a sort of febrile excitement which acts at length injuriously on the nervous system. Failure to be in time for the train, requires one to seek the hotel for lodging and meals, occasioning worry and annoyance to the traveller and his family who are awaiting his arrival. This condition of affairs, continued for a long time, tends to the production of nervous attacks and cerebral congestion." The same effects are noticed as occurring in Paris where this continuous state of anxiety has been prolific in injury to health.

Another question, however is of interest to the casual as well as the habitual traveller, and that is the comparison of accidents on railroads, and in the old mode of conveyance by horsepower. Most persons, looking superficially at this subject, would say that the number of accidents is much greater now than years ago, and hence conclude that the per centage of accidents was also greater. Such a conclusion would, however, be very erroneous, as one will see by comparing statistics. From 1846 to 1855, there were 20 killed and 238 wounded in a total of 7,109,276 passengers in French *Diligences*, giving 1 wounded out of 29,871 travelers, and 1 killed out of 355,453. From 1835 to 1856, there were 111 killed and 402 wounded out of 224,345,769 persons traveling on French railroads, giving the proportion of 1 wounded out of 558,071, and 1 killed out of 2,021,133. Thus the danger of being wounded was eighteen times greater, and of being killed five times, by the diligence mode of conveyance than by the railroad. The ratio does not differ very much from that furnished by the statistics of other roads, and we are right in claiming, for this mode of travel, safety as well as convenience, comfort and speed, which are admitted by every one.

Steam has been brought into use in our cities as the motor for fire-engines, which have heretofore only been

worked at the expense of human muscle. We are indebted to the United States for this application of steam, and water is made to combat fire, being urged on to the conflict by the same agent. The existence of fire companies employing hand-engines has been a fruitful source of the destruction of young men in our cities. The engine houses were centres of attraction for the idle and unemployed, who soon became experts in all the acquirements of the worthless. The spirit of rivalry between the companies engendered quarrels and bloody encounters, and seemed to be entirely beyond the control of ordinary legislation. The steam fire-engines, requiring but few men, have necessarily destroyed the old companies and paved the way for the formation of paid fire-departments in our cities, thus removing the evils which the old system had produced. We consider the steam fire engine as a most excellent contribution towards public morals, and never see one, in its quiet contest with the destructive element, without a feeling of thankfulness to that Providence which has enabled the human brain to use steam for so many of the wants and necessities of the race.

But steam is not hereafter to confine its usefulness to manufactures, to means of conveyance or even to the working of fire-engines. The farmer is demanding that it should work for him. For years he has contented himself with plough-tillage of his land, not on account of any special advantage it possesses over spade-husbandry, but because human labor had become too valuable to employ it in such operations as lightening soil for agricultural purposes.—In fact "the plough now in use is merely a barbarous implement, planned in rude days, for enabling horses to do man's work. The spade lifts up the soil in mass, turns it over, and leaves it evenly spread as a loosened, porous bed; but the plough-share, on the other hand, squeezes down and condenses one part, while it loosens and turns up another." The problem for solution is, how can the farmer obtain the advantages of spade-husbandry without the necessity of employing manual labor. Already attempts have

been made at the solution, with more or less success. Steam —the slave of man—has been harnessed to the plough and we may discern the beginning of an era in husbandry when the steam-engine shall be one of the regular pieces of machinery found on every farm. A native of Lancaster Co., Pa., has contrived a steam plough, which demonstrates "the practicability of employing steam for ploughing, and other farm purposes." This, we trust, is but the beginning of a series of useful inventions, having as their end, the adaptation of steam to arts which have heretofore been carried on only by manual labor. One may conceive the gratification that all this would give the heart of Roger Bacon, could he but see how real and true have become many of the dreams that floated through his mind centuries ago.

The mechanic arts, under the influence of scientific discovery, have not been at rest during the past year. Great bridges have been completed, wondrous ships constructed, and other indications that the restless spirit of man has been active. The Victoria bridge, over the St. Lawrence at Montreal, is the proudest monument of engineering skill that has ever been thrown across a river. This bridge is is nearly two miles in length. The difficulties to be overcome in its structure arise not only from the width of the river, its depth and rapid current. "There was another obstacle—far more formidable than all. In the winter season, the St. Lawrence presents a field of ice from three to five feet thick. Whilst it is thus frozen, the river rises sometimes as much as twenty feet above its summer level." When the ice breaks up, in the spring, "a field of ice, probably nine miles long and from four to five feet thick, threatens destruction by its weight to any structure that may be in its way." These difficulties have been overcome, —an iron bridge has been constructed, with a weight of 100,000 tons, which is strong enough to meet the requirements of the case, and the arrival of the heir apparent to the British crown is awaited for the insertion of the cap-stone which shall complete the whole. But Canada is bound to the United States at Niagara by a bridge, which would

have been considered still more wonderful, some years since. The Victoria bridge is supported on massive piers, which have been built in the river,—the Niagara suspension bridge floats, as it were, in mid air, 250 feet above the level of the river, supported by suspension cables made of steel wire, and deviating but ten inches when loaded with a train of cars weighing 326 tons. This wonderful bridge is situated a short distance below the falls, that have commanded the silent awe of man for centuries, so that nature and art here combine to manifest the power of Him, who made the one and put it in the mind of man to contrive the other with its admixture of strength and beauty. The roar of the mighty waters no more certainly hymns forth the praise of its great Creator, than the beauty of the triumph of art attests how great was the gift to man of the mind that could conceive, and the hands that could execute it.

"Earth, with her thousand voices, praises God,"

and man, with the cunning skill which his Maker has given him, joins in the chorus, whether his praise come from a willing or an unwilling heart.

The construction of the Leviathan of naval art—the Great Eastern—deserves also a passing notice, before we leave this portion of our subject. We are aware that circumstances have prevented the trial of this monster at any distance from shore, and it may be that no direct practical benefit will result to her owners from her construction, yet we dare not say that the time and money, expended on this vessel, have been thrown away, when we look upon it as embodying the vast conceptions that the progress of civilization has enabled man to form of the *future* wants of his race. The Great Eastern has been constructed before the needs of commerce demanded such a vessel, yet how wonderfully does it exhibit the fact that man's ingenuity will be equal to any demands that may be made upon it, or rather that he shall be endowed with the faculty of constructing whatever the wants of his race shall require, whenever these wants shall obtain an articulate utterance. Who can doubt in the capacity of Noah's ark, when he learns

that the Great Eastern is capable of carrying with comfort four thousand souls on board; and that "her whole weight when voyaging, with every contemplated article on board, is estimated at not less than twenty-five thousand tons!"

A peculiarity of modern Chemistry is its ability to imitate certain organic compounds, through the mutual reactions of others possessed of very dissimilar properties. Public attention was attracted to this, more especially at the time of the great London Exhibition, through the report of one of the Juries. Certain artificial fruit essences were exhibited, so perfectly imitating the natural fruits, that detection was difficult, if not impossible. These substances are employed in confectionery to flavor preparations of sugar known as fruit drops, lozenges, &c.,—and in the perfumer's art to give scent to soaps, or in the liquor-dealer's laboratory to convert ordinary whiskies and brandies into close imitations of those that have been improved by the mellowing effects of age. The sources of these fruit essences are indeed very singular, and show what a transmuting power chemistry has on all forms of matter. It cannot endow a particle of inorganic matter with the attributes of that which is organic, but give it organic matter and it will produce changes well calculated to challenge our wonder.

One of the most interesting of these essences is that imitating the oil of bitter almonds, which has been known for many years, but only applied to practical use about the time of the great exhibition. Every one knows the peculiar taste of the bitter almond and the peach leaf,—and has probably enjoyed it in some of the desserts which the cook has prepared for his table. The imitation article is nitrobenzole, and may be formed in several ways, depending upon the action that nitric acid has upon the substance benzole, which is one of the liquid products obtained in the distillation of coal gas. It may also be obtained from hippuric acid, "which is extracted from the drainage of our stables." From *such* sources, by no means savory or attractive, this artificial oil of bitter almonds is obtained,

which afterwards constitutes an attractive characteristic of toilet soaps, or of custards and puddings. Pear oil, used to flavor lozenges, has an equally unattractive origin. Associated with the whisky obtained from potatoes and corn is a peculiar fiery product, known as *fusel oil.* It is this which gives the pernicious quality to the commoner varieties of whisky, speedily closing up the careers of those who use them habitually, and whose effects have been attributed, by the ignorant, to the presence of strychnia. Its odor is that which pours forth, with other vile fumes, itself more potent than the rest, from the low groggeries that infest our cities; but when distilled along with acetic acid, the result is the chemical compound—the acetate of oxide of amyl or *pear oil.* If the same fusel oil be distilled along with bichromate of potash and sulphuric acid, we have, as the result artificial, apple oil. The pine apple oil has an origin still more repulsive. This is a butyrate of oxide of ethyl, and is obtained from butyric acid and ethyl. Butyric acid gives the peculiar penetrating odor which we find in sauerkrout and rancid butter, but when combined with the ethyl the result is the delicate odor of the pine apple, to be employed in flavoring rum or the lozenges, made of sugar and starch or plaster of paris, which are sold at such attractively cheap rates on our rail road cars. But of the transmutation of matter much has been said since the philosophic reflections of Hamlet; Dr. Playfair, presents thus some striking results: "The horse shoe nails, dropped in the streets during the daily trafic, are carefully collected, and reappear in the form of swords and guns. The clippings of the traveling tinker are mixed with the parings of horses' hoofs from the smithy, or with cast-off woolen garments, and soon afterwards, in the form of dyes of brightest blue, grace the dresses of courtly dames. The main ingredient of the ink, with which we write, was possibly once part of the broken hoop of an old beer-barrel. The bones of dead animals yield the chief constituent of Lucifer matches. The dregs of port wine, carefully rejected by the port wine drinker in decanting his favorite

beverage, are taken by him in the morning, in the form of seidlitz powders, to remove the effects of his debauch. The offal of the streets and the washings of coal gas reappear carefully preserved in the lady's smelling bottle, or are used by her to flavor blanc-manges for her friends."

Among the suggestions of new articles of food may be mentioned that of blood. A German, by the name of Steinroth, proposes that beeves shall be fed with the view of using their blood, obtained by venesection at stated periods. This proposition, worthy of an Abyssinian, on account of its cruelty, has been favorably received by some students of political economy, among whom we are surprised to find Dr. Figuier. The use of blood in food is not peculiar to any country. Germans and Swedes, with many of our country of German descent, employ it in the form of pudding, &c. *This* is not the point of objection. It is the cruelty of abstracting, from an animal in health, that liquid which is essential to health. The removal of milk is a different thing, as milk is a secretion which must be removed from the animal system. We have too much confidence in the humanity of even scientific experimenters to believe that any supporters will be found among them for Steinroth's suggestion. We are willing that it should only be said of the Adjebas, of the valley of Sobat, "that they raise large herds solely for the purpose of subjecting them to stated bleedings, with the view of employing the blood as food."

While speaking of food, the singular researches of Pouchet, on the substances which are always a component portion of the air, deserve notice. It seems that the air always contains greater or less quantities of minute particles of organic or inorganic matter. This atmospheric detritus constitutes what is known as dust, and its composition is very curious, containing portions of all kinds of matter on which *tempus edax rerum* has laid its destructive hand. Pouchet examined microscopically dust from the cornices of houses, garrets, churches, &c. It consists of mineral and organic substances;—the first are furnished by the detritus of the

minerals peculiar to the country. The second come from the animal as well as the vegetable kingdom. The animal kingdom furnishes silicious skeletons of infusoria, fragments of insects, the tissues of which our clothing is made, and a thousand other curious relics of life and activity, now borne about by the passing wind, so that the atmosphere has become, as it were, a Golgotha of the remote past. The particles from the vegetable kingdom are as follows: "Fragments of tissues of different plants, ligneous fibres, fragments of cellules and vessels, down from the nettle and kindred plants, portions of the egrets of compound flowers, many cotton filaments, ordinarily white, but sometimes of other colors, pollengrains, &c., &c." The substance, however, which is present in greatest abundance, is fecula, or starch. It seems to bid defiance to changes, in its atmospherical home, more successfully than any of its companions. Grains of starch, found in the dust collected in the tombs of Upper Egypt, responded to the proper tests just as the starch obtained from the vegetable of yesterday. Starch grains from the time of Sesostris and the Pharaohs were found identical with that of the present time.

M. Pouchet, with the view of testing the general distribution of these starch granules, extended his investigations over a wide space. He examined dust from various localities, the monuments of cities as well as those in deserts, inland and seashore localities, and the starch was always found as if gifted with the property of indefinite preservation. Its antiquity is very striking; he found it in the most inaccessible retreats of old gothic churches mixed with the blackened dust of six or eight centuries, in the palaces and hypogea of Thebes, in the hidden windings of Gothic monuments which had not been entered within the memory of man; and in the interior of the tympanum of a mummied dog taken from a subterranean temple in Upper Egypt.

Whence all the starch? M. Pouchet thinks that its source is the wheat or corn used for food. Its presence is

in proportion to the density of the population in the regions where it is found, and it diminishes as we explore monuments more remote from the habitations of men. Thus no starch granules were found in the temple of Jupiter Serapis on the banks of the Gulf of Baiae, nor in that of Venus Athor on the confines of Nubia.

These discoveries of Pouchet, while their practical importance may not be very clearly defined to the mere utilitarian, still suggest to the philosopher material for thought. Man, with all his wonderful reasoning faculties, has but an ephemeral existence as compared with that of the particles of food, which thus pass through ages, until finally the microscope of the naturalist recognizes them, as possessed of all their original chemical and physical properties. A grain of starch from Egypt, from the time of the Pharaohs,—who knows that it may not have been a portion of that very corn which Joseph had gathered "as the sand of the sea?" But we dare not trust the imagination with the idea, lest our article grow beyond its intended limits,—we leave it with the reader as a subject for meditation.

Along with scientific discovery, there has been death among men of science during the past year. Brunel, Henfrey, Lardner, Lassaigne, Mather, Nichol, Nuttall, Olmstead, Carl Ritter, Soubeiran, Wilson, and, *primus inter pares*, Baron Alexander von Humbolt, have been called to render up an account of their labors,—to show whether, amid their career of scientific discovery, they have found that all things were made by ONE, in whom we live, and move, and have our being. To Him let us leave the decision of the question, whether they have been faithful to their trusts, while we avail ourselves of the discoveries they have announced.

Baltimore, Md. L. H. S.

ART. VI.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO THE REFORMATION. From the German of Professor KURTZ; with emendations and additions by the Rev. Alfred Edersheim, Ph. D., Author of "History of the Jewish Nation." Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street. 1860.

The preface of the translator gives us no information concerning the different works of Dr. Kurtz, on the same subject. We will supply this defect. Dr. Johann Heinrich Kurtz, a pupil of Tholuck and Neander, formerly professor in the Gymnasium of Mitau, now professor at the German Russian University of Dorpat, has written no less than six historical works, three on Sacred or Biblical History, and three on Church History, of three different sizes, small, middle and large, the first for College-students, the second for Seminary—or theological students, and the third for scholars. Of his three Biblical Histories two are now translated, the one of middle size in one volume by Prof. Dr. Schäffer of Gettysburg, and the largest one in three volumes by Rev. Alfred Edersheim of Aberdeen in Scotland. Of his Church Histories the smallest one is a mere compend for beginners and hardly worth translating, unless Church History should be introduced as a regular study into the junior or senior classes of our Colleges, as is the case in German Gymnasia. The largest one, which he calls *Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte* and which is to embrace at least three volumes in several parts, is not yet finished, having been commenced only in 1853. The one of middle size, called *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte,* or as it is familiarly called in Germany Kurtz's *Studentenbuch,* is now brought before the Anglo-American public by the same Scotch translator in the elegant and solid dress of the publications of my friend, Mr. Clark of Edinburg, and can be had at the rooms of Messrs. Smith & English, in Sixth street above Chesnut, Philadelphia, one of the very best and cheapest book stores in America.

The original of this middle sized Church history contains but one volume which through the various editions following each other in rapid succession (the first was published in 1849, the fourth and last in 1860) has swollen up to over seven hundred closely printed pages. The translator divides it into two volumes. The first goes to the Reformation, the second, which is promised in the preface, will bring the history down to the present day. In the latter, the author contemplates a number of changes with a view to adapt the book more fully to the Calvinistic churches of the British race. In the first volume, too, he has introduced several chapters of his own on Wycliffe and the Lollards, Hus and the Bohemian brethren, Humanism in England and Scotland. As to the propriety of such changes there will, of course, be a difference of opinion, many preferring an author just as he is, even with his defects. In the end, it is doubtful whether any German work can fully satisfy the wants of the English and American reader. We must and will have in due time a Church history of native growth, reviewing the whole history of Christ's kingdom on earth down to its latest phase and prospects in the new world, and doing full justice to America as well as Europe. But in order to rouse our historical energies we must have this foreign stimulus furnished by the almost inexhaustible stores of modern German research.

As to the merits of Kurtz's *Lehrbuch* and its prospects to a favorable reception of its translation, there can be little difference of opinion. A man who writes so many works on the same subject can, indeed, hardly be an independent master, striking out new avenues of thought and investigation and furnishing a classical work of lasting authority and value. Gibbon, Neander and Gieseler, devoted the energies of their life to one grand work which has outlived them and will be consulted for many generations to come.

But in addition to such large and permanent works for the careful study of the advanced scholar we need compendious and popular reproductions for more general use and circulation, and the more they are based upon original research, the better.

Among these compendious Church histories for the use of Seminaries we give Kurtz decidedly the preference. Kurtz is orthodox and evangelical in sentiment, just and liberal in judgment, clear and fluent in style. He has a keen eye for the salient points in history and a power of condensation almost equal to

that of Hase. We have now translations of the compendious Church histories of Hase, Guericke and Kurtz, besides the large works of Neander and Gieseler. Hase's manual is unique in its kind and will always retain its value as a real master piece of the rare art of historical miniature painting, but it is altogether unsuited as a text book in America, owing to its want of evangelical spirit and its enigmatic brevity and pregnancy. Of Guericke's work we have a translation in part by Prof. Schedd of Andover, covering the first six centuries, but we doubt whether he will continue it. If so, he would be obliged to make radical changes to adapt it to English and American taste and use. For Guericke, while he is slavishly dependent on Neander in the history preceding the Reformation, has written the history of the Reformation and the subsequent periods in the spirit and interest of an intolerant and exclusive Lutheranism and in ignorance of, and injustice to, the Reformed and Calvinistic type of Christianity. Besides, his method is intolerably heavy and confused, and his style proverbially complicated and uncouth. Whatever is good in Guericke and and gave it its temporary value and popularity, namely, its decided positive Christian and churchly tone, is found in Kurtz, without the defects. Kurtz's Manual is equally positive, and far more liberal, comprehensive, clear, and polished. We have no doubt that it will soon supersede Guericke's work altogether even in Germany. For England and this country it is infinitely better adapted, and we predict for it a large sale and popularity similar to the excellent translation of his "Sacred History" by Prof. Schäffer.

English and American theology is fast getting Germanized by the rapid succession of translations. The prejudices against these foreign importations are fast passing away, and no minister can lay claim now to a thorough education, nor keep progress with the age without some knowledge of German or Anglo-German literature. Perhaps in the course of time American theology, as it will grow out of this connection of two national modes of thought, may repay its debt by Americanizing the European theology. A reacting influence has already commenced, and American literature is beginning to attract the attention even of German divines who used to be far better at home in the remotest corners of antiquarian research than in the living development of American Christianity. Kurtz man-

ifests in the latter part of his Church history a much better knowledge and juster appreciation of the German Churches of this country, derived from recent works of an Anglo-American divine, than either Gieseler, or Guericke or Hase, although even he is far from doing full justice to this interesting branch of modern Church history.

P. S.

SERMONS BY JOSEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER, D. D. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner, No. 124, Grand Street. 1860.

Here we have two volumes of sermons from the manuscripts of the lamented Dr. J. Addison Alexander of Princeton, most elegantly printed and furnished with a striking likeness of the author. Dr. J. Addison Alexander, besides being regarded as the most learned divine of the American Presbyterian Church, enjoyed a high reputation as a preacher. The sermons here given to the public were all actually delivered in Princeton, New York, Philadelphia and other places. One of them we heard ourselves in New York, and can testify to their impressiveness. They are impregnated with Gospel truths and written in a style as happy, pure and smooth as the productions of the celebrated English essayist whose name he bore. We could wish for a greater variety and an alternation of light and shade, of sunshine and thunder, of breeze and torrent. The highest order of style, it seems to us, varies with the subject and clothes every idea with such language as is best adapted to express it. So nature's beauty is not uniform, but changes with every season and every clime. The sermons of Dr. Alexander will, of course, be widely circulated, especially in the Old School Presbyterian Church and among his numerous admiring pupils and hearers. We regret the absence of a fixed order and method in the arrangement of the Sermons, and of a Memoir by the unknown editor (probably a brother of the author) which would have added to the value of the publication. For ourselves we greatly prefer hearing a sermon, and very seldom read one. But we have at least cursorily looked over these two volumes with a melancholy pleasure and respect for the memory of one of the most gifted American divines who was taken from us at the very height of his power and usefulness. But though dead he yet speaketh.

P. S.

A Critical Dictionary of English Literature, and British and American Authors, living and deceased, from the earliest accounts to the middle of the nineteenth century. Containing thirty thousand biographies and literary notices, with forty indexes of subjects. By S. Austin Allibone. Vol. I. Philadelphia: Childs & Peterson, 602 Arch street. 1859. (The first edition was published in 1854.)

A truly national work, which should adorn the library of every gentleman of education and taste. It will be found an invaluable book of reference on almost any name and topic relating to British and American authorship and literature. The reader may be sure to find here, with rare exceptions, just the kind of instruction which he seeks, and the oftener he uses it, the more will he prize it and admire the zeal, industry and skill of the author. It gains upon acquaintance in proportion to the knowledge of the immense field which it covers. It throws its predecessors far into the shade both as to fulness and accuracy of information. It is an imperishable monument to the worthy author with whom it is a labor of love and the work of his life, to the publishers, who have ventured on so heavy an outlay with no hope of immediate returns, although with a certain prospect of ultimate success, and an honor to America whose chief glory, like that of every other people, as Dr. Johnson justly remarks, must arise from its authors. This is high praise, indeed, but not higher than has been bestowed upon the work by many of the most distinguished literary men of the age, who are far more able to judge of its merits than we, such as Macaulay, Tennyson, Cardinal Wiseman, of England, Washington Irving, Prescott, Everett, Bancroft, Ticknor, Bryant, Woolsey, Felton, Ch. Hodge, G. S. Hillard, Francis Lieber and many others of America, whose recommendations are prefixed to the first volume.

We do not mean, of course, that the book is perfect, which can be said of no human work. We could wish many articles to be more positive and characteristic. The article on *Hare*, for instance, neglects to mention his famous library which is said to have been the most extensive and judiciously selected of all the private libraries of England, his work on Luther which is the best critical vindication of the German reformer in the English language, his peculiar, though by no means

commendable method of composition which throws the principal matter into the notes (as in the "Mission of the Comforter"), his interesting relations to Bunsen, Arnold, Coleridge, and especially to the so called Broad Church school of Anglican Theology, of which he, in connection with Coleridge and Arnold, may be said to be the chief founder. The article on Dr. *Berg* makes no mention of his prominent antagonism to "Mercersburg Theology," which constitutes the most eventful chapter in his literary history. The article on *Brownson* gives no clear idea either of the philosophy or theology of this principal periodical champion of Romanism in the United States. Under *Gladstone* his best literary production, the work on Homer is omitted. Of *Samuel Taylor Coleridge's* philosophy and theology we get no clear idea, and his relation to the system of Schelling is not even alluded to. But while we might point out many similar defects, we must admire the general accuracy of a work of such proportions and such a variety of information.

It gives us also special pleasure to add another praise to the recommendations of the eminent scholars prefixed to the volume. *It is the healthy moral and even religious tone which pervades the whole.* This is certainly one of the highest excellencies of a work of this kind, which will be consulted, and frequently consulted by scholars of every profession, clerical, legal, medical and philosophical, as well as by non-professional men of literary culture. We quote as a specimen, Mr. Allibone's remarks on the scepticism of Gibbon, of whose immortal historical work he speaks in language of well merited praise.

"We confess," says Mr. Allibone, p. 668, "to so ardent an admiration of this truly great author, that it is with pain we are obliged to advert to his grave errors, for which genius, however exalted, learning however profound, and diction, however splendid, can make no adequate atonement. Not for the genius of Homer, the wealth of the Indies, nor 'all the learning of the Egyptians,' would we be willing to write one line calculated to disturb the faith of the humblest Christian in that inspired Word which hath God for its Author, Truth for its substance, and Salvation for its end.' In a world of trial, sorrow, and temptation, let no impious hand presume to assail that Ark of Refuge and Consolation which Divine mercy has provided for the guilt and misery of humanity."

The first volume of Allibone's Dictionary was stereotyped and first published in 1854, but in the present edition the author at a large expense (of over one thousad dollars, I believe) has made such corrections and additions in the plates as to

bring it down to 1859. It covers over 1000 large and closely printed pages.

We shall gladly and more fully return to this standard work when we shall see the second and last volume, for the early completion of which we wish the esteemed author an abundance of health, leisure, patience and peace of mind, and above all the blessing of Him, the promotion of whose glory should be our highest aim in literature and art, as well as in theology and religion. P. S.

BISHOP BUTLER'S ANALOGY OF RELIGION, NATURAL AND REVEALED, TO THE CONSTITUTION AND COURSE OF NATURE. Edited, with an analysis, by J. T. Champlin, D. D., President of Waterville College. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1860.

Butler's Analogy calls for no commendation nor extended notice. This compact argument has stood the test for more than a century; and to the present day has not been superseded by any work in the English language.

Dr. Champlin has edited a beautiful Edition, well adapted, as to type and general style, to the purposes of a text-book. Its chief peculiarity, which is of great advantage to the student, is an analysis of the argument incorporated with the text; the longer paragraphs being divided, and each having a statement of the subject or point discussed, prefixed to it.

E. V. G.

BOMBERGER'S HERZOG'S ENCYCLOPEDIA:—Part XI. of Dr. Bomberger's Translation of Herzog's Ecclesiatical and Theological Encyclopedia has been placed on our table. It runs from article *Heliogabalus* to article *Inspiration*. The further this work advances the more we are constrained to marvel at the immense resources of German learning and prompted to thank Dr. Bomberger for undertaking the Herculean task of transferring these treasures into the English tongue. As far as we have examined, there is a marked improvement in the quality of the translations. No minister or student, who desires to keep pace with the march of theological science and Church history, should fail to procure this work and place it on his book-shelves for constant reference. It gathers together and brings within his reach vast stores of useful knowledge, which have long been lying buried in the dusty recesses of the libraries of the Old World.

THE

MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1860.

Art. I.—THE FALL AND THE NATURAL WORLD.

That the natural world has an influence upon the character of man every scholar readily concedes. Light and heat; air, earth and water; food, climate and modes of life, exert a modifying influence on body and mind. That man reacts upon the natural world by the exercise of intellect and will no one will deny either. His superior and moulding power has been exhibited in the fine and mechanic arts in every age. He governs the animal by a word; he subdues the earth and causes the vallies, hills and mountains to produce all manner of fruits; and at his touch the mineral is transformed into ten thousand new and beautiful shapes.

So far all agree. But it is not so generally conceded that the moral and spiritual condition and character of the human race, objectively considered, are directly and intimately connected with the actual operation of the laws and forces which determine the condition of the physical world. It is supposed that, although the material part of the human constitution is a branch of the natural world, yet the state of the natural world, because governed by physical laws, is independent of the moral character of man; that the earth and physical forces are the same whether man remain true to his Creator and original trust, or apostatize from Him. It is this general subject that we propose to discuss; in order to show that in virtue of a deep and

mysterious sympathy between the spiritual and the physical, the natural world has sunk into an abnormal relation to the human race in consequence of the Fall.

The human race is connected constitutionally with the earth. The mineral, the vegetable and the animal, though each a distinct order of material existence, are yet inwardly and necessarily bound together. The life of the plant presupposes the existence of the mineral kindom ; and the life of the animal presupposes the existence both of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The plant appropriates and assimilates to itself the mineral. The animal appropriates and assimilates to itself both the plant and the mineral. The lower constitutes the pabulum of the higher order.

The life of man presupposes the existence of these three lower orders. He appropriates and assimilates one and all. He must do it, or die. The mineral kingdom is as necessary for man as it is for the plant. In like manner is the plant and animal necessary to the normal condition of mankind. Just as mineral elements are constituents of the plant; so are mineral, vegetable and animal elements the essential material constituents of man. The human race is as closely bound up with nature, though generically different, as the different lower orders of nature are bound up together among themselves.

In man, moreover, these lower orders reach their most complete form of expression. As to his physical constitution, he is the antitype of nature—the embodiment and perfection of the system of laws which underlie and determine each and all the departments of the lower world. And the human soul, vitally connected on the one hand with a material body, and, on the other, demanding in order to its integrity a living communion with God, forms the real connecting link between spirit and matter, between heaven and earth, between eternity and time, in a word, between the Creator of all things, the God and Father of Jesus Christ, and the kingdom of nature.

The kingdom of nature is not a mechanical collection of

things, laws, forces and influences, like stones, apples and bones thrown together on a conical pile; but it is a whole. Each one of its innumerable parts has its particular position and relation, and its particular office to perform. The sun, moon and stars; the mineral, plant and animal; body, soul and spirit; individuals, nations and races; the past, present and future; science, art and religion; each thing, whether sensible or supersensible, and each form or relation of a thing in time and space, has its place and its work to which it is bound by the law of the universal whole. Each part is also directly connected with every other part, thing, law or force. Each influences all, and all influence each. The true order of nature and an actual harmony of its operation, depend therefore not upon one thing or relation, nor upon many things, but upon all the things, forces and relations which make up the grand constitution of the first creation.

The symbol, or analogue, of the Christian Church, is, by divine authority, the human body. It exhibits in a figure the idea and order of the new creation in Christ Jesus. Hence we feel authorized also to take it as the symbol, or analogue, of the first or lower creation. The human body symbolizes the material world culminating in the first Adam as its legitimate head.

The human body consists of many members, organs and mysterious forces, constituting together a wonderful organic unity. Each one depends upon all the rest; and in turn all the rest depend upon each one. This principle the Apostle Paul has forcibly illustrated in his first Epistle to the Corinthians. "The body is not one member, but many. Now hath God set the members, every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased Him. And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now are they many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it." 1 Cor. 12: 14–26.

According to this inspired representation, the human body is one, consisting of many; one thing, or entity, consisting of many integral parts: all the parts being dependent on each other reciprocally, and on the life-principle of the whole; and the life-principle of the whole being dependent for its normal activity upon each and all the parts. When every member fills its office, and the proper subordination of these different members, each in its due measure, to the life and order of the whole is maintained, the body is healthy and vigorous. There is joyous harmony in the activity of numberless and various forces. But if any member of the body does not fill its office; if it does not perform its appropriate work; if it does not sustain its original relation to the other members, each and all, disorder and violence ensue. The beauty of this material organism, which is so "fearfully and wonderfully made," gives place to the pain and horror of raging confusion; a confusion, however, which is greater or less, more or less violent, according to the relative position of the failing member. All members have not the same office, as the Apostle Paul teaches. One member is the hand, another the eye, another the heart. If the hand be cut off, the entire nervous system is shocked; yet the body may survive and live on through the allotted period of human life, though in a mutilated condition which greatly lessens its beauty and hinders its efficiency. If the eye be destroyed the shock is greater still; the suffering and loss affect in a much deeper sense all the powers of the body, and cast a dark shadow upon the mind. The body may survive indeed, but the vigor and completeness of its action is impaired to an inconceivable degree. But if the heart ceases to beat, not only is the body mutilated or its power impaired, but its life becomes extinct; and the material body so wonderfully made, subjected to the law of decomposition, passes into a mass of inert and offensive matter.

Here we have in a little space the idea of the first creation. The earth with its different kingdoms, mineral, vegetable and animal, and mankind, taken together, con-

stitute one grand department of the universe. They are not isolated. They do not exist independently of each other. But they are, like the human body, one, yet many; one system, consisting of many sub-systems and innumerable parts, each differing in kind from the rest, and each conditioning in its measure the completeness and end of all, and all conditioning the law and influence of each; a unity of matchless wisdom and power, in which the original order of the whole depends upon the normal position and normal action of each and all the members. If any part or member does not fill its place or perform its work; if it violates the specific law which governs it, it violates by its connections the system of law which governs creation, and inflicts a wrong or evil on the whole: a chord is touched which sends a thrill of discord along every nerve and fibre, reaching down to atoms or molecules of matter, and up to the God-like spirit of man.

The injury done and the degree of disorder consequent upon the injury depend upon the relative position and importance of the failing part or offending member. Paul says of the body, all the members have not the same office; so we must say of the first creation, taken as a whole. All the grand divisions and sub-divisions, all the systems and sub-systems, all the genera and species, have not the same office. One division or system stands lower, the other stands higher; one thing stands lowest in the mysterious organism, another thing or being stands highest in it. The influence for evil of any part of creation rises in degree with its position. If the earth quakes, cities may fall into ruin, millions of gold and thousands of lives may be lost, and commerce checked or suspended; but society sooner or later surmounts the effects of the terrible shock, the world resumes its usual course, and the catastrophe lives on only in history. If madness seize a part of the animal kingdom; if they destroy corn, the vine, and the trees; if they fall upon and devour one another; if they attack and destroy men, women and children with the fierceness of an enraged tiger; the shock may be more horrifying, more

general and more ruinous still; but there is an energy and power in man that is superior to the most violent raging of brutes; he meets the fierceness of brute force with unshrinking courage, and subdues and destroys them in countless millions.

But when man falls the world falls. When the human race breaks away from its appointed orbit, confusion and discord break in upon the music of creation. When man o longer holds his original position, all lower systems and objects whose normal action and influence depend upon his fidelity, are thrown into irremediable disorder. The relation of mankind to the lower kingdoms of nature is like that of the head to the other members of the body. The eye may cease to see and the ear to hear; the arm may be paralysed, or even a lobe of the lungs removed; yet whilst each injury will necessarily produce its corresponding effect for evil upon the entire physical frame, the body may nevertheless live on. Not so with the brain. A paralysis of the brain is the paralysis of the entire nervous system. The human body ceases altogether to be a body. It becomes a corpse.

The principle under discussion becomes more strikingly manifest under another view of the illustration. What the brain is to the nervous system, that the reason of man is to the brain. The legitimate exercise of the powers of body and mind depend upon the supremacy of the reason. If reason be dethroned, and the will impotent, all the intellectual, moral and physical powers become arrayed against each other. Gigantic powers fall upon gigantic powers in wildest commotion, as mighty armies fall upon mighty armies, or as surging waves fall upon surging waves roused into fury by the lawless storm. The raving and cursing of the maniac; the rending of garments; the breaking of furniture; the biting and cutting of his own flesh, accompanied with shrieking and yelling, moaning and howling, the most terrific; reveal, not strength but weakness, not the operation of natural laws, but a violation of them, not the character of human life, but the spasms and throes of

most violent dying; reveal, not the presence, but the absence of the highest powers of a rational being—the absence of powers which had held those tremendous forces each in its place and its normal relation, and all in the original order of a perfect unity. We can not disclose to the cold eye of the logical understanding how spirit and matter in man act on each other reciprocally; nor can we explain the manner in which the reason rules in the functions of the body and makes the whole man physically no less than intellectually; but we know the fact to be most undoubted. This is sufficient. The fact exhibits to us, analogically, a correct idea of the original subordination to man of the incomprehensible forces which enter into the constitution of the natural world.

What the head is to the body, or the brain to the nervous system; what the reason is to the unity, order and harmonious activity of the intellectual and physical powers; that the human race itself is in its relation to all the kingdoms of nature. Made but a little lower than the angels and crowned by his Creator with glory and honor, man stood forth by the will of the Almighty, not figuratively but really, the head of the entire terrene creation. Under his righteous sway earth was Paradise.

When by the instigation of the Devil he transgressed the law of God, the living communion of man with God was interrupted, and the race sank, as by one stroke severing the vital bond, into unfathomable depths of evil. The act is called emphatically *the Fall;* and a fall of tremendous significance it was, moral, intellectual and physical. With him fell into confusion and discord whatever was dependent upon his integrity for its normal relative position, and its power for good. Being the real head of the physical world with whom all lower laws, and lower forms of being, stood in necessary relation, the integrity of Adam was not only the condition of the life and blessedness of the entire race throughout all time; but his integrity was also the condition of the integrity and harmonious action of all nature relatively to himself. So soon as this essential

condition of harmony with man in the natural world failed, confusion was introduced. Severing himself by transgression from God in body, soul and spirit, man in that act severed all the kingdoms of nature from God. For the life and laws of humanity are inwoven with the life and laws of nature; just as the laws of the eye and seeing are inwoven with the laws of light; or the law of the lungs and of breathing are with the laws of the atmosphere. If the eye be sound, it sees the light; the laws of the eye meet the laws of light; and light is most agreeable and beneficial to the human spirit. Light sustains a proper relation to man because man sustains a proper relation to it. If the eye be diseased, the laws of light are not met by the laws of the eye; the action of light becomes the cause of extreme pain to the eye, and its true relation to the human spirit is destroyed. For the normal relation of light to man is conditioned on the integrity of man. If he is not himself, and in consequence bears a false relation to the light, it bears a false relation to him and can not subserve its design.

So with the atmosphere in its relation to man. The action of the atmosphere depends on the health of the body. If the lungs do not perform their functions, a pure atmosphere ceases to be complemental to physiological laws. If the cuticle of the skin be removed by accident or otherwise, the lambent air instead of refreshing the body and cheering the mind, attacks the life of the body, inflicts indescribable pain, and may even consume it. The laws of the atmosphere are set in a false relation to man the moment he ceases to be in his normal condition.

The same principle may be illustrated by every particular relation of mankind to the outer sensible world; by hearing, tasting, smelling, eating, drinking, sleeping, bodily exercise; as well as by every relation belonging to the constitution of society. At all points man conditions the state and action of the natural world relatively to himself. He is the being to whom, according to the general idea of creation, all terrestrial orders of existence are to be held in subordination. Considered as different integral parts of

an organic whole, he holds the highest position, and in it exerts a determining influence upon what is below him; just as the head, or heart, does upon the members of the human body. When he was right, using the word in its broadest sense, the natural world was harmonious; when he is wrong, the natural world is thrown into confusion. So long as man stood in right relation to God, he stood in right relation to himself and to nature, and nature stood in right relation to him. But when he violated the law of God, he violated the law of his own being; and to violate the laws of his own being, was to violate the laws of nature; for the threads of his sensuo-rational life are interwoven with the woof of all the laws of nature. Thus he came to stand in false relation to God, to himself and to nature; and, by necessary consequence, nature also came to stand in false relation to God, to man, and to itself. When Adam lifted his hand against the Creator, he dealt a blow which fell upon the creature.

Hence the curse passes upon man and nature alike. Among men we find labor and sorrow, disease and pain, shame and weeping; ill-will, anger and wrath; hatred of self, of others, and of God; deceit and falsehood, enmity and malice, revenge and murder. As storm follows storm, so does one excited passion succeed another raging in wildest fury in their own bosoms. In the family, the husband lifts his blood-thirsty hand against his wife, the parent against the child, the brother against his sister. In society at large foe meets foe in deadliest conflict; family rising up in the ire of fierce wrath against family, state against state, nation against nation, and continent against continent; each one bent, in the spirit of a fiend, on pouring out the heart's blood of his brother on the ground. On the earth we see briars and thorns; convulsions and earthquakes; volcanic eruptions and streams of consuming fire; storms and whirlwinds and devastating tornadoes; inundations and conflagrations; burning heat and freezing cold. One wild commotion of blind impetuous forces presses on after another, in the heavens and

upon the earth, with terrific self-destroying power. Nature against man and against itself, and man against himself and against nature, the world becomes the theatre of most direful confusion, of wailing and groaning and convulsive dying from age to age. As when the human reason is dethroned the powers of mind and body turn against each other with most intense fierceness and dreadful violence; so when man is dethroned by sin the energies of the race and the forces of nature break forth into a war of each against all and all against each.

This is the explicit teaching of the Sacred Scriptures. "And unto Adam the Lord said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee saying, Thou shalt not eat of it; cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken; for dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return." (Gen. 3: 17–19.) The earth suffers with man under the curse which God pronounces upon Adam.

The same truth is taught by the Apostle Paul when he says "that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." (Rom. 8: 22.) We ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the redemption of our body; and the natural world, made subject to vanity, groans with us, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God.

In the account of Christ stilling the tempest on the sea of Galilee, as given by St. Matthew,* it is said of Christ, not that he caused the violence of the winds to cease, and the waves to subside, but that He first reproved the disciples for their fearfulness and "little faith," and then rebuked† the winds and the sea. Why *rebuke* the winds?

* Matth. 8: 23–27.

† Ἐπετίμησε, from ἐπι and τίμαω, to *value*, to *put an estimate upon* in a good sense, then, to *put an estimate of demerit upon*. Hence to *reprove, rebuke*; a word frequently used by the Evangelists in representing the miraculous workin

Why charge inanimate matter with wrong-doing? Not because our Lord indulges in empty rhetorical figures of speech; but because of the intimate connection of physical evil with moral evil. Physical evil is but the effect of moral evil; first, of the fall of Satan and his legions, and, secondly, of the sin and fall of mankind. The winds and the waves are but the passive agents of the Devil, who is "the Prince of the power of the air." (Eph. 2: 2.) In allaying the sudden fury of the tempest on the sea of Galilee, our Saviour accordingly rebukes the evil moral power which works in the air and in the waters. This implies a subjection of matter, and the laws of matter, to an evil spiritual power as a foreign force; a force foreign alike to man, to nature, and to the original harmony between human life and the physical world.

These considerations, sustained alike by natural science and the Sacred Scriptures, go to establish both the fact and the character of the intimate connection existing between man and nature. Whilst man and the earth differ generically, and very widely, they are nevertheless members of one grand order of things, the first creation. The normal relations of the natural world presuppose the integrity of the human race, its true and necessary head. The lapse of man from his moral and physical integrity into a state of moral and physical evil, or disorder, involves a lapse of the natural world, every law of which reaches into and is embodied in the human constitution, from a state of relative order and harmony into a state of opposition to man and violence. The clouds of heaven hurl upon man and beast the fatal bolt; the atmosphere is transformed into destructive storms, and the quiet waters into the sweeping inundation; the gentle flame becomes the devouring conflagration, and the nourishing bosom of earth pours forth broad streams of death; the sun smites men by day and

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of Christ. Matth. 17: 18, "Jesus *rebuked* the devil;" Mark 1: 25, Jesus *rebuked* him" (the unclean spirit); Luke 9: 42, "Jesus *rebuked* the unclean spirit;" Luke 4: 39, "He stood over her, (Simon's wife's mother) and *rebuked* the fever:" the same Greek word being used in all these passages.

the moon by night; because the material creation suffers with man the consequences of his apostacy from God.

To this general view there are *two objections*, which we proceed briefly to consider. The one is preferred by Natural Science, the other by Theology. The one is based on natural philosophy, the other on supernatural Revelation.

Natural Science objects, on the ground of close, long continued and extensive observation, that the changes and convulsions of the natural world are determined by certain fixed and invariable laws which belong to the original constitution of nature. The processes of disintegration, reconstruction and transformation in the mineral kingdom are necessitated by the laws of matter; the laws of matter are immutable, or exist as long as matter exists; hence the violent changes in the elements resulting from the resistless operation of law are necessary and immutable also; and can not have been superinduced by a moral cause. So too in the vegetable and animal kingdoms. The sprouting of the seed; the growth, full development and decay of plants—a permanent cycle which the vegetable kingdom repeats from age to age; the birth, life, the gradual exhaustion of vitality, and the death of animals; the dependence of one kingdom of nature upon another, of the animal upon the plant; the dependence of one species of animal for food upon another, necessitated by their physical organization—of different species of quadrupeds and birds, for example, upon live flesh or carrion: all serve to demonstrate the necessity of change, violence and death as lying in the natural world itself. Hence we must infer, that the confusion, suffering and disorder caused among men by the natural world are produced by the operation of the original laws of creation, and can not be the effect of the transgression of the will of God by Adam and his posterity.

This in general terms is the argument of learned naturalists; and as the reasoning is an induction from phenomena which address themselves to the senses, the eye, the ear, and the touch, visible and tangible phenomena therefore which are free, as it is thought, from the uncertainty

and indefiniteness which attach to all metaphysical or theological theorizing, the conclusion claims to be acknowledged as an undoubted fact. Naturalists repose great confidence in inductive reasoning based on observation and experiment; and some of them go so far even as to maintain that its conclusions are the only results of investigation of which the mind can be entirely certain. But they forget that the validity of all observation and experiment as the basis of generalization depends upon a metaphysical theory. The theory of inductive reasoning is a metaphysical theory. Every generalization from a number of particular phenomena is based upon, and justified by, an intuitive principle; a principle given forth immediately by the human reason; a principle that can not be proved or tested by experiment, but gives to experiment and observation all the scientific value they possess. That principle is the inductive principle; or the principle of inductive reasoning. If this be false all the results of experiment and induction are visionary. A metaphysical intuition, formally announced and indicated by Bacon,* has given impulse and character to all the Natural Sciences as developed in modern times. Hence every attempt to disparage metaphysical thinking in contrast with the clearer and more certain process of induction from external phenomena, is suicidal;

*The notion that Bacon discarded all theories and resorted to an actual investigation of nature in order to ascertain its laws and modes of existence, overlooks altogether a primary psychological law. The human reason can institute no investigation into the nature of an object but in the light of an intuitive principle. The truth is that Bacon only substituted one theory for another; a true one for prevailing false ones. His theory is that a correct knowledge of the external world is not obtained from a priori ideas concerning its nature, but by an induction from known particulars to the unknown general; it is the a priori principle that the nature of a whole is the same as that of a given number of its parts, or the nature of a class of objects the same as that of many individuals belonging to it. Indeed all sound scientific investigation is metaphysical; one science differing from another only according to the object with which it has to do; whilst all alike depend for their first principles upon the intuitions of the human reason. Natural Science is nothing more or less than sound metaphysical enquiry into the laws of nature.

for it is an attempt to remove the foundation of experimental philosophy. Hence, too, the application of the inductive principle in any given case is properly subject to criticism in the light of general truths that lie back of all observation. The bearing of the facts of the natural world gathered by observation and the generalizations based on these facts, are determined by certain assumptions of the mind. If these are true the generalizations may be true; if they are false the generalizations must be false.

We venture to affirm that the objection of Natural Science to any internal connection between the Fall of man and the condition of the earth or the natural world, in its relation to him, is not valid; because it proceeds upon a false assumption. A valid process of inductive reasoning infers the general character of a thing from the phenomena of that thing; or the general character of a class from a number of individuals belonging to that class. From the phenomena of one thing, it can not infer the general character of another thing. It can not determine the nature of a quadruped from observations made on a fish. From the phenomena of a thing in a given state, it can not infer the general character of that thing in a totally different state. It can not determine the nature of a living tree bearing green leaves, delicate flowers and luscious fruit, from the phenomena of that species of tree in a state of decomposition and decay. It can not determine the nature of an animal, instinct with the vigor and buoyancy of young life, from any observations on a carcass. Frequent and accurate observations on a rotting log may serve to determine the law and conditions of vegetable decomposition; no more. Similar observations on a putrifying mass, or on a skeleton, may reveal the law of animal decomposition; no more. With all his general and particular knowledge of the animal kingdom, the Naturalist can not advance a single step in Zoology without a new set of true phenomena. Of a newly-discovered species he can form a general judgment only in so far as he possesses the results of particular observations made upon it. He can

not determine the habits of one species exclusively from his knowledge of the habits of another. Of the mastodon, for example, we know nothing but from its fossil remains. From these it has been calculated that it was a mammiferous, pachydermatous quadruped, allied to the elephant; and from these facts certain general inferences may be drawn as to its habits; but we can acquire no such certain and satisfactory knowledge as we possess of the nature and habits of the elephant, or any species of which we have living specimens, for the simple reason that we are utterly unacquainted with the phenomena of a living mastodon.

The principle is fundamental to the validity of inductive reasoning; and applies to the case in hand. The phenomena of the natural world as it affects mankind, which are accessible to the human mind, are the phenomena of the natural world as it is in the relation in which it now stands to him; and forms the valid basis of a judgment concerning the relation of the natural world to him as it is at present constituted. We can have no access to any phenomena of a state of things anterior to and differing from the relative position of the natural world as it now is. There are indeed fossil remains of extinct species of animals and plants; and indications of violent physical forces that have in the ages past caused great changes in the condition of the earth; changes which are not taking place now; changes, too, justifying the inference that the earth has been passing from a lower to a higher state of organization. These facts, however, do not affect the question at issue. They show that the present condition of the earth is not its primary condition. They show that the earth has been subjected to violent convulsions. But they do not show that the present relation of the earth to mankind is the original relation. The facts accessible to Science all belong to the present relative condition of the natural world; and can, can, therefore, not be the basis of any judgment concerning a different relation of the world to man existing prior to the Fall. Natural Science is limited by every law of induction

to an inquiry concerning his relations to the natural world as they are now constituted.

Within the legitimate compass of Natural Science, there is in consequence no basis of objection to any theory of the original relation in which the order of nature stood. When in the light of Revelation we maintain that the present operation of natural forces and laws is not the original order; but that the prevailing confusion and violence, and the hostility of natural elements, air, fire, water, light, and the rest, to the life and happiness of mankind, has supervened from a moral cause, the lapse into moral and physical evil of man who is the true original head of nature; and that there is a deep sympathy between the moral and the physical, between man and animate organisms, inanimate organisms and mineral laws, in consequence of which nature must be in a state of harmony with man, or of hostility to him, as man abides in his original integrity, or apostazies from it;—we enter a sphere of thought into which Natural Science can not follow. The most it can say with propriety is, that it knows nothing about such a primeval relation of the natural world.

Natural Science can object to this view only by perpetrating one of two fallacies. It can object on the ground that all human facts prove nature always to have been subject to the operation of existing laws which are uniform and unchangeable. This is to draw from existing facts an inference concerning an order of things to which, on the presumption of an original relation differing from the present, existing facts do not belong. On the same principle Natural Science might contradict the Fall itself of the human race. For all the facts of human society as far back as history or tradition can carry us, establish the existence of the law of sin which operates in all the relations of social life as an unchanging and ineradicable moral force. The inference would be as justifiable in the one case as in the other. The facts establishing the laws of moral evil as belonging to the constitution of man are unlimited in number and possesses every imaginable variety of character;

as numerous and various, to say the least, as the certain phenomena of the physical world. And the difference between the primeval dignity and blessedness of man, as taught by Revelation, and the degradation, ignorance and misery of all nations, as taught by history and observation, is as great, to say nothing more, as any supposed difference between the original and present relation of nature to mankind.

Or, to avoid this violation of a fundamental law of induction, Natural Science must perpetrate a *petitio principii*. It must raise the objection on the assumption that the existing relation of the natural world is its only relation—that the known operation of the laws of nature upon man is the only one which can be predicated of these laws; which is directly to beg the question at issue. Certainly on every principle of reasoning, Natural Science can not oppose the theory of a great change in the relations of the natural world as an effect of man's sin, by proceeding on the assumption that the order and relations of the natural world are unchangeable. This second fallacy, however, is involved in the first; or rather, the two involve each other. To conclude from existing phenomena that the operation of natural laws has not been affected by the Fall, is both to deny the possibility of radical change from a moral cause, and to sustain the denial by an inference drawn from the present phenomena of nature against a relative position of nature to which present phenomena do not belong. We repeat, therefore, that assuming the possibility of so intimate a connection between man and nature that a moral change in man produces a corresponding change in the relations of the natural world to him, Natural Science, bound by the laws of induction, has no basis, and can have no sufficient basis, of logical judgment against it.

To what extent, however, the operation of natural laws has been affected by the Fall we have no means of determining positively. We do not affirm that the processes of nature would be generically different. The process of accretion and disintegration in the mineral kingdom, and that of growth

maturity, death and decomposition in the vegetable and animal kingdoms, may have been as consistent with his condition before the Fall as it is now with his condition after that event. All we contend for, on the ground of Revelation, is the fact of a deep sympathy between man and the external natural world, both being integral parts of a whole, in virtue of which the Fall changes the relation of man to the natural world and of the natural world to man; and modifies the condition of the natural world itself in the degree, whatever that may be, that its normal condition may have presupposed and depended upon the original integrity of man.

We are able to determine much more in the way of negation. By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned. (Rom. 5: 12.) The death of man, and whatever in society or in nature tend to cause it, or hasten it prematurely, are the consequence of the Fall. Had man sustained his probation, the law of suffering and death would have no place in him; he would be superior to all the forces of nature that now assail and destroy the race. He could not be consumed by fire, nor drowned by water. The sun could not smite him. No excess of heat or cold could give him pain. No noxious vapors, nor terrible whirlwinds; no quakings of the earth, nor eruptions of volcanoes; no mineral nor vegetable poisons, no law of gravitation, nor fury of wild beasts; no sickness, disease, nor age, could touch him. Superior to these and all other hostile forces, he would have lived on in the freshness of ever blooming youth, having complete dominion over all kingdoms of nature below him in the strength of direct communion with God. Such a different human character and state would of course involve a great modification of all the relations of nature to man—a modification, however, which we are not in a position to describe specifically, yet in general terms may say would be direct and far-reaching in its influence.

Another objection, we have said, may be raised by

Theology. It may be urged against this view of the relation of the Fall to the natural world, that it confounds spirit with matter, or man with nature, and thus becomes pantheistic. The charge is well-grounded if the view involves such a confusion, or flowing together, of different forms of being. But such is not the case. Pantheism, or pantheistic thinking, consists as to its essence in identifying objects which are generically different. It does not consist in maintaining an internal and necessary connection of different objects. Such connection we must maintain, or fall into the opposite error of dualism, which is equally fatal to sound Theology. And such a connection is consistent with a broad distinction between matter and spirit, or between man and nature. Man, in one sense, is a part of nature; he is linked in by living bands with all its laws; yet as possessing moral and spiritual being he rises immeasurably above it. A specific order of being, he must be distinguished from all merely natural forms of organization, but not separated or sundered from them. For his entire physical organization, and his intellect also, so far as its modes of activity are conditioned by organic connection with the body, presuppose the existence of nature and its subordination to him.

An illustration of the truth may be found in the constitution of man himself. Consisting of soul and body in organic union, he is neither pure spirit nor pure matter. Nor is he a composition of matter and spirit. But both, though each has qualities different from those of the other, are integral parts of one being, who is developed and sustained by the force of one life-principle. So intimately connected, there is a living sympathy between body and mind; and any change in the one immediately affects the other. But this view of their intimate relation involves no identification of spirit with matter, or of matter with spirit. There is no flowing together, or mixing, of different entities. The relation of man to nature, though both are parts of one whole, is far less intimate than that of mind to body. As the body is in living sympathy with the mind

and affected by all its changes, whilst the body remains distinct as to its essential qualities; so may nature be in such sympathy with man that a radical change in him modifies the reciprocal relation between man and nature, and yet the natural world be in no sense identical with mankind, or matter flow together and be one with spirit.

The natural world, as contradistinguished from man is an order of existence which in no sense can be confounded with him considered as a person; yet in consequence of a common participation, through his body, in the same system of laws, he is so nicely interlinked with natural proces es, and so necessarily conditioned by the presence and forces of the world, that so great a moral and physical change in him as the Fall involves, can not but touch and change also to an inconceivable degree all his relations to the kingdoms of nature below him; and in consequence give nature a relative position, a power for evil over him, and a general attitude as regards the race, which it could not have, so long as he obeyed law and retained his primeval integrity.

It follows that the work of redemption in Christ Jesus, which is a deliverance from all the power and consequences of sin, must pertain not only to soul and body, but reach out also into the kingdom of nature, at least to such a degree as to bring all its wild and tremendous powers, filled with hostility to mind and body, to life and health, to happiness and peace, into complete subjection to the Head of the Church and ultimately to the Church itself. The heavens and the earth, which are now, by the word of God are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men.

E. V. G.

ART. II.—STRENGTH AND BEAUTY OF THE SANCTUARY.

The work of Beauty is the work of God. As God is the author of all might, and the creator of all things, so is He the Giver, and Maker of all beauty. As the Divine Nature is the fountain of wisdom, truth, and love, so is that same all-holy One the source of beauty. Still further, as He is the God of Grace, so is He the Lord and Giver of beauty.

We mean by this last remark that beauty forms a part in the revelation of the Triune God through the incarnation of the Word, to the end that the wisdom of God might be made manifest to all creatures eternally in Christ. In other words, beauty is a real and true part of the kingdom of Grace, and is thus made supernatural, even as faith, and hope, and love, are so made. If this were not so, how could we possibly conceive of the work of redemption as resulting in a *kingdom?* A kingdom is an impossible conception, except as involving the aesthetic man—otherwise, the highest idea of a kingdom would be that of a shop. Scarcely even that, for it is probable that through the faculty of imagination, which gives us more than any other faculty the idea and the capacity of *making*, we attain to the conception of power, or efficiency. We do not know how the modern metaphysics now regards this aesthetic *derivation* of the idea, but we do know that man would see little of the mighty power of God were he not gifted with an imagination wherewith to look upon His works. In other words the power of God in creation is made known to man through his imagination, and is thus most deeply and most truly felt. The true poet is unquestionably a truer prophet of nature than the mere man of science. The wisdom and power of God are revealed by the things that are made, in the way of beauty. Now, if any one doubt whether this be true also of the kingdom of grace, let him *imagine* what the conception of that kingdom would be to

him were he without the faculty of imagination! How would the majesty of Christ, as set forth in Ephesians, become as it were another thing, how would the glories of the Apocalypse fade into another kind of Gospel! Or, let him take the 45th Psalm, and imagine what would become of the Saviour and His kingdom there described, were the glory, the beauty, the grace, and the fairness taken away from the description? Would it not be like a taking away of the Lord Himself? Verily there would be little power, or majesty, nay, little reality left. Let the humblest Christian in this way test the question as to the sanctified, regenerated, supernatural, attribute of beauty in the kingdom of grace—nay, as to its wonderful effect in enabling him to feel the might of the power and majesty and glory of divine things. And, for the sake of such an one, let us remark that this *feeling*, this peculiar and gracious impression which he has of the grace and glory of his Saviour, when reading such a passage of holy inspiration, is what we mean by the sanctified imagination or the regenerated aesthetic man. It is not the poet, or any other artist as such, that has the feeling—but it is every human being who loves the blessed Saviour and His word, without exception, that has the feeling. Every man that has a mind, has an imagination, and every man that has a regenerated mind, has a regenerated imagination. Let us be permitted to make one more conciliatory remark;—the fact of the perverted action of man's imagination no more stands in the way of God's being the author of beauty, than the fact of mans perverted understanding stands in the way of God's being the author of wisdom. The *vilest* works of poetical pravity are not *as* vile as the works of infidel reason.

We shall be the better prepared to estimate the force of the remark that beauty is a sanctified element amid the powers of the new-kingdom—is, indeed the crown and glory of its visible representation unto men, and to a remarkable degree, the way of the working of its power—by a moments consideration of its place and function in nature. Here, that is in the creation and renewing of the

visible universe, the work of beauty is specifically accorded to the Third Person of the Holy Trinity. This is well stated by Owen in his valuable work on the Holy Spirit. "Some, indeed, seem willing to exclude all thoughts or mention of the Spirit from the natural works of God; but without Him no part of any work of God is perfect or complete. The beginning of Divine operations is assigned unto the Father, as He is *fons et origo Deitatis*. The subsisting, establishing, and upholding, of all things is ascribed unto the Son. And the finishing and perfecting of all these works is ascribed to the Holy Spirit. Whereas the *order of operation* among the distinct Persons depends on the order of their subsistence in the blessed Trinity, in every great work of God, the *concluding, completing, perfecting acts* are ascribed unto the Holy Ghost." This is strictly in accordance with all which is revealed as it respects the the Divine oeconomy, whether in the work of nature or that of grace. And it is in equal accordance with an important truth involved, as well as explicitly declared,—that the Spirit of perfectness is at the same time the Spirit of power. The Spirit not only finishes the works of God and *thus* through the perfection of beauty conveys to us the impression of power and might and glory, but the same holy Being is made known as the Beginner of every work of God revealed in the Divine oeconomy. Thus nature, as made in relation to man, stands between two distinct revelations of the Spirit as the immediate worker and life-giver; the six-days work of creation commenced with the brooding of the Spirit on the face of the deep, and ended with the breathing of the Spirit into man. So also our blessed Lord, as to His human nature, was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and raised from the dead by the same Spirit. So also the church which commenced with Pentecost is to be raised in glory by the same Spirit. The Spirit *as* the Spirit of power, is the Spirit of perfectness—*as* the Spirit of life is the Spirit of beauty; or conversely, the Spirit that beautifies is the Lord Almighty, and the Giver of life and glory. Thus we are taught to conceive of the final con-

summation of the mighty working of God in the Redemption of men, as of a *glorified* church, or as of the *glory* of Christ. Now that word *glory* gives a conception not possible except to the imagination; that is, it is a conception of beauty. If we say this "beauty" and "glory" so much spoken of as the final discription of the church, *are spiritual*, and if we mean thereby, *are the work of the Spirit*, we say what is true—but if we mean thereby, something *formless and abstract*, then we deceive our own minds. *This* would be going back of the region, so to speak, of the Spirit. The world "without form and void" was broken up from that state by the Spirit's brooding upon it, and the glory and beauty of the Zion described in the last Book of the Spirit are thrown back into the same chaotic period except as the sanctified imagination accepts and entertains the pictured forms of its revelation. The mightiest working of the mighty Power of God is in its consummation, the Church, a conception for the aesthetic man. The mind that feels not the glory of the starry-heavens or the all-wondrous beauty of the earth and sky, has as yet by no means the fullest conception of the glory of Christ, for in their glory He is glorified and His church glorified, by the same Spirit.

It may be more satisfactory to some, (and we would in this subject willingly make ourselves all things to all men if by any means we might win any)—to look at the beautifying work of the Spirit by help of some more concrete instances. Well, then, the blessed Spirit as the personal Sanctifier and Converter of men, is still the author of beauty. And this is true both subjectively and objectively. The Spirit converts and sanctifies the soul by the truth. This truth is itself as we have seen the work of the Spirit, and whether it be in nature, or in the written word, or in Christ, is a work of glory and beauty, and a work whose power is made perfect in beauty. Now, although the work of conversion and sanctification should proceed in a given instance, and throughout, upon a ground within the man as low as that of fear, it will still be a work wrought not without the imagination of the man. One

converted by a clap of thunder may not perhaps come into a religious character as symmetrically beautiful as that of the saint who has been drawn by the love of Christ, but in either case there could be no religion without imagination, for fear as well as love is a function of the faculty of beauty. But it is unquestionable, and palpable even to sight, that the more perfect the system of truth be, upon which the religious character is formed the more *beautiful*, will that character be. Some of the old Covenanters were good men, but assuredly they had not a beautiful religion, and it is equally certain that their religion gained no whit of *power* in virtue of its homeliness. The religion of the Scottish people has done comparatively little towards beautifying their nationality or their land. English religion, on the other hand, has made glorious and powerful a nationality which is to this day the most decided and permanent of all the civilized peoples; it has created a literature, the like of which is not known for grandeur, reality, and beauty, outside the inspired Scriptures, and it has made their land as it were a perpetual garden. Now, this English religion is prëeminently beautiful. And so true religion always *makes beautiful*, and the more complete it is the more it makes beautiful. So entirely is this the case that the truth has wrought itself into the frame work of our universal religious speech. The most satisfactory word we have, wherewith to give expression to the feeling excited by the most profound and exalted exemplifications of Spiritual victory, whether in doing or suffering, is the word *beautiful*. The fullest word we have, for depicting the victory of the dying saints, is the word *beautiful*. The best phrase we possess for describing the highest reach of Spiritual triumph, in the militant saint —that of Christian resignation,—or contentment, or patience—is to say "how beautiful!" The final result of all and every Spiritual victory, in other words of Sanctification, is peace; and *peace is beautiful*, and is brought about only by the Power of God in Christ Jesus. It is no wonder then that in the case of every such manifestation of religious character, we should together with the sense of its loveliness and beauty, feel instinctively confident of its

strength. That quiet and gentle spirit of resignation, which we characterize as beautiful, we feel much surer of, as respects its continuance and power to sustain, than we do in those cases where we see that the self-restraint is by a conscious act of the will in operation. The strong man, in that case, has not come home to the abiding-place of power; we know it because his submission has not as yet gathered about it the beauty of peace. This is the beauty which forms the "halo" of the Saint, and it is according to a true analogy which led the church to accord it to none except such as had shown even by the test of miracle, that power had been given them to have victory over the world.

It is a most deep and important truth and principle, that not then is power felt to be most powerful when seen to be working as power. This is a truth which the Greeks best foreshadowed of the ancient people; and which the English nation has best taken up of the moderns. The sign of true power is peace, and the description of peace is beauty. There is a composure of action and expression, which has left behind it the need of asseveration and emphasis, and which has at last settled at a certain point which is both practical, as is the earth, and ideal, as are the Heavens. It is the highest expression of strength known to man. It will always be characterized by reality, by magnanimity, by geniality; the rising up of its power will be terrible not by the flaunting of banners, and the repose of its victory will be so unconscious that a child may roam playfully amidst its embattled rest. There will always be something inviting about this kind of strength, and the sign of this is, that it will always make inviting its abode. We may depend upon it, that where men would be led to desire to "make tabernacles," and stay, there is the residence of true power. The floral loveliness of the land of Britain is the truest sign of the nation's strength. The power of the Samson is revealed in the beauty of his locks.

But, however it may be as respects the illustration, the truth remains settled as a fact and principle at the very

basis of man's productive nature. Man will then beautify the best when he is most strong. The true art of every nation is coincident with its perfect manhood. The effeminacy of art begins in the weakness of its commencing dissolution. Art is strong and a sign of strength, and strength is ever beautiful. And so religion and approximately so according as it approaches perfection. It is not only a subjective growth effected upon the exhibition of the truthful beauties of holiness, but it is an effective operation which beautifies the man, and causes him to make beautiful that which is without and about him. Christianize a man and you beautify his character. Christianize a family and you beautify the family. Christianize a village and you beautify the village. Christianize a nation and you beautify the land. A Christian people cannot abide upon a heathen territory. Christianize India, and its loathsome temple-architecture will take on the beauty of Christian art. Christianize Palestine, and its present squalor and wretchedness would disappear in the effulgence of beauty that should again cover the land. And so, too, fully Christianize the man, let his religion come home not only to his conscience direct, but let it come through all those avenues which are the divinely-appointed inlets of grace and truth and glory to the inner man, in "beautiful sights and beautiful sounds and beautiful sentiments," and just by how much is this wonderful and many-sided being, man, religiously addressed according to the fulness of his make and nature, by so much will his religion under the upright use of the same, become full and perfect and strong and beautiful, and enduring, and ready to bear the test of trial. And when the test comes, his religion will be strong and beautiful in the bearing of the trial.

It is perfectly manifest, for example, that among the various forms of religion which now exist in our land, some appear, in the general, to effect a more amiable, graceful, and perfect Christian culture, than others. We think it will be found, among these various forms, that according as they more or less address directly the full told number

of the elements which go to make up the man, bodily and spiritually, will be, generally, the perfectness of the Christianity produced. If, for example, among any of them, that feeling of mystical veneration, which we call reverence, and which is so deeply seated in the religious aisthesis of the man, be not at all addressed either by means of ministerial order, or of liturgical array, then it is not possible the form of religion educed can escape the marks somewhere of self-consciousness, self-esteem, and self-will. And *that* will be a religion of little permanent strength. We *know* it cannot be such, because we see it to be not *beautiful*—for nothing is Spiritually strong which is not beautiful. But, we are also able to analyze such a form of religion and see in many respects how it cannot be strong. We know, for example, that in obedience consists the strength of religion—but such religion has not learned this great truth, nor learned spontaneously to act upon it. It has, in every case, to consider whether *it is best* for it to yield and obey—which of itself is a weakening process. Such religion, again, that is a religion which is self-conscious in consequence of the absence of reverence for powers above it, must *continue* in that self-consciousness in order to sustain itself to itself—it cannot live without self-talk, it has no secret place of strength which *is* such a place *because* it is secret and known to God only; and so it falls into a habit of talking piously and soon learns to believe that religion can not be without such talk, neither in its own case nor in that of others. And this is a most pernicious and most pestilent weakness. Again, it is not sufficient to this kind of religion to pray "thy will be done," it must take upon itself to suggest *what* that will shall be—and if disappointed, is, of course, unprepared for the trial. Indeed it is characteristic of this form of religion that *it cannot stand trial*, and its weakness, together with its unbeautifulness will always be revealed thereby. It is dishevelled by adversity, it is angered by opposition, it is opprobrious under rebuke, it can by no means refrain from rendering evil for evil. We have never seen an un-

beautiful form or phase of religion which was other than weak, we have never seen such a form of religion which had power to refrain from bringing a railing accusation, in some way, when touched or tried. We do not mean to say that the whole of that religion which is nurtured under the constraining admonition of beautiful forms will always be well-balanced and consistent, but we do mean to say that those who have a heart to yield their will and being to the influence of them, will attain to a perfectness of religious character not otherwise to be acquired. We give all praise to the active Christian benevolence of this age and day, but true religion is something more than benevolence, and we very much doubt whether the piety which exalts *giving* above *worship* can be the most enduring. We do, at least, believe that it is a stronger thing to be a *saint*, we are sure it is more beautiful, and we are very sure it is most rare.

It is possible that in certain cases where the principle of the sanctity and power of beauty as an element of Christian culture is not directly acknowledged in the ecclesiastical system, the deficiency may be made up to some extent by means of literary culture and the loving study of the works of God in nature. But even in the comparatively few whose tastes and opportunities might lead them this way, there is some danger in the process. A certain conflict, or at least bewilderment, must be started in that man's conscience who has come to feel the presence everywhere in the world and in providence, in society and in the written speech of men, of a beauty which he knows to be Divine, and finds no recognition of the same in his express religious system. He must, by a conscious act, make a separation between the religion of his daily life, and that of his Sunday service. And this is a dangerous state, because it starts up a collusion where legitimacy requires that there be a coincidence only. Where in the case of a man of taste his church system does not sanctify beauty, he will prosecute the study as a separate interest, and so doing he will become conceited and vain; in the case of a

man in society, it will engender a conflict between fashion and conscience where safety to *him* can only exist in his running away—which he will not do. And generally, the absence of the acknowledgment of the holiness of beauty in any church-system, is a bondage ever engendering snares in the case of the young—the Sabbatical system cannot be kept up, the aesthetical interests of men are altogether too strong for it—and the conscience must suffer as the consequence of every supposed violation. Thus religion itself is made to consist in adiaphoristic shibboleths —and the same Synod which votes dancing a sin can vote itself with as little hesitation into the denial of any proper ministerial office, and of any supernatural function in the holy sacraments. Assuredly it is not a *comfortable* state of things for the Christian who, having sought to attune his mind to the knowledge of God through His works, by the aid it may be of David, or Isaiah, or St. John, then finds that his church-service so far from helping him to keep up the impression, obliterates it at a dash. It is not a pleasant experience for one who in view of some large and venerable council of his ministers, has looked on the movements of the assembled body and begun to be reminded of the feelings he has had when contemplating certain of the inspired descriptions of the Church, or even when beholding the array of the heavenly hosts, and then go down to any one of the congregations represented and be obliged to ask himself, where has the glory departed? The impression made by a large ecclesiastical council, solemnly and orderly proceeding, is a purely aesthetic one; numbers, order, solemnity, together with the venerable old-age, wisdom, and goodness, thus assembled, produced for the time being, as it were, a liturgical effect; the effect, that is, of official order and sacramental array. It is strange indeed that minds fresh from such impressions, are not shocked by the empty bareness, and outrageous individualism of the congregational service into a more frequent sense of the abnormal egregiousness of extemporal worship. We suppose that the Episcopal Church is the only one

where this contrast between the magnificence of Conciliary prestige, and the service of the particular congregation, is not felt. The effect of this kind produced by her General Conventions is both more impressive than that of any American Ecclesiastical Council, and at the same time the alternative of the congregational service is accompanied with no violent sense of contrast. If this be so, then we think it furnishes, in the circumstances, one of the strongest possible attestations that her Liturgy is nigh to the perfection of beauty.

The lack of a capacity of appropriating beauty is an absolutely unmistakeable evidence of a deficient organization, whether it be in the case of a nation, a church, or of any other ethical corporation. That society *cannot* be a permanent one which cannot naturally ally itself to that which is beautiful. Every form of religion which has failed in arraying itself in the garments of beauty, has come short in the final result of strength, and has accordingly shown itself incapable of preserving a continuous identity. Every such society will recover its identity only by means of a spiritual reviving, and this will always lead to attempts towards making beautiful—for there can be no increase of holiness among men which does not at the same time make increase of beauty. Every revival of religion will at least make cleanly and fair its places of worship. But it will also go on to do more. It will add steeples, and organs, and columns, to the obliterating of its identity, so that at the last it shall know itself only according to the prejudice which happens to prevail, and which, of course, will be constantly changing with times and men. The ultimate effect of this will certainly be good, for it will tend to the final obliteration of denominational prejudice—but in the mean time this introduction into churches of beauty *not expressly consecrated*, will be dangerous in the same way that it is dangerous for the Christian professor under any religious system which ignores the sanctity of beauty, to go into polished society. Besides, the effect of the presence of beauty in a system where it is admitted by the im-

agination under protest of the religious consciousness, is incongruous to a painful degree. It is actually distressing to some, and those generally the most reverent minds, to see a minister in citizens' dress, preaching from the midst of the beautiful columns which flank the pulpit—it is most painful of all, to witness the ill-judged attempts of the same unliturgic administrator towards making beautiful his offices for marriage, and for burial. The whole thing everywhere and in all its exhibitions gives the impression of weakness at the root of things.

It is a deeper sign than is generally supposed. The awkward self-consciousness of any religious system which has not, as such, appropriated the aesthetic man, in its after attempt to sport with beauty in the way of fashion, is as clear an evidence of a deficient organization as could be showed. The absence of the natural verdure of the tree is not a surer sign of something at fault in its organization. The administrator under a completely organized system, whose permanent beauty has been the standing witness of its perpetual identity, will perform his offices as it were a second nature, and will use words and ways in service, which no other man could use without perpetual shame. It is even thus that the Church-liturgy, as light to the heavenly bodies, and as floral beauty to the living soil of earth, shows forth the witnessing lustre and brightness of ecclesiastical order, and stands as a tower of strength in second nature to the inspired economy of the Church.

For it is, and it can not but be the case, that the truth which *does not live* in connection with form, is ever at the mercy of opinion. If you can obliterate the dress which is connatural to the sentiment, you will thus confound the sentiment itself. Thus neither Methodism, nor Presbyterianism, are what they were, at first, in appearance, and they are as little like what they once were, in fact. The dress which is connatural to all religious puritanism, is of course, the dress of aesthetic nakedness. As long as this remains so the denominational identity may be with more or less clearness perpetuated;—but the moment that pu-

ritan bareness begins to assume the forms of fashionable beauty, that moment there begins a bewilderment of the system which must inevitably result in the confusion of its identity. That there is, for example, at this day any proper successor to the Westminster Assembly, we hold to be little short of preposterous to maintain. There are very few of the congregations of its descendants, in this land, where the doctrines of its Confession on the Sacraments, or on the visible Church, or on the tests of Church-membership could be preached without producing astonishment. It is possible that John Knox would as greatly astound their present habit of mind as would Cranmer, were either to appear in their pulpits. But, on the other hand, it is notorious that Cranmer could come into any one of his own churches, where the English language is used, and go on with any part to which the service might have proceeded, without a moment's hesitation, and almost without the notice of the congregation—strictly so, in case the part in the service were that of prayer. There is certainly a kind of identity here, which gives one an idea of strength. And this, let it be remembered, is, so far as we now wish to press the argument, a purely aesthetic one. Cranmer could minister and both Ridley and Latimer could preach to any of their congregations extant without exciting the slightest flutter, because of the power of sanctified beauty in preserving ecclesiastical identity. We cannot, in good conscience and all fairness, however, let the occasion pass without saying that it is not our belief that liturgical beauty inherently possesses such efficacy—it possesses it as being a connatural sign and product of that which, under the Lord Christ, has the efficacy, and that is both the power and grace of Order. We do not see how it is possible, on mere aesthetic grounds, for ministerial parity to make a full liturgical use of a properly beautiful liturgy—and that for the reason that, as a work of art, it must possess a multiplicity to the end it may possess a living unity—and that requires variety in Order. The power of a liturgy (as differing from a mere prescript form of

prayer) is tested in its highest offices and ceremonial. These will require an union of offices and administrators, as in holy communion with ordination, or with a church-consecration. The power of the liturgy will be shown by its capacity of solemnizing the congregation in such a way that the change of parts in the progress of service and the coming in of different administrations shall produce no confusion. When *well* conducted, one service passes into another without notice, and the coming in of different administrators only adds to the unity of the effect. It is manifest that a liturgy thus tested, as to its artistic capacities merely, must be a multiplicity in unity in several respects, the most important of which a parity of administration could in no real way secure. The Church-liturgy, as we all believe, is not an evolution out of the subjective devotions of the congregation. It is not a form of prayer and service which has accumulated by the contributions of the worshipping body. It is, like the ministry itself, an Apostolic gift through the Spirit to the worshipping body. Now the Apostolic liturgies, certainly when used in ordination, involved at least three distinct parts and functions. It has been said that a real unity is not possible in any case without the presence of a threefoldness—as it respects the present instance we are obliged to feel this philosophic canon to be true. The reading of a church-service in the congregation no more makes a liturgy, than the shining of a single star makes a system.

Somehow that word *liturgy* has come to be associated in men's minds with the words, order, powers, array, that is with something which *is seen* to be revolving, as it were, about a common centre towards one harmonious result. It involves, accordingly, beauty revealed to the sense of sight as well as to that of hearing. Now, if this may not be allowed to require a manifested subordination of functions, it certainly does require an orderly array in the matter of clerical vestment. It is scarcely congruous that a liturgus should minister the altar-service in the same vestment with which he preaches from the pulpit. If the de-

votions themselves are clothed in appropriated and permanent forms of beauty, it would seem to follow very naturally that the administrator should be robed accordingly. Generally we require that beautiful sounds should come from appropriately beautified instruments. We dress our organs according to the architecture of the building, and so should we dress our priests according to the style of their function and service. We are well aware that we are touching a tender point—but we see no reason except prejudice, wherefore it should be so. The veriest puritan living feels no objection to the introduction of beauty as addressed to the sense of hearing, in flowery figures of speech, from the pulpit, and will often think himself peculiarly edified by such a sermon—and yet the same man would be outraged by the most exquisite beauty in his church if addressed to the sense of sight in a sculptural baptismal font! He will admit to his ear, and sing with his tongue, the beautful strains of holy song; and yet be maddened to fury sometimes, by the beauty of holy vestments addressed to the eye! Nay, you may even introduce beauty to the sight, provided you expressly say it is not meant to be religious. You may ornament your church-building with all the art of Greece and Rome, and especially your pulpit, seeing that is the principal thing, and we will have the world to know that we can have handsome churches as well as others; but as to considering this any part of religion, that would be formalism, and therefore we will use the communion-table for the convenience of our minister's hat, and a decent basin will answer for baptisms. We wonder they do not shut their eyes when a child is baptized lest the visible beauty of the service should engender formalism through that dangerous sense of theirs. Alas, the human mind is capable of strange inconsistencies.

It is not a little singular that Christian people should entertain such peculiar prejudice against the admission of beauty in holy things, as addressed to sight. This sense is not as sensuous (so to speak) as that of hearing. Music

is, in its nature, more carnal than visible representation. So that if formalism is the thing feared, it should rather be feared in connection with hearing than seeing. It is, moreover, a most expressly revealed principle of the New Testament, that the consummation of the redemptive work is revealed to this sense, and that of touch. The Jews only heard of salvation, to us it was given to see and to handle. There has been no such honor put by God upon any sense of man, as upon that of touch, as in the case of St. Thomas. That the word of life has been *seen*, *tasted*, and *handled*, forms the distinguishing characteristic of the completion of all Spiritual revelation. Nor is any principle hereof altered by the fact of our Lord's ascension. It is still true that Christianity differs from Judaism by the fact that we now see the salvation of our God. Before the Lord went out of our sight He "did institute, and in His holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of His precious death and sacrifice, until His coming again: For in the night in which He was betrayed, he *took Bread;* and when He had given thanks, He *brake it*, and gave it to His disciples, saying, *Take, eat*, This is my Body, which is given for you; *Do This* in rememberance of me."

Now it is remarkable of this last great act of our Saviour, instituting a Sacrament which the whole Christian world acknowledges to be at the same time the most strengthening and the most beautiful feature of their religion, that it enjoins the most visible, tangible, and in every way actual, of all religious service. It is not only represented to the senses, but it is received and taken by means of the senses, and the Spiritual grace conveyed in it, is imparted through the active operation of the sensitive part of man's constitution. The taking of Holy communion, therefore, which is the strongest, the most Spiritual and the most beautiful act which the Christian man can perform, has been to the end of time made to be dependent upon the active and voluntary co-operation of that part of our nature which is supposed to constitute the essence of formalism. The Form is with absolute fixedness, one and the

same, and to continue the same till the Lord come in like appearance as He went. The mode of reception of the Spirit thereby is the same. The man who should *wilfully* shut his eyes, and refuse to handle and eat, could of course receive nothing except judgment. Things are said of this apparently simple and unpretending service which are said of nothing except the person of the Lord himself. And this is the service which, administered to the dying saint, is as it were the whisper of the heavenly love Itself into the holiest quiet which this world can know; administered in the church is incomparably the most solemn, the most subduing, and the most beautiful of all holy service; and administered in council, before battle, or preparatory to any kind of exodus like that wherein its type was inaugurated, it is as the rallying-point of strength and victory for the host which carries with it the strongest strength of God.

The Church has from the beginning of controversy found all doctrine growing out of this, and the other sacrament. The subject we are now discussing is fully included in the same. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper teaches us that the highest spirituality in religion is in connection with the fullest inclusion of the elements which make up our sensuous nature, and especially those of sight and of touch. It also teaches us that the most beautiful act in divine service, is the most strengthening, and possesses most strength. When this simple service of the breaking of bread shall have been done, from the rising to the setting of the sun, the victory of the faith will have been accomplished. It teaches us that our devotions are to be adapted to that which the Lord has given to us; that as we are to pray according to a form given, so we are to worship and live and serve and obey, according to a form, which if any man presume to alter till the Lord come, he is guilty of the most fearful act of self-will imaginable. It teaches us that the Christian body has no power or knowledge of its own, either how to pray, or how to worship, or how to be organized, but is in all things and for

all acceptable service dependent upon the gifts of the Lord by His grace and Holy Spirit. It teaches us that the most important act of our faith is made peremptorily to lie upon the conscience, requiring us to worship the Lord at the highest, by actions apparently trivial and indifferent, and in an act which is prëeminently the beautiful act of the sanctuary.

The one reply, in objection, is, the deed is explicitly commanded, and the beauty is spiritual. With the latter part of this reply we are content. The beauty is Spiritual, that is, it is beauty which is created and made and renewed by the Holy Spirit in connection with the breaking of bread and the pouring out of wine. To the first part of the objection, we answer that the deed specifically so commanded, only the more strongly fixes and perpetuates the principle, that the Lord is pleased to be worshipped by the obedience and devotion of our senses as well as by the sacrifice of our hearts. We serve the Lord indeed and in truth as well by bowing the body to His name, as by joining in prayers, provided we do so in either case heartily as unto God. In whatever way the rationale of the universally felt and acknowledged power and impressiveness of the act of holy communion be made out, this truth is fixed and made permanent by it, even to the end of ages, that strength and beauty are made coincident in the sanctuary. When the Psalmist prayed that strength might come to him from the holy place, he prayed that it might come from a place which had been beautified by the Spirit of God in sculptured magnificence whose pattern was furnished from Heaven, and in an ark of glory whose minutest measurements were given by God, and for the embellishment of which His Spirit entered into the men elected for the work. That ark, so divine and so beautiful, was made of the gold and silver, which the people, overshadowed by the power of God, bore with them through the sea. Over it the Shekina abode, and from out the midst of its cherubic splendors the voice of Jehovah spoke to His priests. After the forty years miracle of power in the wilderness, that ark of beauty first

led the way into the middle of Jordan, to the end of all that power, the beauty of Canaan, and in sight of it the people passed on to the possession of the land. With the loss of that ark in battle, came the loss of the people's strength. In connection with the desecration of some of the vessels associated with it, came the downfall of Chaldee's excellency.

And so throughout the whole and all parts of the divine economy, it will be found that the result of power is perfection, and that this perfection has every where its concurrent sign and efficient symbol, in beauty. It is the oeconomic prerogative of the third person of the Holy Trinity. In the work of creation, as we have seen, we hear nothing of the working of forces, we are told nothing of gravity or of anything of the kind. The foundations of the earth and the world are created, the Spirit rests upon the face of the deep, the creating power then manifests itself in the work of beauty, the light, the garniture of the heavens, the verdure of the ground, the beauties of Paradise, and finally the perfection of all in man. The intermediate system, which is that of the old covenant, will be found to follow the same analogy throughout. The new will be found to complete it. Now the one and perfectly sufficing answer to the objection that all things were changed by the coming of Christ, is the reply that all things were *finished*. If the imagination and sensitive part of our make are not addressed under the New Testament, then the Old Testament Scriptures are made obsolete, the inspired predictions concerning the Church, are no longer comprehensible, and the deepest phraseology of our faith is a myth. If the dispensation of the Spirit in the economy of grace has so essentially altered since the coming of Christ, then it is strictly legitimate to suppose it must have altered in the economy of nature. But we still find the face of the earth renewed in beauty, we still find the heavens garnished with the glory of the stars and of the clouds.

What is it that still rises up before the mind as we recall

what the word of holy writ says concerning the Church? In what other forms, almost, except those of beauty is the Church spoken of in the song of Solomon, in the writings of the sweet Psalmist, in the evangel Prophet, and in the Book of the Revelation? What would be left if you strike out from the holy Scriptures the words of the inspired imagination, and especially the words which the Spirit has thereby spoken concerning the glory of Zion, which is the glory of Christ? Let us beware, then, of that most truly perilous delusion, that what we give up of the *beauties* of holiness will be to the gain of its power. Religious Puritanism had its origin in this error, and the result shows that it is indeed perilous; for, whereas the system which Puritanism substituted stands revealed as weakness itself, by the sign of its legionary fragments, no one of which bears the likeness of its origin, the Prayer Book whose beauty it could not abide is this day showing, wherever the English language is spoken, that it is the strongest Institute of the Protestant world. Things are most powerful as our Lord and Redeemer made them, and He through his Spirit has caused that beauty and power shall be co-ordinate and inseparable elements in His Church. That Church is *His* beautiful bride, clothed in vestments fashioned for glory and for beauty, and it is at the same time His bannered host, going forth in the might of His strength, conquering and to conquer. That Church is as the tender flock that dimples the face of the far-off mountain, and anon it is the troop which pours down and covers the length and breadth of the earth. It is the lamb which the good Shepherd carries in His bosom, and it is a lion coming up from the swellings of Jordan. It is a city planted by the gently flowing river; and it is that city which filleth the whole earth, and which sits in the midst of mighty thunderings above the raging of the sea. It is something which is clear as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners. "Thou art *fairer* than the children of men," says that beautiful Psalm of the church's glory, the forty-fifth, "full of grace are thy lips *because* God hath

blessed thee forever"—and immediately, "Gird thee with *thy sword* upon thy thigh, O thou *most mighty.*" The collation of the twenty-ninth and the ninety-sixth Psalms, will show how the call to beautiful worship is coincident with the call of the God of all might to the nations, and will reveal in an instructive way, that remarkable usage of holy Scripture in speaking of the Church in terms and images of beauty and gentleness, suddenly, and often indistinguishably, running into terms and images of power in its irresistibleness, and its consuming terror to such as have not been won by its love. Even so the holy One, who is the perfection of beauty and the substantial Image of the divine love and omnipotence; He who breaketh not the bruised reed, is terrible in wrath, and the more so in that it is the wrath of the Lamb. The hand which blessed the little ones, drove out as with the power of God the profaners of His temple's beauty; the eyes which caused the troop of Judas to fall to the ground, melted Peter's heart into penitence; the body whose breaking saved the world, and to which all power has been given of the Father, was once that of an infant. The Godhead which was, and is, and is to be revealed in that Body, never rejected any act of love and devotion which was offered unto It, in life or in death, but did bless unto the ends of the earth the memorable woman who offered the costliest gift she had —and did also bless the widow's mite. The child of Bethlehem, the One who began to be about twelve years of age and was found of His parents in His Father's temple, is the One who is now at the right hand of majesty and power, is the Head of the whole creation in whom all things subsist, and is Himself the image and the substance and the wisdom and the might of the power of God. And He is the One whom if a man loveth not he is accursed, in whom if he see no beauty he has no God, and whom if he call not Lord, he has not the Spirit. But if He be to him the One altogether lovely, then is He to him the conqueror of death and hell and Satan, and no man shall pluck him out of His hands.

To that degree, therefore, have beauty and power been made to commingle, and to interpenetrate each other, in the kingdom of grace, that it is forever and most profoundly impossible to deny the one without weakening the other. As well might you expect to make the marriage contract strong by disrobing it of its churchly sanctity, or to make a tree vigorous by preventing the growth of its leaves, as to attempt to add to the increase of holiness by divorcing the beauty of the Sanctuary from it. Beauty apart, is nothing and less than nothing; holiness is everything and more than everything; but the beauty of holiness is more than all, because Christ the Lord of life and glory has made it so. Men may grieve the Spirit by unbelief and formalism, as they do; but if it remains true to this day that the Spirit garnisheth the heavens, and reneweth the face of the earth, and filleth the Church with Christ's presence, then is it true that men may grieve the Spirit of holiness and power, by denying the work of the Spirit of order and beauty. It is our belief that the age, and the Christendom of the age, is apallingly full of the evidences of such denial, and of such grieving. We believe that the Spirit's work of order and beauty in the Sanctuary is the sign and sacrament of His work of love and unity, and that the human spirit which first laid its desecrating hand upon the holy and appropriate beauty of ritual and vestment and service, was permitted in judgment to go on to the further denial of Order, to its own confusion in the loss of power to hold itself together or to know its own original.

"I am resolved," says Pascal, "to do little things like great ones, on account of the majesty of Jesus Christ who does them in us, and who lives our life; and great things like things little and easy, on account of his omnipotence." Would that the misguided men whose hatred of the sign of the cross and collects and vestments has left its mark on the carved work of England's fairest cathedrals, could have received into their hearts such a resolve, and have kept it. Not all the disorder, and confusedness, and indistinguishableness, and omnipresent weakness of our American re-

ligion would, in that case, have had its present sad and fearful existence.

The question remains, *was* the beauty which the Puritans denied an *appropriate* beauty? In other words, what marks the limit to which beautiful things may be introduced into the house and service of God? It is not by any means an easy question to discuss, on abstract grounds, although there is a ground upon which the rule of action as it respects unity in relation to things indifferent would seem to be palpable enough. But it will be our endeavor to discuss this question by the aid of certain principles drawn from the aesthetic aspects of the subject which, to our mind, are plainly determinative. We think it can be shown that if the carved work of the sanctuary which the English puritans broke down, was a fair and adequate developement of the Christian faith in that way, then it will follow that the puritans were wrong in their complaints against the Liturgy and that the Reforming bishops were right, both in having previously brought the Liturgy to what it was, and their successors, in refusing to yield any further reduction to the puritans. The argument will have to take for granted that the present liturgy of the Church of England fills full, and no more, and no less, the national architecture of her minsters. Our present space will alone permit us to delay upon one point. That one, however, will be decisive of all. It has respect to the chancel, which is or ought to be the seminal spot of every church-building since the most-holy place was set up in the tabernacle.

It seems, (and it forms one of the most remarkable pieces of architectural history in the world) that the square chancel is a distinguishing peculiarity of British Gothic, and that too notwithstanding many of the cathedrals were built by Continental builders where the Apse is universal, and notwithstanding the prevalent tradition and feeling of the superior architectural beauty of the Apsidal form, and its apparently far greater homogeneity with the general character of the style. "Thus," says a masterly paper on

symbolism printed in the Transactions of the New York Ecclesiological Society, "the original type of English chancel, with square east end, notwithstanding all the influence of Rome and the Continent, still maintains its ground, as a triumphant proof of the deep hold taken by the original planting of Christianity in Britain, and of its vital and unbroken continuity; and that for this most precious gift of the saving Gospel of Christ Jesus, she is not by any means so greatly beholden to the bishop of Rome as is commonly imagined. This peculiarity of English churches is so decisive, so marked, so characteristic, that it is no wonder that the English Ecclesiologists have insisted on it as the proper rule, and have opposed the use of Apses at all in the Anglican Church, or any of its branches. They lay down the rule peremptorily that, at least "for the present, and until the principles of Ecclesiology shall be better understood, Apsidal ends are *strictly to be avoided* in modern churches."

We have said that herein is contained the most remarkable phenomenon known to Architectural history—and such it is, for the churches of England are the only ones known to Christian art, which have this peculiarity, and in retaining it they resisted the prestige of ecclesiastical power for centuries, and the (perhaps) even more powerful sway both of the fashion and beauty of art. For, the Apsidal chancel is not only most *Gothic*, judged according to the almost universal developement of the style, but is in itself the most picturesque and fascinating form of construction known to the building art. There must have been some very deep principle or instinct unconsciously at the root of this phenomenon. Let us endeavor to dig down to it.

The Apsidal chancel has its Architectural prototype unquestionably, in the Roman Corinthian circular temple and dome. The Architectural germ of the English chancel, we believe to be, the Grecian rectangular sanctuary. The Apsidal chancel found its way into Christian art through the Roman basilica, which was a merely civil building; so that its actual original was an element of this world. It

was the place where was seated the worldly king, or his representative, for the administration of justice and law. The Square chancel *wrought* its way, *through* Christian art, by a process of tentation and struggle which it would take a long time to trace, but which was due to the ever occurring revival of a Grecian feeling, and which was not suffered to fail of its mission till it had fixed on the soil of England a perpetual copy of the true chancel, whose form was adjusted upon a heavenly model, and which was the earthly residence, not of the king of men, but of the King of kings—the most-holy place of the temple of Zion. Every chancel, of course, of whatever aesthetic description, has its religious derivation from this most-holy place,—the chancel is to the church what the sanctuary was to the temple. The sanctuary represented the place of the abode of Jehovah, in other words, heaven, in other words, the Infinite Presence, in other words still, the presence of God to men. Now this we know was done by means of a symbolism throughout, which was representative of God made manifest in the flesh—so that the final and full meaning, as St. Paul in Hebrews, has declared to us, of the most holy place of the temple, was CHRIST, the Infinite and Eternal God manifest, and present to men, in the Flesh. And this is the highest possible conception of the Infinite, which is conceivable to man. He that knows Christ in the tangible, actual, communicable, beauty of His divine-human nature, knows and has seen and has partaken of the infinite power and presence, in a way which no metaphysical conception can possibly begin to attain unto.

Now this great truth, that he that hath seen Christ has seen the Father—that the Infinite is made known in and through the definite and visible flesh of the Word,—was symbolized in the chancel of the temple by the form of a cube, and not by that of a circle or any part of a circle, (which is the essential form of the Apse). We think that the fact, of itself, ought to keep square the chancel of the Church, till the Lord come.

The circle is *not* the symbol of the infinite, to the Chris-

tian; it was so to the heathen; but to the Christian the symbol of infinite is the square. It is that which is tangible, precise, apprehensible, by means of its angles which define it in every direction—even as the infinite ONE has been revealed to man in and by the true and visible Humanity of the Son. Of this the circle is no symbol; of CHRIST, the circle is no symbol. Neither a circular Apse, nor a circular Dome, much less a circular *host*, means the Lord "in a mystery," nor means the infinite, except it may be to the heathen, whose only conception of the infinite is that of number and of indefiniteness. But this is by no means the infinite conception to the man that, by faith has seen the beauty and glory of Christ.

It is not, therefore, by any means, the highest Christian praise of the Cathedral, that it has a chancel which caps the climax of the building *in the exuberance of its architecture.* It is not the highest function, or *the* function, of the Church, to be crowded with that bewilderment of beauty into which the Apse inevitably runs, and which has made so splendidly confusing, the identical spot in the building which ought to be most solemn, most distinct, most apprehensible. For this is the glory of the chancel, that it does both in its form, in its contents, and in its ministry, symbolize and commemorate the Presence of the Saviour, and the fact of the Incarnation. As to its form; by divine pattern the form for this symbolism is the square; as to its contents (altar), we know the proportions of the ark of the covenant; as to its ministers, we know that the veil was rent before the Lord sent forth His apostles, and that neither by reason of screens from in front or by chevets in the rear, ought that Altar which concentrates the symbolism to be overpowered or obscured. For, in reality, the Altar itself is the Chancel, even as the Lord's Prayer is the Liturgy. Now let any one imagine what that altar would be made, to his very holiest feelings, were *it* to be constructed according to the circular form of the Apse which in Italy and from thence filled the sanctuary with a confusedness both of architure, and of ritual, and of ceremo-

nial show, which made the very altar indistinguishable, and led to the turning of it into a worse piece of positive indistinguishableness in order to bring it up to notice! It would indeed be a wickeder thing to make the Altar cylindrical in plan, than to travesty its dimensions in profile, as the Italian altar has done—but in *that* case it would appear to the eyes of all men how monstrously near to a "worldly element" it had become. The circular altar is of heathen Rome and belonged to the circular temple. The altar of the Basilica-apse *ought* to be a circle, and nothing but the instinctive feelings of the pious could have saved it from the desecration. The true altar is what the ark of the covenant typified, both as to form and as to meaning, and the true chancel is that place in the midst of whose proportions this rectangular altar may be conspicuously and homogeneously placed. And this will of itself secure it from being obcusred, either by architecture, by ritual, or by clerical display. In the square chancel there is neither opportunity or temptation for either. Now, the Anglican ritual fills up every echo of this chancel, and is echoed back in answering response from choir and nave. The heart of the pious, the puritan himself being umpire, shall say which is the true altar-service, *this*, or that under the baldachino of the great Italian basilica, and shall decide according to the criterion of the "law and the testimony"—in *which* Sanctuary dwelleth the *strength* and *beauty* which the Psalmist speaks of? And, on the other side, the same good man shall again decide whether his fathers did well in wishing to destroy the carved work of these temples by allowing his heart to answer the question whether he was ever at religious service where he could more earnestly offer the prayer, "the *glorious beauty* of the Lord our God be upon us, and the work of our hands *strengthen* Thou it?"

Of this English square chancel, there are very many things we should desire to say, many in the way of speculation how it came, being so fugitively and so mystically Greek as it is, and how it happens that there turns out to

be so many singular correspondences in the same respect in the Liturgy—such an union of finite and indefinite, practical and ideal. We should also like to trace certain natural and moral resemblances parallel with these characteristics of Anglican architecture and ritual—how all true force and permanence exist in the unity of strength and beauty—of solid sense and ideal grace and fairness—and how the loveliness of nature is remarkable for its precision, which forms the basis of its beauty and not indefiniteness, and how great is the difference between that which is mystical and *mysticism*. We would, above all, like to show from some of the sentences of the apostle Paul, what a remarkable parallel there seems to be between the practical sense and reality, and glorious and mystical beauty of his writings, and the like characteristics, in their way, in an English square-chancel cathedral. And no good man who has ever witnessed the Anglican cathedral service ever doubted whether the Liturgy answered to the building, nor, if he will let his heart alone speak, can ever doubt whether the beauty of holiness, brought home through the senses, hath power over the conscience and deepest heart of man.

In the reality and actualness of the incarnation stands the truth and the mystical glory of it, and this reality and actualness are not witnessed to, either by an obscured altar or by an indefinite chancel. Nor, on the other hand, are they witnessed to by a communion-table made indistinct, nay well nigh invisible, by the overtopping prominence and unsanctified architectural profuseness of the pulpit, which represents the word preached to the hearing ear.

We do hold, and we do in all good conscience hold, that the fact of the incarnation, in which stands all the life and power and beauty of holiness, may be obscured by a high pulpit, as well as by a high altar, and that herein there is some kind of resemblance between Geneva and Rome—the one by denying the holiness of beauty, the other by seeking to add worldy elements to the beauty of holiness. And here, again, we will let the pious puritan be the judge; for it is the *pious heart* that must settle this whole question.

Let us remind him that he *has* been offended, and most righteously so, by the Romish ritual which has crowded the altar and buried the priest in a profuseness and indistinguishableness of overlay which bears the character of pomp, and is felt to be offensive because it is felt not to be sanctified—in other words, it is worldly. But have his feelings of the holiness of sacred things ever been thus offended by the Anglican service—by its Communion, its Baptismal, its Burial offices? Has the prominent Altar, the manifest and beautiful font, the surpliced minister, the kneeling communicants, the pealing organ, or the pillared nave, ever offended his deepest religious feelings when happening to be at such service? And, on the other hand, have not his most sacred feelings often been grieved at the painful indiscretions of unliturgic service over the dead, at the awkwardness, if not irreverence, of the unrobed ministers over the communion table, and at the still more distressing attempts of the unrobed *affecters* of beauty in the pulpit, on the platform, and everywhere? If so, the fact should show him that in sanctified beauty there is at least the power of good sense and the strength of a becoming behavior. He would not either in church or at anniversaries have his feelings so often shamed for the lack of good judgment in his ministers, had they been accustomed to the *good taste* of vestment and liturgy.

This much is certain, as matter of fact, that a certain practical good sense, without which there is little permanent power in men or nations, a nice sense of propriety, a fine discriminating wisdom, remarkable solidity and force of style, and a singular energy in action, have very much constituted the literary, religious, theological and national characteristics of that people whose religion is, of the whole body of the Reformed Faith, universally admitted to be the most liturgically beautiful. Writers possessing such an union of gracefulness and force, of sweetness and majesty, of ideality and solidity, as Ridley, Hooker, Andrewes, Taylor, are scarcely to be elsewhere found. The *surpliced clergy* of England from the time of Cranmer can

assuredly show *bulwarks of strength and permanence*, in every department, whether of piety, charity, learning, or missions. The Service which can count as many Hebers and Thorntons as theirs, must be supposed to possess power to educate, of the profoundest description. It certainly does undertake expressly to sanctify every power and faculty of the redeemed man, not the least of which are his senses and imagination. The beauties of Divine Service ministered and loved and venerated to enthusiasm, by such men as Arnold, and Coleridge, Armstrong and Southey, the present Bishop of Oxford, and Gladstone, must have something both peculiarly strong and holy and sensible and beautiful about it. A perfect Christian gentleman is the highest style of man—it is not possible without the religious sanctification of that capacity of beauty which was breathed into him by the Spirit, is addressed by the Spirit in nature and in Revelation, and is consummated by His seven-fold gifts to the Church. "Out of Zion the perfection of beauty, God hath shined," and there, according to the Prophet, "is the hiding-place of the rays of His Power." It is the power, not to be beautiful, but to be holy, which is beautiful. Alas, religion consists not in sabbatism or in pietism; neither in denying the beautiful garniture of our redeemed and sanctified humanity, nor in substituting for it the pomp of religious cant or the pomp of unsanctified art. Would that the Spirit of holiness and might, who is also the Spirit of order and wisdom and beauty, might give us grace to feel the truth, and so to be attracted and drawn together again by the beauty of holiness as to go forth in the strength of unity to conquer by the might of its Power.

ART. III.—MEMOIR OF DR. J. W. ALEXANDER.

Forty Years familiar letters of James W. Alexander, D. D., constituting, with the notes, a memoir of his life. Edited by the surviving correspondent, John Hall, D. D. In two volumes. 8vo. pp. 412, 379. New York: Charles Scribner. London, Sampson Low, Son & Co. 1860.

The memoir of Dr. James W. Alexander, of which we propose to give a general idea, and mainly by extracts from the letters which compose it, is remarkable for the large portion of his life the correspondence covers; beginning when he was a mere youth of fifteen, and ending only at his lamented death. Such a correspondence must, for obvious reasons, be of very rare occurrence. We know of no other precisely similar instance in the annals of literature. It is equally remarkable that in so extended a series of familiar letters, written with a perfect *abandon*, there is so little which can justly be regarded as objectionable. There are, indeed, occasionally sharp criticisms on persons and measures, and at times an exaggeration of remark and prejudiced temper with regard to some of the almost innumerable topics touched upon in the correspondence. The reader will discover also, some instances in which the writer at one time takes a favorable, and at another, an unfavorable, view of the same subject. His opinions are modified and changed by circumstances, by his advance in knowledge and experience, or by a more careful attention to the questions he discusses. But this is perfectly natural, and therefore adds to the interest in the delineation of his character. Nor do we suppose that we have any right to judge the incautious and confidential expressions of his floating opinions and feelings, with the strictness and severity we should consider to be proper, had they appeared to be more deliberate and had they been intended by himself for the public eye. As he was gentle, winning and loving in public, we should expect that the

angles of his thoughts and opinions would be more likely to appear in his private and intimate intercourse. As he was no noisy polemic, and yet lived in an era of great polemical excitement, in which his own beloved Presbyterian Church was rent in twain by exciting questions, we must expect to meet in these letters, as is the case, very plain expressions of his views as to the questions in dispute, as well in other Ecclesiastical bodies as in his own. But judging of these and kindred matters by a fair rule of criticism, we feel free to declare, after a careful perusal of these volumes, that the reputation of Dr. Alexander comes forth from one of the most trying ordeals to which a reputation can be subjected—Humboldt's has collapsed under this test—as clear, and bright, and pure as ever.

Dr. Hall, in his preface, properly remarks— "The highest advantages of the method adopted would have been sacrificed had the editor, for the sake of producing an appearance of uniformity in his friend's opinions and positions, suppressed the evidence of such fluctuations as every independent and investigating mind is open to. With this view I have suffered to stand some diversities of his judgment, at different times, or in different lights, on points of theology, church-order, church-policy, slavery and other topics. And I am sure I should not have been excused had I at all subdued the light and playful tone in which many of the letters are written, or attempted any amendment of the abrupt transitions and off-hand phrases so characteristic of the unstudied, unrevised expression of the uppermost thoughts at the moment of writing. To have changed his manner would have been as great unfaithfulness to the full delineation of my correspondent, as to have concealed his sentiments. It may reasonably be expected, also, that there will be accorded to these letters the indulgence almost as claimable for a correspondence of this kind, as for ordinary conversation, of strong, and even exaggerated language; when every thing in the connexion and style shows that these allowances are due. It would be the higest injustice to throw the private writings of another

before the world, if such a consideration as this could not be depended on." It was undoubtedly because the Editor felt certain this would be the case that he ventured to do, what in any other view would have been better left undone, unveil to the cold eye of a critical public, the most private thoughts and feelings, the playful *nugae*, the sacred domestic trials and sorrows, the very prayers, vows and tears of a friend who had unbosomed himself to him so completely. Having decided to give these letters to the public, Dr. Hall shows the boldness of an assured confidence in the result by giving freely, and copiously, and honestly, page after page of matter which very few editors would have thought it proper or fitting to furnish. It is in this particular that the memoir shows either its greatest fault or its greatest excellence as the reader may choose to consider it. Probably most readers will have a similar experience to our own—read onwards at first in amazement at the completeness of the revelation, and the want of caution almost every letter displays; then, as we become better acquainted with the genial character of the writer, and are taught by his own pen, unconscious of the effect it is producing, to estimate aright the noble qualities of the writer, we feel that we are enjoying an unusual and valuable privilege in being thus freely admitted to his intimacy and confidence; while long before we reach the close of the second volume, we have learned to love the noble man whose private worth outweighs even *his* public reputation.

James W. Alexander, the eldest son of Archibald and Janetta Alexander, was born March 18th, 1804. The place of his birth was the residence of his maternal grandfather, the Rev. Dr. James Waddle, (Wirt's "Blind Preacher") in Louisa county, Virginia, on an estate called Hopewell, near the present site of Gordensville. In the month of December, 1807, his father, having resigned the presidency of Hampden Sydney College, and accepted the call of the Third Presbyterian congregation of Philadelphia to be their pastor, the family removed to that city, where their residence continued until July, 1812; when Dr. A. Alexan-

der, who had been chosen by the General Assembly as their first professor of Theology, entered upon the duties of his office in the Seminary at Princeton. Under different instructors at Princeton James received a good English and classical training; and he entered the Freshman class, in the college of New Jersey at Princeton in the spring of 1817, and graduated there in September, 1820. It is evident, from his letters, that he entered college at too early an age to appreciate its advantages, and that, in consequence, he made but little profitable use of his opportunities. In his letter of Aug. 23rd, 1822, he writes

"I presume I need not tell you that my time spent in college ran sadly to waste; indeed, I cannot look back upon the opportunities of acquiring useful knowledge which I then abused without shame and regret. Like most brainless and self-conceited boys, I undertook to determine that such and such studies were of no importance, and made this an excuse for neglecting them, although the wise of every age have united in declaring their utility. I was foolish enough to suffer all my previous knowledge of classical literature to leak out *e cerebro*, and consequently I found myself a much greater dolt when I was invested with the title and immunities of an A. B., than when I entered as an humble Freshman. I had acquired, not a vast amount of erudition, but an insufferable budget of silly opinions, self-conceited views of my own abilities, and innumerable vicious habits, which alone are sufficient to neutralize all the good which a college course can give in the way of knowledge."

During the spring and summer of 1820 his mind became engrossed with the subject of personal religion. The first relief he obtained, is described by himself in the following record: "On Sept. 3rd, 1820, walking across the field hardly daring to ask for faith or repentance, these words burst upon my mind. '*Waiting for the moving of the waters.*' I saw myself the impotent man in a moment, and I thought that Christ had been saying to me, 'wilt thou be made whole?' hundreds of times in my hearing, but now it

seemed to be addressed particularly to me. From that moment I felt able to trust my whole hope and life upon the Lord." He delayed for awhile a public profession of religion, but the return of his birth-day, and the death of a young friend made him unwilling to risk further postponement. He was received to full communion by the session of the Princeton Church, March 30th, 1821, and sat at the Lord's table for the first time, on the following Sabbath, April 1st. On the 13th of that month he made the following private entry: "When I look forward to future life, a dreary darkness presents itself. What am I qualified for? I never can, in conscience, embrace any other profession but the 'gospel of Christ;' but alas, where are my qualifications? I *never, never* can be a speaker." He seems now to have begun a life of study in earnest, and to have applied himself with vigor to the task of repairing as rapidly as possible the loss of time in college. In the same letter, written in 1822, from which we have already quoted, he says,—"To proceed with my egotistical harangue, (for I have nothing better to give you,) I have devoted most of my time since [my graduation] to classical reading, and my eyes, I think are opened in some measure to those beauties, which, blinded with ignorant self-sufficiency, I was unable to perceive formerly. It is the fashion of this superficial age to decry the study of ancients, and more so in America than in Europe, more among the idle and ignorant coxcombs of this day, than the men of science and taste. I had caught this song at college, and like other *graduated fools* I presumed to laugh at those authors who have been the models of taste, and fountains of polite learning, for more ages than we have lived years. Homer was a favorite butt for my ridicule. I have read the old fellow's Iliad twice through of late, with new pleasure at every opening, and it is my intention if my life be spared to spend one hour *per diem* for the rest of my life in reading classics. If you are curious to know what I am now studying,—I have been for some weeks upon metaphysics, another of my old despicables; I now

am much enamoured with it." On Sept. 10th, 1822, he writes—"when I commenced studying [the classics] after I took my degree, it was merely from a sense of their importance, and not from any love to them. I detested them as most nauseous, and felt disposed to esteem all their admirers arrant pedants and crack-brained fools. But still I persevered. Mr. Hodge and I devoted an hour each day to the study of the Latin and Greek writers, and continued this practise for eighteen months during which time we had read several authors: and the effect has been a thorough revolution of my taste. I could now obey Horace's exhortation, and spend my days and nights in perusing these authors. . . . . I hope you will not determine to forswear the reading of these authors as I did when I left college."

He entered the Theological Seminary in 1822, and continued a regular student therein for two years. After his election as tutor in the college in 1824, his connection with the seminary appears to have been casual. The following extracts will give a view of his feelings and studies and habits in the seminary. "Dec. 31st 1822. . . . . I will now proceed to give you some account of my course of life. I rise at half after six. Public prayers in the Oratory at 7. Breakfast at 8. From 9 to 9½, I devote to bodily exercise. From 9½ until 12, Study. 12—1, Exercise. Dine at one. 2—3, I usually devote to works of taste, and to composing. 3—4½ at Lecture. 4½ Prayers. Until tea, at exercise. After tea, until 12 (at which time I close my eyes) Societies, study, &c.

Perhaps you think I exercise my *body* sufficiently. I find it absolutely necessary to my well-being, or almost to my being at all. You may think, too, that I do not study a great deal; true—and moreover that I need not complain of want of time for correspondence; true, at present I need not complain; I have plenty of time for writing, and general reading. At the beginning of the term, before I had fairly got into the harness, our business appeared too much to grasp; but it is now methodized, and I

find that I am quite a gentleman of leisure. To proceed: we recite twice in the week on Hebrew, once on Greek, once on the Confession of Faith, once on Biblical History. Hear Lectures once on Theology, (preparatory to the full and regular theological Lectures,) twice on Biblical history, once on the Criticism of the Original Scriptures, once on Jewish Antiquities. On Monday night, I attend a society for improvement in the criticism of the Bible; President, Mr. Hodge. On Tuesday night, the Theological Society, where every student delivers once in six weeks an original oration. On Thursday night, I am at liberty to attend an evening lecture at the college. On Friday night, Theological Society, where questions in ethics and divinity are discussed. On Saturday night, a weekly prayer meeting. On Sunday we have sermons from our three professors, and Prof. Lindsly,* in rotation.

The greatest advantage which I experience from being in the Seminary, and this is increased by my being an inhabitant of the house, is, that we live in a kind of literary atmosphere; all the conversation carried on here is of a literary kind; at table, in our walks, and wherever a cluster of us assembles, some lively discussion takes place which causes our time to fly very rapidly and pleasantly away. All our opinions are brought into the arena of free discussion, and we must defend them or relinquish them. Opinions founded upon ignorance, or prejudice, habits and manners which are unpleasant, and almost every eccentricity which is fostered during the course of private education, is here likely to be rubbed off. So pleasant is my whole course of life here, that I feel not the least desire to go out into the great world.

But amid all my comforts, I am miserable unless when I am enabled to found my satisfaction and contentment upon a broader basis than any thing temporal. I find no substantial unmingled pleasure except in a conscience void of offence; which that I may always possess is my earnest

* Philip Lindsly, D. D., the Vice President of the College of New Jersey.

and reigning desire. I know very well how repugnant it is to any one of nice feelings to have religion drummed into his ears, but I feel assured that a *word* in its favour will not offend you. I should be unworthy of the title of friend, if I did not endeavour in some feeble measure to make my friends partakers of the greatest happiness I can conceive of.

My habits have changed considerably since I entered the Seminary. I have bidden farewell to ennui, spleen, hyp., and all that class of old hangers on: also to the flute, to romantic air-castles, and walks in groves, to the company of ladies—item, to poetry, magazines, novels, &c., &c., too tedious to mention.

Again Jan. 24, 1824, we have this passage—"I do desire to see learning prosper, to be learned myself; I desire to be happy in the good things of this world, so far as consistent with virtue; I desire to commend Christianity to the world by all that charm which courtesy and cheerfulness can give to as rude a piece as I,—yet I could curse myself, (however unfaithful I may be now, or alas may be hereafter,) if I thought that I could ever consent to make merchandise of the cross, by bartering it for aught of earth. My wish is, in my humble measure, to make every effort tend to one point, the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth, and in the hearts of men."

From May, 1824, to Sept. 1825, he was a Tutor in the College of New Jersey. His letters show that in addition to his regular duties as a Tutor, he devoted himself with ardor, to an extended course of classical study and general reading. We judge, from the letters written during and after this period, that his health was never perfectly good from this time forward. He appears to have suffered almost every succeeding year, from a constitutional predisposition to bilious disorder, and the attendant train of low spirits, nervousness and melancholy. And yet he does not seem to have permitted disordered health to get the better of his native kindliness and politeness. President Talmadge, of Oglethorpe University, Ga., in a public letter, written in August, 1859, thus describes him at this period:

"We were placed on terms of very intimate intercourse and communion as fellow-tutors during the year 1824. He had become pious since we had parted as students, and I now saw much of his inner life, as he disclosed it but to few. He had grown graver in manner, and somewhat prone to pensiveness of spirit. To the public eye he seemed retiring and apparently distant. But when with a friend in a retired walk, or in the *abandon* and intimacy of private personal intercourse, he was the most cheerful of companions, abounding in playful remark and discriminating observation. He had a keen relish for the humorous, and a nice appreciation of the virtues and defects of his fellowmen. He had a perfect horror of cant, pretension, bigotry, exclusiveness, and was himself remarkably free from all these failings, thus imparting an irresistible charm to his intercourse with friends.

"His piety was, even at that period, deep toned, and remarkably advanced for one of his age. He was at times overwhelmed with a sense of sinfulness, and has told me that often he could scarcely refrain from crying out in the college chapel from an awful sense of guilt before God, under the pungent appeals of the beloved Professors of the College and Theological Seminary, although he was sitting on the stage before the assembled students as one of the Faculty."

We should be glad, if we had the space, to make copious extracts from his letters written during this portion of his life; especially from those in which he urges upon his friend the claims of the Gospel of Christ. They are models of an affectionate interest in a friends eternal welfare; in which the anxiety to gain his friend is displayed in connection with strong reasoning on the fundamental articles of the Christian Faith, tempered by gentleness, love and modesty.

He was licensed, as a probationer for the ministry, Oct. 4, 1825. After exercising his gifts by preaching in New York and the vicinity of his home, on the 1st of December he started on a tour to Virginia, to visit his friends and

relatives in his native region. He was kept busy from the moment he entered the State. Writing from Petersburg, Dec. 23rd, he says: "Scarcely had I reached this place before I found myself under commands to hold forth at the rate of five or six times every week; and in addition, there is hardly a day in which nine or ten hours are not taken up in giving and receiving visits." He preached his first sermon in the church at Charlotte Court House on the 16th of April, 1826; and shortly after received a call to serve that church, as pastor. He was ordained and installed March 3d, 1827. It is somewhat singular that this had been his father's first settlement, and that the coincidence of the father and son having their first pastorate over the same congregation has been recently extended to the third generation, the eldest son of Dr. J. W. Alexander having been called to the same pulpit.

About this time he writes,—"You ask me what I am doing? It is a question soon answered: preaching, riding, visiting my charge and studying, principally Hebrew. I have read a good deal of French lately, and also twelve books of the Iliad in Greek. I would try to write for the Quarterly, but I do not know what to review." In July, 1827, he gives the following list of his reading,—"I have been reading the second number of the American Quarterly, also Mad. de Staels' French Revolution, also George Buchanan's Latin Poems, also such of Cicero's books as I own, greatly longing to possess them all; also some of the works of Rapin, Pascal, De la Houssaye in French; of Owen, Baxter and Boston, Bates and Cecil in English; Mastricht, Mark, Witsius in modern Latin, and Calvin, Dwight and McDowell in modern English; also Peter's letters, by Lockhart, and a course of Mathematics." It is not surprising to read immediately after this list—"I have not *written* a single sermon since I have been in Charlotte, though I have composed more than a hundred."

In August, 1827, he was brought very low by an attack of bilious fever, and was compelled, as soon as he had sufficient strength, to return home to Princeton. In Oct.,

1828, he says,—"As to my future course in life, I am able to speak only negatively; I shall never seek a settlement south of the Potomac, unless driven to it by necessity."

Having received a call to the church at Trenton, New Jersey, he accepted it. He preached his farewell sermon at the Charlotte church, Dec. 28th, 1828, and his first sermon at Trenton, Jan. 10th, 1829. He remained pastor in Trenton until the close of 1832. He was married at the residence of Mrs. Le Grand, near Charlotte Court House, on the 18th of June, 1830, to Miss Elizabeth C. Cabell, daughter of George Cabell, M. D. In 1833 he was Editor of "The Presbyterian," in Philadelphia. From 1833 to 1844 he was Professor of Belles Lettres in the College of New Jersey, at Princeton. From 1844 to 1849 he was the pastor of the Duane St. Presbyterian church in New York city. In May, 1849, he was elected by the General Assembly Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government in the Theological Seminary, at Princeton. He also took charge of the department of Sacred Rhetoric. He continued in the Seminary until May, 1851, when he became the pastor of the 5th Avenue Presbyterian church, in New York. This church was built for him; and while it was being erected he visited Europe. He again made a European tour in 1857. He died, the honored and celebrated pastor of the 5th Avenue church, at the Red Sweet Springs, Va., whither he had gone as a last resort for his declining health, July 31st, 1859, declaring as the sum of his faith and hope, "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day."

We have thus briefly given the reader an account of the public positions successively filled by this eminent man, in order that we may have space to extract from the memoir, several characteristic letters, and passages from letters, written at different periods of his life.

Trenton, May 4th, 1829. (Aged 25.)

. . . . . "I have been reading Terence lately with much pleasure. He is the only Latin poet in whose wri-

tings I have ever found simple pathos. I might except some of Virgil's sad descriptions, but in the case of Virgil, the pomp of the verse, and the artificial epithets, detract from the effect. In the Andria and Hecyra of Terence, there are some of the most charming touches of deep feeling. Erasmus knew Terence and Horace by heart. Who ever could say as much for Milton or Pope? I have seen a man who could repeat four books of Paradise Lost.

I am fully persuaded that there is no department in which a man may be so sure of arriving at eminence as in the modern languages. All my study of this kind has been for amusement, and yet I am surprised at my own progress, and convinced that one who would devote himself to the subject, might in five years have the choice of authors in German, French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and Portuguese. A scholar in modern languages may take what department he chooses, read always what is entertaining, and yet have the reputation of a great linguist or critic.

If I had the access which you have to libraries of French and Italian works, I should make these languages a main object; but where one must buy every book, at an exorbitant price, the private student labours under great disadvantages. Will you oblige me by purchasing "A selection from Italian prose-writers, with translations according to the Hamiltonian system"? My reasons for wishing this is, that my greatest difficulty in languages arises from the particles, and little words, especially auxiliary verbs, and oblique cases of pronouns, as well as adverbs and conjunctions which have various meanings. These may all be learned in a week's time from a living teacher, or a very literal translation. I find no books so well adapted to take away the darkness of a new language as travels and biography. I wish to get Goldoni's life by himself, if it can be procured separately. Is the life of Bocacio at a moderate price? Quere. How could we exist if so separated as to have our correspondence by letter broken up? After ten years' use it has become with me almost a necessary of life. I have just read Carter's travels, [in Europe,] and

like it well, with two exceptions. 1. He is forever foisting in the classics, reading Catullus on the grass; Horace in the diligence; Virgil passim: while he betrays a wonderful ignorance in some simple points of antiquity, does not know what a Hermes is, which Kennet might have taught him, and denies the well-known tradition of Luke's having been a painter. 2. He compares every thing with New York, and makes out the latter the greatest city in the world."

His correspondent having relinquished the practice of the Law, and turned his attention to Theology, in preparation for entering the ministry, we have these two letters among others:

Trenton, November 21, 1831.

I thought, and still think, that my last contained every thing with reference to your proposed course of study which I am able to communicate, except in the matter of books, which I now take up as being the most important item of your inquiries. And first, I must altogether decline attempting a precise, exact enumeration of the works which must be read. Nemo dat quod non habet. If I had such a list, three-fourths of my daily reading might be spared. Such a list must vary with the peculiar character of every individual's studies, and the rather in your case, as you propose a course not altogether regular. I could not venture to name such books on my own responsibility. When at Princeton, the Professors used to name, at the end of each lecture, the best authors for consultation on these topics; and a list digested in this manner, might be made without difficulty, though it would fill a quire of paper. To do as well as I can, however, as you have laid out of the inquiry works on the "Evidences," and as I suppose you to know as well as myself what books are standard in Ecclesiastical History and Hermeneutics, I shall confine myself to Theology.

1. *Works Introductory, or showing how to study.* Taylor's Scheme of SS. Div., (in Watson's Tracts, vol. 1;) Leighton's Lectures; Franke's Guide.

2. *Systems.* Turretine or Pictet, (French,) for the Reformed; Stackhouse for the Arminians of England; Richard Watson for the Wesleyans; Ridgely; Dwight.

3. *Character of God.* Clarke's Sermon's; Witherspoon, vol. 4; Saurin, vol. 1; Paley; Charnock on Div. Att.; Tillotson, vol. 1; Hopkins, vol. 1; Edwards on God's Last End; Emmons.

4. *Trinity.* Horsley; J. Pye Smith; Woods; Stuart; Ware; Norton; Channing; Morus Epit. Theol. Christ.; Sherlock's Vind. of Trin.; Priestly; Belsham's Essays; Jamieson's Vindication; Bates' Works; Abaddie on Div. of Christ; Nares' Remarks on the improved Version; Bulli Defens. Fid, Nicen; Pearson on the Creed; a chapter of Hooker's Ecc. Polity; Owen on the Person of Christ; Wardlaw; Wynperse; Clarke on the Trinity; Alix's Judgment of Ancient Jewish Church; Mordecai's Analogy; Socinus; Select parts of Barrow; Calvin; Döderlein and Flatt.

5. *Decrees, &c.* Calvin; 5 Edwards, 351–500; 1 Turretine; 1 Hopkins, c. 4; Arminii Opp. pp. 98, 458, 634; Twisse (supra-lapsarian) de Scientia Med.; Zanchii de Predest.; 4 Witherspoon, 75; Fuller's Gos. Worthy, &c.; Baxter's Cath. Theol., part 1; Witsii Econ. Fœd. B. iij. c. 4; Dickinson on the 5 points; Whitby on the same; Cole on Sovereignty of God; Scott and Tomline; Oeuvres de Claude, vol. 4; Edwards on Will; West's Moral Agency; Priestley, Lib. and Necessity; Leibnitz cont. with Clarke, (usually bound together, in Latin and French;) Collins on Necessity; Warburton's Div. Leg., p. 1, p. 46; 1 Hopkins; Kings' Origin Evil; Williams' Vindication.

6. *Original Sin and Depravity.* Taylor on Or. Sin; Edwards do.; 1 Smalley's Sermon's; 1 Turretine; Whitby on O. S.; 1 Emmons; Stapfer, (who treats the whole range of polemics; Witsii Ec. Fœd., vol. 1; Boston's Fourfold State; 4 Witherspoon; Scott and Tomline; Wesley's Sermons; Strong's Sermons; 1 Bellamy; Burgess on O. S.; Spring's Disquisition; Fletcher's Appeal.

7. *Atonement.* Daubeny on Atone.; Magie; Griffin; Be-

man; Owen's Vind. Evang.; Outram de Sacrificiis; Calvin, Turretine, &c; Selections on the Art.; West on At.; Taylor and Hampton; Wardlaw on Extended At.; Bates, Murdock's, Stuart's and Dana's Sermons; Fuller's and Scott's Essays; Edward's, (select;) 1 Bellamy, 390; Burge on At.; Barrow's Sermons on Univ. Redemp.; Grotii de Satisfac., (a noble work on the "forensic" question;) Owen's Salus Electorum; Van Maestricht, De Moor, and Marckius on all Calvinistic points; Veysie's Bampton Lectures.

8. *Regeneration.* Besides above: Owen on Spirit, (large;) Bellamy, Scott, Witherspoon, Doddridge; Witsius; 2 Charnock; Noesselti de interno test. Spir. Sanct.; Backus on Reg.; Edwards; Park St. Lectures; Dwight; Hopkins on Holiness; Fiddes' Treat. on Morals; Edwards' Affections.

9. *Justification.* Oeuvres de Claude; Owen on Just.; Witherspoon; Taylor's Key to Romans; Edward's on Just.; 2 Barrow, 41; 2 Lillotson, 346; Bulli Opera, Harmon. Apost.; Tuckney's Prælect. I. p. 26.

10. *Perseverance.* Dickinson; Whitby; 1 Wesley's Serm.; Zanchii Miscell. de Persev. Sanct.; De Moor; 5 Toplady; 2 Gill, 313; 1 Newton, 162; 2 Hornbeck's Compend. B. 1, c. 4.

11. *Future State—Heaven and Hell—Universalism, &c.* 1 Belsham's Essays; 1 Priestly on Matthew and Sp.; 2 Hopkins, 213; Warburton; Tillotson, Ser. X.; 2 Barrow, 343; Bates and Howe *in loco.* Edwards agt. Chauncey; Ballou; Huntington's Calv. Improved; Strong's Benevolence and Misery; Purves' Humble Attempt; 2 Döderlein, 173; Burge on Atone. Appx.; Spaulding's Univ. destroys itself; 1 Hammond's W. 709; Foster's Nat. Religion, c. 9; Simpson's Essays, p. 1; Godwin on Punishment of Sin.

12. *Sacraments.* Clinton on Bap.; Worcester do.; P. Edwards; Baldwind, do.; Wall on do.; Waterland; Gale agt. Wall; Addington's Reasons; Judson and Pond; Gill; Tenney's Summ. View; 2 Tillotson, Serm. 25; Grove on L. Supp.; Doolittle, do.; Hall and Mason on Com.

I must here pause; I have drawn the above from lists

which I have, and from general recollection, and am after all persuaded that it will be of no manner of use to you; yet your request laid me under an obligation to try, and I have really done what I could. Your wants, as they rise, will direct to inquiries which can be better answered in detail. Your course of study cannot but be profitable. I suggest one objection to your "paraphrase"—perhaps it has no weight; will not the method of paraphrasing every passage tempt you to run ahead of your light, to define what is undefined, and supply what is unsupplied in your own mind, and thus to commit yourself prematurely? Many a hiatus will occur; for some passages can only be understood after a survey of the whole ground. However, judge of this yourself. I wish I could tell you of any thing specially encouraging in my congregation; there is nothing, and as usual I can trace the great fault and deficiency to my own door. Nothing of moment in church or state has reached my ears. I am sick of imbecile revolutions in Europe, and unchristian squabbles at home. O for a corner where Theological warfare is unknown!

Trenton, December 26, 1831.

Have you ever read any of Abp. Leighton? If not, I conjure you to take the book up in some calm moment, and read some ten pages by way of specimen. It is nearest to the beloved disciple John of any thing human I have ever read. I recommend this author, from sweet experience of his preciousness; particularly his commentary on 1 Peter, which I am now concluding for the second time. He was a hater of polemics, and shared the usual fate of all moderate men. I have filial weakness enough to think my father has some traits in common with him. I think you are pursuing the best possible method in learning Hebrew. It would give me unspeakable satisfaction to have Mr. Leeser's* instructions. Make the most of them. If

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* The learned Isaac Leeser, now minister of the Franklin Street Synagogue in Philadelphia. I cannot forbear quoting the following sentence of a note received from Mr. Leeser when this page was in the printer's hands:

I had him here, I would give a large piece of my salary to spend an hour with him every day. I read Hebrew several hours *per deim*, going through the Psalms once a month, and reading from four to ten chapters besides, in regular course, analysing a certain number of verses. The most I can say is, that my eyes are opened to the exuberant treasures of a boundless mine, while my instruments are still too awkwardly handled to make much of them my own. Let me recommend to you to spend as much time as you can conscientiously upon this study, as you know that in language, more than in any thing else, long intervals occasion the loss of much that is learned. The exegetical method of studying theology is certainly the right one. The simple view in which *systems* seem to me valuable, are as indexes to the subjects of Scripture. *Turretine* is in theology *instar ominum;* that is, so far forth as Blackstone is in law. I would not have you concur in all his scholastic distinctions; but the whole ground is traversed, every question mooted, and even where hairs are split, the mental energy and logical adroitness with which the feat is achieved present one with an exercise of reasoning equal to any thing in Chillingworth. I conscienciously believe I should say all this of him, if he were a Socinian. That he is not, but rather an ultra-Calvinist, I am pleased, for I find in him, among many that are untenable, triumphant arguments for all our doctrines. Making due allowance for the difference in age, Watson the Methodist is the only systematizer within my knowledge, who approaches the same eminence; of whom I may use Addison's words: "He reasons like Paley, and descants like Hall." How painful to think

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"If had known that the funeral would have taken place on the day it did, I should have made it my duty to be at the grave which now encloses him; and if it had not appeared strange, I would have spoken parting words after the beloved. In Germany and France, at the interment of a man like Alexander, Jews and Christians mingle their regret by free speech and loud sympathy." Mr. Alexander's high personal respect for his Jewish friend and correspondent, did not prevent him from expressing his opinion of "Modern Judaism" in his review of Leeser's translation of Johlson; Repertory, January, 1831.

of Edward Irving's hallunciations! [the gift of tongues, &c.] Devoutly would I say: "Lord what is man!" These are among Satan's most cunning devices—and oh, how deep-rooted is that structure of truth, which has lived through a thousand such concussions, from without and from within! I have been reading the huge folio Journal of George Fox, the proto-quaker. I find in him more of unadulterated enthusiasm than I remember to have ever found exemplified; intolerable vanity, and spiritual pride; no acknowledgment of sin all his life long; no trace of penitence; great bitterness of spirit, exceedingly little talent, ludicrous ignorance of the doctrines he opposes, *perhaps* evidence of piety. A vast difference between him and the editor of the book, William Penn. How I should like to join you in Hebrew with Mr. Leeser! We have not a Jew in Trenton, nor any Hebrew scholar, and it is hard to pursue a study altogether uncountenanced and alone. My health, though improved, is far from good, and I suffer considerably from bilious or dyspeptic symptoms. I am truly sorry to hear of Mr. Wirt's illness; even though he should never be high in office, he may exert a happy influence on many who are. Do you not think in looking around the country, that, within a few years, many more of our "great men" have pledged themselves in favour of true Christianity, than at any former period? This is encouraging.

What parent can fail to weep over the affecting letter detailing the death of a little son?

Princeton, December 15, 1834.

More to disburden a throbbing and full heart, than to communicate much good, I write to you. I know you will feel a pang, when I tell you that this afternoon, at 3 o'clock, God was pleased to take away my little Archibald—our Benjamin, the son of our hopes. Blessed be God for all his mercies! Last evening he was as well as a child could be to all appearance. About 7 he began to show symp-

toms of croup, which gradually advanced, in spite of the most vigorous practice of our physician, who was with us almost from first to last, until he died in our arms. His last moments were sweet; he simply fell asleep, no pang, no distortion; he lies like a lovely smiling marble. He was two years four months old. Twenty hours' illness! A little before his death he clasped his hands and said:—"I want to say my prayers." Judge what we feel. My dear friend, the tears I poured in torrents over his dying form were tears of joy—blessed be God for it! Never had I such faith of immortality. My wife and I yield with a composure, for which we never can be thankful enough, to the resumption of the precious gift. We have been in the practice of deliberately giving up our children to God, every day. O how I rejoiced in this, as I felt his last pulses, and found his precious hand turning to clay in mine.

We have too much caressed and prized this dear boy. Disappointed in our first, whom we held by a spider's thread, we counted much upon Archibald. He was lovely and precious. In a moment we are blasted! But why do I repeat these things? Join us in giving thanks to God for the wonderful (I will not say resignation, but) comfort we have. Join us in praising Him who can make us glory in tribulation also. Join us in prayer that we may be *kept* in faith. "Hold thou me up and I shall be safe."

I wish to learn the lesson of this dispensation. I wish to be more entirely consecrated to the work of God. If God write us *childless* (an awful word now—once it seemed a trifle) I will try to find children in the Sunday School. O my friend! I have a dear child in heaven! Only a few hours in heaven! Is not this an honour—a joy—a triumph? let me then determine to lead a heavenly life here. When shall we "use this world as not abusing it"? When shall we who have wives, live as though we had none? A little while and all these shadows will fly away, and we shall find ourselves amidst the realities of eternity. For some time previous to this dispensation, I have found myself under a leading to thoughts more serious than com-

mon; greater desires to cut off superfluous pursuits, to take up unaccustomed crosses, and to cultivate humble love. Alas! how little have I succeeded in doing so.

I cannot well say much on other topics. Remember me and mine at the throne of grace.

We add the following brief passages from letters written while he was a Professor in the College 1833–44:

I think I would rather write Baxter's English, than any I know, though I would not wish to write always what he has done. He well describes his own style: "May I speak pertinently, plainly, piercingly, and somewhat properly, I have enough." (Premonition to Saint's Rest.) He was not afraid of *idioms*, the real strength and glory of a language, and especially of ours. The quality of plain, straightforward, market-English is rare in books. It is somewhat dangerous for us cis-atlantics to attempt, for in becoming idiomatic we become provincial, witness *Finney*. But read Bunyan, Fuller, Swift, Cobbet, Hare, ["Sermons to a Country Congregation," 1838,] and you will see what I mean. This was, after all, what was meant by *Attic* Greek as distinguished from the κοινη διαλεκτος: and *Attic salt* was the very sort of wit which circulated among Athenian hucksters, and which we find in Fuller and Charles Lamb. There was great wisdom in making the speech of the people the standard of good Greek, and great advantage in being so small a State.

I have many independent sources of evidence showing that evangelical religion is greatly advancing in Virginia under the labours of Episcopalians. Most of their clergy are good and hard-working men. The Alexandria Seminary has been a great blessing to them.

Do you ever read the Spectator? Read it by extracts, with or to your daughter. It is crystal water after gutter ditto. Some of Steele's are more racy English than Addi-

son's. What pomp of American verbosity could express what follows, about Westminster Abbey: "When I look upon the tombs of the great every emotion of envy dies in me."

I sometimes find my evenings quite light and hilarious after a very tort day. This morning I attended a funeral, sat at Dod's *examen*, heard a long recitation, and, after a bite, examined 76 fellows in Latin, came home examinatus, drank three cups of strong tea, played half an hour on a flute, and feel better this moment than I did when I got up. What wonderful machines these are! Sometimes the grasshopper is a burden to me.

The December No. of the Missionary Herald is very interesting, especially in that part which concerns the Nestorian mission. But why should these Yankees be so rank to introduce extempore prayer among the poor Nestorians, when they acknowledge that their liturgy is sound enough? I have been reading some more of Luther's, and the Elector of Saxony's letters, &c., about the time of the Diet at Ratisbon, 1540, and the more I read, the more am I filled with unfeigned admiration and love for those heroic men. They are like the strong characters of the Bible—great lights—great shades—but gigantic mind and heart—accomplishing a thousandfold more for Christ in one lifetime than hundreds of us correct, cautious, temperate creatures.

"Fencing the tables" is carried, in my opinion, to an unscriptural height. I am also persuaded that our church is running into a great error, in disallowing the membership of baptized persons who are not communicants. Our book, and the practice of all the Reformed Churches, (New England excepted,) is plain enough.

O how much more is the presumption in favour of Catholic Christianity than of those who cry with every breath "the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are *we*,"

whether Papists, Oxonians, Baptists, or Separatists! How much more exercise of Christian tempers with the former than the latter! I can get along with a Quaker, but not with a bigot.

I find by reading Zwingle's letters, that he was a polished scholar, as much so as Erasmus or Melancthon, intimately acquainted with all the ancient classics, holding correspondence in Greek, and employing a latinity which is as nervous and elegant as that of Calvin. He had a heroic courage, and remarkable prudence. The edition I am reading gives the letters *to* as well as *from* him, so that I am quite transported to Reformation times. This is what I like. No novel can awaken an interest like these realities. We now have the correspondence of Melancthon, (to and from,) Luther, Calvin, Erasmus, and Zuingle, whose name is spelt a dozen ways.

I feel less respect for Milner [Church History] than I did, since I have examined the truth of what he says about Zuingle, whom he disparages very unjustly in comparing him with Luther. How much we lose in reading the Bible, by not having that fresh feeling of novelty and interest which they had in the apostolic age, and even at the reformation; we come to the book already acquainted with its contents, in its most important parts. Perhaps the best way to gain something of this vividness is to read large portions without any human comment, and in as complete forgetfulness as we can attain of our own age. Latterly I have more frequently thought than I used to do, that we make too little of the Holy Spirit's agency with the Scriptures as indispensable, perpetual, immediate. Do we not in fact read the Bible as if our unaided powers would secure us from error? Few texts have been oftener in my mind than 1 John ii. 26, 27; especially in reference to the diversity of opinions which men profess to derive from the Bible. The "Word *and* the Spirit" conveys the true doctrine.

I have been reading Bickersteth on the prophecies. Independently of his hypothesis, the spirit of the book is delightfully devout, humble, and tender. The question of the Millennium has occupied my attention a good deal for a year or two. I have abandoned my old traditionary views, without having settled on new ones. From the Scriptures alone I have been led to some *negative* results with a good degree of firmness. For example, I cannot dare apply the warnings about Christ's *coming*, to the hour of death; nor can I say one word about a millennium *before* Christ's coming. It is now more than a year since I wrote down a number of conclusions on this point, derived chiefly from Rev. xx. studied without note or comment.

I have Stephens [Central America] in hand. My interest in the musty ruins is nothing to what I feel in the country and people. The book is as interesting as a tragedy or an epic. But for simplicity and graphic-ness of description, I have had nothing since Crusoe, equal to Dana's "Two Years before the Mast." I wish our people would read such books in place of novels.

I am seriously convinced thet more harm is done by newspaper-reading, than by novel-reading. I know men who spend 2–6 hours daily over newspapers. There is no other production so heterogeneous and incoherent; there is none in which we read so much that is not even interesting. Probably each of us spends a hundred hours of morning-time per annum, on 1, Repeated matter; 2, Accidents; 3, Crimes; 4, Idle narrtive; 5, Unintelligible or useless statements; 6, Error and Falsehood; 7, Advertisements and proper names. What better recipe for making a weak mind addle? We take the tone of our company. Suppose a man's bosom-friend to talk an hour a day, exactly like his newspaper. I am told Dr. Wilson used to read only a small weekly sheet; and I have heard that Mr. Wirt, during his most forensic labours, spent three years without reading a newspaper.

My good old father, after spying out for three score years, strongly maintains, that there is less and less appearance of amalgamation among Protestant sects; that is so far as their admitting one another's ordinances goes; *e. g.* the Episcopals and the Baptists are more exclusive than formerly.

The confusion of the dramatis personæ in Canticles does not exist in Hebrew, where the *verbs* have gender, and you know at each moment whether it is the sponsus or the sponsor who is addressed. Our lack of gender is felt also in Ecc. xii. 3, "the grinders cease because they are few, and those that look out of the windows be darkened:" the original gives, "the female-grinders keep holiday, &c., and the female-lookers-out-of-windows, &c." I dare say many hearers think the grinders are the "dentes molares."

I have just been reading over, at one sitting, the epistle to the Colossians. I have done so many times within a month, both in Greek and in all the translations I have, which are more than ten. This way of frequent reperusal, continuously, I learned of my father, many years ago. It is well to intermix it with critical study of the same portion. I like to confine myself to one book for a time, and as it were, *live in it*, till I feel very familiar. I usually find great satisfaction during such a period, in preaching from such a book, thus studied.

As I always welcome any hints about preaching, let me give you one. A good *plan* is invaluable, and may be turned to better account ten years after date, than when first used. I learned of Summerfield to preach extempore, and *then* to write out the skeleton, after trial. Now this is to introduce my hint, which is, that a good plan for a *ten*-minutes'-session-room-harangue, is an equally good plan for a sermon. Therefore, whenever a text or passage *has opened* well before the mind, in an exhortation, write down the skeleton on going home: it will some day hatch a *discourse*.

New York, December 9, 1844. (Aged 40.)

I think we are at cross-purposess about the "old sort of preachers." I meant such Presbyterian pastors and preachers as were known to our fathers. I would not demand that any of us should adopt those peculiarities which belonged to the age and fashion of the Puritans; their "pun-divinity," as Charles Lamb called it. Nor do I deny that they sometimes introduced inconvenient niceties of distinction. Yet even in respect to these, I believe it may be taken as universally true, that every distinction arises from some new error to be opposed. The Apostles' creed sufficed, till Arianism arose. Sabellius made other distinctions necessary, and so on to the end of the chapter. Some of the distinctions of the Reformed Theology, and even of our Confession, have become obsolete, but new ones have taken their place, and the number does not seem to be lessened. But the technical formulas of these nonconformists and Scotch Presbyterians are not the things I would imitate. One good characteristic, however, of this whole class, I do wish we had in greater measure; they not only held Scripture truth, but the associated it with Scripture *language*. Their writings teem with Bible phrase and Bible figure; a necessary result, in any age, of affectionate devotion to the book. For this I love them; and, in my best moods, in this I feel myself sliding into imitation of them. I do *not*, I own it, think even the Puritan writers, as a body, chargeable with overlaying the truth, or complicating its simplicity. True, they pursue doctrines into minute ramifications; the necessary consequence of their dwelling so profoundly on them. The *general* statemen of a doctrine is, I know, true; it is, also, more intelligible, and more fit for a beginner; but the fault of modern divinity is that it too seldom gets beyond these generalities. *Jay* represents such a truth as this, "Christ died to save us," in a thousand ways, and each of them coloured with some Scriptural phrase, figure, or example. Some of us, if we taught the same, would scrupulously avoid every such vehicle, and would translate

the Bible-diction into that of philosophic elegance. The former I think most luminous, most interesting to common minds, and most safe. It is a great merit of this way, that it is prized by our Stuarts, Pollocks, and Woodruffs, [humble parishioners.] It is the way which made them just what they are. If all our youth were bred in this way, all our old folks would relish it, as the Scotch peasantry actually do. The reverse method, though simpler, and less liable to the charge of cant, has never produced as desirable fruit. And we must not take as our model the way which pleases such as are, by the supposition, uninstructed. We must interpose some long words in the child's lesson, or he will never know any but the short ones. And I cannot help thinking it one of the chief faults of the New School or revival era, that its plan of teaching had respect too exclusively to the initiation of new converts. One thing I more and more feel, the excellency of figures and illustrations and examples drawn from the text of the Word. To aim at either simplicity or elegance, by avoiding these, leads either to vagueness or dryness. Hence I never could get along with this rule of Dr. ——: "if you have a figurative text, explain the figure, *and then dismiss it.*" It is the secret of the good Doctor's tameness. By this rule, all sermons on *Faith* will be the same sermon.

The following is a single extract from the letters written when he was a Professor in the Theological Seminary. It was written towards the termination of his connection with that institution, and when he was preparing to start on his first visit to Europe.

Princeton March 28, 1851. (Aged 47.)

If you hear any thing about Walsh, let me know. I am trying to brush up my French, on which I shall have to rely, upon the Continent. [Rev. John] Lord begins a lecturing here on Monday. [Mr. David] Lord proposes $1,000 in three prizes, to be raffled for, by essays, pro and con, upon the great apocalyptic question. He makes the

rider of the white horse to be the early preachers; and of the red to be prelacy. He is very severe on Brown's late anti-millenarian book. Bethune's new church [Brooklyn] is to have no windows in the sides. The "Union Committee" of New York is doing a harm to the public conscience, by circulating sermons and addresses, denying all right of private judgment, on matters adjudicated by Cæsar. Dr. L. maintains that in matters properly civil we have nothing for it but to submit passively. Illinois is about making all contracts with negroes void, besides forbidding them the State. Gov. Young told me, last week, that they are migrating in vast numbers to Canada, for fear of the late law. It is a wonder more are not urged to Liberia. I will try to send you "London Poor and London Labour," [by Mayhew.] It is rich. The modern German writers agree that the James of Jerusalem was not the surviving apostle, but a third of the name. Look at the places; you will find it an interesting question. Schaff thinks he was the son of Mary, one of Christ's "brethren," who did not believe: who continued unbelieving till Christ's resurrection; so explaining what is certainly a strange specification, 1 Cor. xv. 7, "after that he was seen of *James*." He gets over Gal. i. 19, by a grammatical turn, analogous to John xvii. 12, "*but* the son of perdition." Nevin seems to incline to the opinion, that God would have been incarnate, independently of the entrance of sin.

The letters written while he was the pastor of the 5th Avenue church are so full of interesting and suggestive remarks that we have found great difficulty in making any choice where all are so good. The following extracts may give the reader a clearer idea of the writer.

When we consider that France was all but atheistic, we must regard even the acquisitions of Popery as conversions to a sort of Christianity. I find it very hard to swallow the tenet, that the existing church of Rome is incapable of being improved, and is to be looked at only as fit for hell-fire. My prophetic specs are very dim.

I am getting to think professing religion must less presumptive of grace, than once I did. Nor do I see that any strictness at the door helps the matter. Have we not added to the New Testament notion of communicating in the Lord's Supper? The anabaptist essays at a church of pure regenerate believers have not worked well. I used the word "catechumen" in the vulgar sense; but the κατηχουμενος was as such unbaptized—under schooling—long watched—slowly indoctrinated. The Church *as a school* has declined; hence the Sunday School has been built up alongside.

I can't help seeing that the apostolic preaching could never have been conformable to prophecies in John xiv.-xvii., unless greatly different from our Lord's. Progress and development mark all the teachings through his and theirs to the end. I look on a system as a mere *report of progress* in understanding Scripture, at a given point in history. Our *preached* system differs from the Confession of Faith, both by addition and subtraction.

As to what is called pulpit eloquence, I grow in disbelief of its importance. The gaping multitudes who fill churches are little reached, as to the main matter. *Worship* is certainly overshadowed by our sermons. How few quoters of our Directory ever quote p. 497, where the sermon is compared with the "*more important* duties of prayer and praise."

Does any one properly estimate the approaching certain influence of the Germans, as a power in our country? I often hear as much German as English in my day's walk. Of all the Protestant portion, nine-tenths are infidel. All I meet with are radical. Most of the German newspapers are infidel, and some blasphemous. A friend of mine heard some talking yesterday; one said, "Our grand error in Germany was not using the guillotine; let them employ it freely, and let them begin with the *Pietisten.*" The second Psalm comes to mind as affording the only hope.

Daily do I grow more opposed to pews. I honour Popery and Puseyism for this point. Free churches are unanimously voted a nuisance by New York Christians; but my mind is unchanged. They have, with us, always been undertaken by poor preachers. It such Chrysostoms as you and I wot of were to open a free church, it would tell another story; and I am persuaded the only way to effect it will be for individual preachers to lead the way. I have not the spirit of a reformer, or I know what I would do. My Tuesday lecture is the only service in which I feel at all apostolical.

If I could have one sufficient ex tempore prayer in each diet, I should be glad to have a prescribed form for those things which we ought *always* to pray for: *e. g.* government, general thanksgiving, &c. I would have the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Te Deum, Gloria in Excelsis, and a few more ancient portions. Our church singing is of the very plainest sort, and the people join pretty generally. This has been the result of (1) a limited list of tunes, and (2) these very easy, with no repeats, and scarcely any slurs or dividing of syllables. But the protest of our young people has been formidable.

If I were ten years younger, I would have a building erected to hold 2,000, and would preach to free seats; not that I think the existing plan ought to be abandoned, but because I think we ought to have several, yea many plans, yea many sorts of preachers, "unlearned deacons" and all.

I find no girls decently educated except at home, or in the country. I have lately examined several eminent scholars of the highest establishment. Except French and drawing, they have nothing accurately, though pretending to have ever so much German, Latin—ologies, &c.

Quere Suppose every Popish priest now extant were a true spiritual Christian, how far would the existing machine of hierarchy (influence and all) be compatible with true churchship? *Item.* In such case, might not certain con-

ceivable reforms be expected, such as should place the Catholic body short of damnation?

Weary, weary, am I of these [theological] controversies *de lana caprina.* I have a peculiar position; being in favour of strict subscription, but to very short creed.

After I am dead and gone, I feel sure our cities will have large and elegant free churches. I would not object to sumptuousness, if it went to elevate, solace, and enrich the poor.

After having written and printed a good deal about sickness, health, &c., I find there are pages of experience to turn over, which are quite new. Especially do I see that we may be brought into stumbling and stripping dispensations, of which during their continuance we cannot comprehend the nature. I never felt more perfectly resigned to God's will, or more disposed to justify all his dealings, be it life or death, or disability. This is my strong permanent feeling. Nevertheless, with this, and perhaps from physical depression, all things seem sad. The chords are unstrung, and the instrument relaxed. Give my love to all yours, and to inquisitive friends.

And here we must rest from the embarrassing labor of of choosing specimens from a mine so rich as this memoir proves to be. It abounds in evidences of lovely piety, genial humor and true liberality of mind. It is full of happy thoughts and suggestions, novel expositions of difficult passages, hints about methods and modes of preaching, plans of sermons, the order of public worship, and large-minded criticisms upon most of the important public events in the church and in the state which have happened within the last forty years. Its subject passes before us the thoughtless boy, the convicted sinner, the hoping Christian, the earnest student, the successful teacher, the youthful preacher, the growing minister and pastor, the

accomplished scholar, the emient professor, the voluminous writer and auther, the observant traveller, the working philanthrophist, the celebrated divine, the successful ambassabor of Christ, finally sinking under his abundant labors in his Master's service to a premature grave, mourned by all denominations of Christians as a brother beloved. It is a work, therefore, which, while it will prove a fitting monument to the precious Christian charater embalmed in its pages, will also grow more and more valuable as years elapse, because it gives a peculiarly life-like picture of the period it covers.

6 E. E.

Art. IV.—UNLETTERED LEARNING, OR A PLEA FOR THE STUDY OF THINGS.*

Seven years ago, some of us stood, with tried friends behind, and encouraging smiles before, ready to leave at last the scenes which had promised much pleasure and which had given more. To night we are gathered to offer the same cheering welcome that was then given us, to stretch out the same friendly hands that were then stretched out to us, to a band of younger brothers whose eager feet throng the threshold. And, now, when we are here to greet them at the end of the first long stage of life, and to bid them God speed on that great journey that has no end; and when we ourselves with the clustering memories of forever gone but unforgotten days crowding tumultuously around us, are together met to tell the stories of the years that have fled and to look upon the years to come; on this academic holiday, amid the venerable customs and imposing ceremonies with which the constituted and acknowledged seats of learning, the classic fountains of letters, present their handiwork to the world, it seems meet and fitting, at this time and at this place, to turn our eyes for a short moment away from the old associations of scholastic erudition and lettered lore, to a learning which is higher than letters, which is broader than institutions, and which alone can carry off the honors of life, and win those weighty degrees whose evidence and diploma is success.

More or less, we have all been toiling in its school. Consciously or unconsciously we have conned its lessons and borne off its rewards. Willing or unwilling we have sat at the feet of its great untitled teachers, and are pressing towards graduation in that university, whose

* An Address delivered before the Alumni Association of Franklin and Marshall College, July 25th, 1860.

Commencement day is death and whose alumni record is history.

And the evidence of our scholarship is our change. We are not the same persons who grasped hand and swore an undying fealty of friendship some seven years ago. To-day we renew the vow, render the sacred homage, but it seems like the successors of our former selves, like the filial duty of sons who piously and lovingly fulfil an ancestral covenant. We tell the old tales of college life and they seem like the waking memories of a pleasant dream. We strike the chords that once thrilled every heart and they sound like the unsatisfying echoes of half forgotten music. To-day with firmer step and quicker tread we walk the streets that years ago echoed to our easy footfalls, but the same old houses tell a different story, the same unchanged roofs look down on different men. Times perhaps have not changed but we have. Where are the great men of so few years back? Where are the great aims and lofty thoughts of our cloister visions? Where are the glittering heights that then gleamed from out the shadowy future? All gone like the mist of the morning and vanished in the coming light of day. We are changed with a perfect and entire change. The most honest and earnest resolves, the deepest and best laid plans, albeit, guarded and hedged with an iron will, and the idlest schemes and airiest flights of fancy are gone down together and lie side by side. Where are the heroes—the labors—the duties—where are the air-castles—the dreamland—the loves—where is anything of seven years ago? Changed and changing. And if any one is not, if any one sees no more and feels no more, and hopes no more, and attempts no more, I envy him not. He is standing still, and as day chases day, and month follows month, the winged years are leaving him behind to the dreariest of all desolation—the bound prisoner of death in a world whose every pulse is throbbing and beating with impatient life.

And what means this ceaseless change that makes us stop and think.

Ah! we are at the alphabet, drinking the earliest draughts of that strange unlettered learning which presumption has never dared to systematize, and which one hardly knows how to approach. We are learning to handle the lever that wields the world, and our minds long the passive receptacle of other men's ideas, now quick with power and tremulous in the consciousness of coming meaning and strength await the birth of thought. *Unlettered learning*—so for want of a better title must we style that which has lost its own name, and wed the substance to the shadow because the reality can be intelligibly defined now only by contrast with its semblance.

There is a proclivity in these days of reckless hurrying and thoughtless speed to confound learning with its dress. There are very few any more who can part the pure idea of learning from its mere mechanical evidence—books and letters; and perhaps none who can do so without difficulty. There are many who can see no difference between the two things nor even understand its possibility. And there is danger that even educated men and the theories on which are built and conducted our educational systems and institutions are fostering the same error. The machine *cursus*, the mathematical gradation which makes college honors and standing only one long sum in addition, stretching through the inevitable procrustean four years, that accurate notation which gives the prize to patient plodding mediocrity wearily conning meaningless letters on dumb pages from opening term to graduation day, and has nothing to say of that mind which opening the hidden scrolls of being shrinks at its own littleness while it trembles in the throes of parturition; all these things, needful as they may be, still throw false lights over the channel of learning and call loud on the friends of colleges and the children of colleges to take up the note of warning.

The art of printing, endlessly multiplying the evidences of knowledge and becoming almost the only means of instruction was perhaps the cradle of this error. The books and copies by which knowledge was given usurp-

ed the place of knowledge itself. The servant and tool leaped into the seat of its master. To-day the fact needs little proving that half the world reverences letters as the divine spirit they represent, and bows before these lifeless idols with more than pagan blindness, and without that impulse of instinct which relieves the humiliation of heathen ignorance. Language—the unfailing touch-stone of a people's feeling, the unquestioned chronicle of a nation's thinking, reveals this too plainly. Illiterate, without letters, means simply unlearned. Two words are synonyms whose roots at first struck out in contrary directions.

But it is of small moment how this great mistake has happened. When the foe is in the fortress it matters little how he got there ; the day is gone and the glory is fading. It is enough for us to know that it has, and that every day it is gaining ground. It is enough to know that law makers recognize it in their laws and that the people live it in their lives. It is enough to know that the current idea of education is a mechanical one; that one year's going to college or school, or privately poring over text-books is commonly supposed to make a man so far learned and that two years schooling or reading will make one just twice as learned. It is enough to know that letters are smothering thought and that memory is becoming the monarch of the mind.

Great all around us, is the vitiating, weakening, prostrating power of the surfeit of literature which gives ideas to everybody without the pains of begetting them and pours forth in plenty thoughts for the unthinking. Many and many a mind sinks in the enervating flood and never knows its own death struggles.

And when we see that ink is taking the place of brains; that he is the greatest author who has stocked the largest book-store, and he the greatest student who has set his chariot wheels on fire whirling over a papery curriculum; that even churches guage their missionary spirit by their bales of exported bibles, it is time to ask if their may be

nothing wrong. Perhaps this great self-confident, intellectual age is off the track. Perhaps we have literally left the spirit for the letter. It was not always so. Great men lived before who suffered and labored and accomplished much, but who never wrote a line nor it may be read one. And we may remember how that grand old Greek, whose philosophy almost measured itself with inspiration, and for centuries after his death moulded Christian thought, never put one word on the tablets. Or we may call to mind how all that we have and prize of political and social prëeminence, we owe to men who could neither read nor write, the sturdy old barons of England who made themselves and freedom and Runnymede historic.

These are they who had learning without letters and their lives are the lesson for the day.

This is the shoreless sea of knowledge, the vast main whose depths have never answered to the plumet and whose waves roll out to the confines of eternity. Breasting the surges of such an ocean, the eye well may weary over the widening waste and the heart sink at the roar of the waters. Only to wander wistfully along its sounding shore, to catch for a moment the meaning music of its echoes, to mark how here and there its arms and inlets encroach and enter into our being is our aim this evening. The first step that opens the mind to conceive and that clears the eye to see the dim outlines of the wondrous ocean is to separate the stories of those who have guided their barks over smiling waters or suffered shipwreck on its richly stranded shores from the sea itself, to know that the stories which tell of deeds of daring, of treasure and of wonder, are neither the exploits, the riches nor the marvel. To *feel* that books are a secondary and an indirect means of knowledge, and are only of account when primary and direct sources fail and are exhausted is the first lesson in this great learning, which now that recitations are over and the marking roll is closed forever must carry us through a life that is to be measured by what is done,—must control success if there will be success and create power if there will be power.

It is not our purpose to describe the boundaries. Much it is to be regretted that no chart is yet drawn, however faulty or imperfect for the unnumbered mariners. More perhaps is it a matter of regret that the attempt has never been made, and still more that its want does not seem to be felt. It must needs be exceedingly difficult to convey any intelligible idea or sketch of this knowledge which although the keystone of being has never yet felt the hand of science, and is possessed at best only in vague and unsystematized generalizations picked up at random. Strange as it may sound, the business and art of life rests on a few empirical facts gleaned here and there and adopted as principles because tested by time. Paradox though it be, all that fits man for taking care of himself—of those around him—to make his own way—to defend his own rights—to enjoy his own acquisitions—in a word to be practically successful comes from without and in spite of the constituted authorities of learning. Education for life commences just where the schools leave off, and its cursus is just what the schools leave out. The animal art of self-preservation, that secondary and indirect art of self-preservation —the way to get a livelihood,—the duties of a parent, of a citizen, of a ruler (and all men are rulers) must be acquired somewhere else and in some other way than by what we term education.

A passing glance at the scope of life, and that which constitutes living as a physical and social fact, will show how completely every thing that teaches how to live and provides men for their eventful journey through the world is learned outside of study hours, in the nooks and the corners, by accident, chance or a seemingly wayward caprice.

During the defenceless days of childhood, God in his mercy has protected us from ourselves. A beneficent instinct warns us of danger and keeps us safe without trouble of our own. Self preservation is a gift, full and free at once, otherwise it is likely that we would never get the knowledge of it in time for use. Reasoning from analogy

and custom it is most probable that if a child did not find out without our help, that fire will burn and water give way under his feet, it would never be taught so by the most direct and sensible method—just showing that it does. By established usage, we should start at the other end, and explain the nature of caloric and the laws of hydrodynamics, use the dead and printed primer and throw away the living letters of nature.

Safe through those tender years when all the world is bounded by self, and self means only the body, man emerges into society. Fellowship is his fate henceforth and forever. Escape from social ties and bonds, there is none. There is no real anchorite on earth and never was. Even the monks, boastful *monachi*, must have a monastery—a herding place. Man steps on to the stage of life to the chorus of the nursery, plays his part through its lengthy scenes, yoked, and when at last he goes to sleep with his fathers, it is with the unnumbered army of the dead that he marches to the kingdoms under ground. And the management of this society in its widest, broadest, fullest sense, the control and regulation of ones' self and his relations to every person and circumstance around him, the great *οικονομια* of the world is the body of unlettered learning. Every man and woman is a king or queen, rules a realm somewhere, and the government of this kingdom which centres in himself and circles out and out, till its limits are lost in the domain of other uncrowned monarchs is the art and business of life, and the way in which it is done makes failure or success in life. The histories of these governments are the biographies of men. Now the knowledge that teaches how to build up this sovereignty, to keep it strong within and without and add conquest to conquest till the broad lands stretch from mountain to mountain, and from sea to sea, and from generation to generation till countries and races and time are swallowed up, is all unwritten. Watching, thinking, by the way side and the hedges, little by little, grain by grain must it be gotten, by mistakes repaired, by sorrows suffered, by experiments and

experience, and all the time the government goes on and from hour to hour and day to day the royalty is risked.

And the teachers here! No swollen catalogue parades the overflowing ranks of the faculty. No ambitious degrees tell of the masters and doctors of unlettered learning. There are those whom suffering has made strong and whose eyes see clear through tears. There are those to whom defeat after defeat has given the mastery. There are those who from the anatomy of their own breasts study the hygiene of humanity, and

"I rise on stepping stones
Of their dead selves to higher things."

And there are trifles too, light as air, by which the heedless pass, at which the empty-headed sneer and which the learned and the learning study. The follies are full of the wisdom of the world. The jests of men are of more meaning than their solemn judgments and stately opinions. Carelessness has more philosophy in it than carefulness and calls for profounder study. Even fools too (and they are of great use besides on this earth) teach. No corner too out of the way, no straws too light for the gleaners in this strange harvest where the field is the world. Out of wood, hay and stubble is to be reared the magnificent building of mind that can stand when the rains fall and the storms break.

Like all other things, the features and fulness of this desired learning come out clearer and bolder from a look at the other side. It may be hard to tell with accuracy what it is and who have it: it is more easy to see what it is not and who have it not. Its want is often called in common parlance the lack of judgment, tact or common sense, because a strong common sense, a delicate tact and a healthy judgment are for the most part the consequence of its culture and possession. The neglect of its culture makes the wrecks that strew the unending shores, or more pitiful yet the empty voyages of life. Yet, the unlettered lessons are by the greater number learned too late. We are wont to study first and only come to think afterwards.

Were a little unlettered study first given to the constitution of the body,—for after all a successful life is summed up in the proper economy of body, mind and time,—were only a little attention granted to the fleshly casket so delicately, so wonderfully made we should be spared that painfully common sight, on field and farm, on highway and by-way of men, women and children in the morning of life worn and wasted, and when the dew is scarce off and the air panting with freshness, wearily waiting for the coming and the rest of the evening. Were the economy of mind a little thought of, men would not spend toilsome lives, adding pebble to pebble, playing Boswell to the bugs and the flies, counting the hairs of the head, and numbering the sands of the sea shore, and then call science, their labors which all counted and told only serve to fill a curiosity shop or an index. Were the economy of time, the *ars longa vita brevis* principle once mastered, minds would no more grow dizzy and intelligence totter madly searching where discovery only brings confusion, after secrets in providence and pitty hidden, and which a little time and death will give to every fool for nothing.

But the best example and highest manifestation of the learning that laughs at letters, is when it is not only unwritten but unvoiced, when it has dropped neither from the pen nor tongue. There are things that must be learned, but not through the ear. There is much knowledge that must be had to act a part beyond the routine role, that has never taken form to make it transferable from mouth to mouth. Unembodied subtile knowledge, that takes shape and meaning and is a creature only for its creator. No common coin that passes from hand to hand. There is deep wisdom that men must have and have had, but that always has been and will be unspoken and in aid of which language is at best only suggestive. This knowledge which yet lacks utterance, that sports no royally endowed universities nor funded professorships is the science of human nature, the practical study of ourselves, the flowering of the cabalistic *γνωθι σεαυτον*. We know not

ourselves. A careless word and the floodgates of feeling are open. A dying sound—a look—a falling shadow, and the heart is torn with a mad tempest. Still we see not the connection between these trifles of chance and the turbulence and violence that follow in their train. The storm is over, the trackless wind has passed, and no one knows whence it came nor whither it goeth. The springs that set in motion head and heart are hidden and small. The control of these—the power to work them, to combine them—to balance one with another—to merge many into one—to manage them so that all whatever the kind or degree shall blend in harmony toward the given end, is the knowledge by which the world is governed or what is the same thing by which each man rules his own kingdom. The levers are the little things and the common things of the world, and they must be studied. The music of life is written on the common keys. Thence flow the deep melodies, and therein is the seat of power. The great passions are the same always and every where. One man lashed by the furies is driven much as another. A slave's breast may beat as wildly and the fires burn there as hotly, as in the Moor of Venice or the Royal Dane. Every hamlet has its altars where the incense rolls as high and the worship is as complete as if the worshippers were the star-crossed lovers of Verona. But these are the exceptional and trite powers. A tyro can see and use them. Something deeper and more artistic is wanted for the musician who would sweep with a master's hand the chords of being. The music to which the heart beats time from day to day is something stronger and more silent. As the tinted pencilling and soft shading makes the picture; as the curving of the hand, the swelling of a muscle guides the trained and mettled horses, so men are moved for all practical purposes in the same way. Emotions of every day life are not raised by theatrical thunder. We walk in slippers and not on the buskin. It is not the plumed and bannered forces of imperious passion that can win the battles of every day, nor storm the citadels that must be carried every hour.

Here come into play the plain and homely feelings. By their aid, these quiet, placid, unassuming agencies the world moves. The effects of every day are to be brought about by the causes, and with the material of every day. An earnest laborious and thorough study, not of mankind abstractly, as they figure in speculative philosophies, or treatises of unfathomed profundity, but of our neighbors, as they work and rest and study, as they rise and fall—this and this only will give the command which makes every thing, every person, every circumstance as potters clay in the hands of a cunning workman. That is a vulgar error which looks for great results only from the grand and heroic, measuring the power of a lever by its size. It is not by the whirlwind and the storm that we are bent,—but a word fitly spoken, a spring pressed here and there, an interest suggested, a sympathy awakened, an old affection touched, and one by one, the many little and contradictory emotions swaying and surging find vent in one convulsive sob, or one generous outburst of feeling.

Now to manage and control these "pregnant and potential spurs" of thought and action, we must learn from voiceless teachers. 'Tis the lesson which lies all around—proclaimed in very look and word and act, published in a thousand types and images, but to be seen and read alone by those who have "eyes to see."

How to attain this strange reading is not part of a task that aims only to point faintly out and suggest the richness of the hidden stores thereby unlocked. But perhaps a humble effort to discern some method may throw a dim light over some of the boundaries of this boundless ocean whose horizon ever flies before us. All around us, strange yet common scenes transpire. Men are moved over and over again in a strange yet very common way. Unknown forces in play, full of meaning strong in power, are ever working to the surface in symbolic representations, darkly hinting the great laws of inward action. Their rich significance we cannot understand, yet understood they must be, if that power will be gained. All our energies must bend towards

and concentrate on these fruitful scenes and objects, whether animate or inanimate, till they breathe with the breath of life, and yield up their living soul. The first step in this exciting exploration of nature is observation, to learn to see under our feet and in the waste places these magic mirrors of humanity. The next, reflection, earnest and thoughtful, and if faithful study brings nothing, then to imitate hopefully—to put ourselves *en rapport* with the universe, to beat with its heart, till reproduction follows, till the secret is wrenched from its prison and that power is a slave chained and ready for service.

These symbolic shadows fall athwart our path at every turn. One sees perhaps a hundred times, carelessly and unthinking, the light hearted waltzers floating in graceful and airy circles to the grandly solemn chords of the German masters—chords throbbing with the very majesty of sorrow. Some day this strange union strikes us as a singular fact, again as an incongruous fact. A little farther and the mirror clears, and we see here only an epitome of living, and know that with just that joyous step and measured tread, we too, dance down through circling years to the more sadly solemn music of life. No chance now. There is a reason for it—there is a meaning in this dissonant marriage, and a meaning that lies at the bottom of half the feeling in the world. This is why "our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thoughts." This is the reading of the riddle of Shakspeare's fool,

> "How some for joy did weep,
> And some for sorrow sung."

This is the secret of the cousinship of smiles and tears, and who has mastered this secret, who has gotten the reason of this thing, has pushed his empire into the very hearts of his fellows and holds a sceptre that sways every human breast. It is a boon and a blessing, this gift, to read the dumb oracles of nature and feel the still life of creation. No tie, however dear, no bond, however holy, can supply it. Parent and child, after years of care and counsel and answering love and honor, may part strangers. Husband

and wife, after wedded hearts and joined hands, after the shared joys and divided sorrows of a life-long pilgrimage, may sleep side by side, all unacquainted yet. But it is a boon that is vouchsafed only to study,—the study that consumes a brain and the toil that wears away a life time, this power to spur and rein the uncurbed torrents of feeling, to explore the hidden sorrows and know the secret paths of human nature. He was a wise man, though he spoke with Hibernian wisdom, who said that there is a great deal of human nature in every body. It is there and the matter is to reach it. Who has done that sits throned secure. Who has done that has for his slaves other men's masters, as he loosens with a word the pent up storms of passion, as he strikes at will the fountains of unwept tears and wakes the sleeping echoes of the heart. Here is the field and this is the art of the orator—and I call him the orator, who, be it at the bar, on the street, or in the parlor, carries his point.

Thus have we lingered for an hour by the shore of this storied ocean, whose ebb and flow beats with the pulse of humanity. If any thing is vague and unreal that has been said, it is because of the dim vision and weak powers of him that speaks and not of the subject. There is this occult lore whose well read scholar stands "shielded and helm'd and weaponed." There is this real and solid learning, measured with which the luxuriant fulness of spoken tongues and the pride and state of written language are an unsubstantial pageantry.

And if any thing has been said that may sound slighting or derogatory to the claims of a thorough scholastic training, it was not to that end. That is a power balanced by nothing else the wide world over, and a blessing that sheds its healthful light over every act and hour of life. But there is a danger in it. The fact that College men are daily distanced on the course, by those who suffered in the start, who carry weight and who never felt the rubbing and polish of the trainers hand, and that College pets of all are most likely to balk, tells the story. There is danger *lest*

these great institutions in their staid gravity and unmoving dignity become the representatives of the self-satisfied and hollow learning of letters. There is danger that they entrench and wall themselves in; in books and parchment, and in the haughtiness of age and the confidence of superiority, turn from fountains into the stagnant reservoirs of knowledge. There is danger lest they come to teach only an education for talking and not for acting.

There is no motive power in books. It is the logic of action that leads to thinking and the logic of thought that leads te achievement. Let any one honestly search his own history, and he will confess that the education to which he owes his present position and standing was gotten in other schools than those his father sent him to, and that the items of success were never paid for in his regular tuition bills.

And general history makes this same great confession for the world. There are tales of classic shades where poets sang and sages taught whose golden memories are yet the scholars dearest dream, but the history of Greece and Rome was made by other hands and their destinies wrought out by other powers. The proudest monuments of Gothic glory were the royal homes of letters where they reigned, sheltered and protected by religion—and a religion that held the reins of the world. But there was a moving of the people—the despised but living people—there was a graduation of the middle ages and the storm came and battlemented towers went down. And so we. Lusty colleges were cradled in our earliest colonies. Even now the woodman's axe and hunter's rifle are ringing around pioneer Universities far off to the setting sun, but to-day of the men whom the people honor, one's diploma shows only the log cabin free school on the rolling prairie—that college of the West—and another—"the little still at the head of the hollow."

Where would we be this hour with but the learning of the schools? Society might yet mean serfdom. Feudal turrets might yet be frowning over fields clumsily tilled

by feudal slaves. "Might makes right" might still be the bond between the governing and the governed, and the rule by which justice is done between man and man. Our homes might be the homes, and our rights the rights of a thousand years ago. History might have sealed her scrolls unsoiled. There is no motion in books.

Nor is there aught disparaging to the dignity of intellect in leaving venerable tomes and scholarly manuscripts for something which is better than these. Books are the aids, not the ends of study—the evidence of knowledge, not the things known. To forget this is the real downfall. God put men in the world and they shut themselves up in a library, but the traces of the finger of Providence, the records of the workings of power on earth are all entrusted to the great unwritten archives. The common law—the foundation stone of society, establishing and controlling the fundamental relations of husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant—the constitution of England, which to-day determines the political fate of more millions than any one thing else—the customs, the usages, manners and habits of mankind, these real monarchs—the ballad power of dead and buried nations—the legendary life of every people, past and present—tradition, the belief and rest of the world, all grew up unwritten and free from the trammels and cramping of a lettered bondage.

Every thing great and deep comes to us unwritten, because beyond the power of letters, and the large and catholic study of these things as they lie hidden all around us will go far to do away with much that is narrowing and little—to give us broader hearts and a more hopeful faith, and leave us stronger and better men.

W. N.

Lancaster, Pa, July, 1860.

ART. V.—THE LITERATURE OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

We have several objects in view in presenting the matter contained in this article. We will show by it how rich is the literature of the Heidelberg Catechism, as it has been produced in various lands and languages; thus furnishing the very best evidence of the high honor in which this symbol has been held both by learned Theologians who have thus labored in its elucidation, and by the pious laity whose wants and desires created and sustained this extraordinary demand.

We hope also that any one who desires to cultivate a more than ordinary acquaintance with this venerable catechism may find himself aided in his investigations by this survey of its literature. The titles of the different works will generally indicate to him the particular feature of the catechism to which the work is devoted, which in many cases may prove convenient and valuable information. It may, moreover—and this we would fain hope—suggest to some one possessing at once the antiquarian taste and the means to indulge it, to make a complete collection of old and rare works on the catechism. Such a work accomplished for the Library of the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg, or a gift or legacy devoted to that object, would be a lasting honor to its author, and an invaluable benefit to the Reformed Church in this country, and to the cause of theological inquiry in general.

As Ursinus is the principal author of the catechism it is proper to refer first to the work published under his name. This work on the catechism is so different in its entire theological character and spirit from the catechism itself that many have been at a loss to know how both could have proceeded from the same hand. This difference is easily explained when we take into view his relation to the commentary attributed to him. This is clearly and fully

brought out by Van Alpen. "As soon as the catechism had been published, Ursinus began to deliver Lectures on it in the Sapienz College in Heidelberg, and to explain the whole of it once a year. This work he carried forward till into the year 1577—a period of fourteen years. His zealous pupils, anxious to learn, with eager pen took down a great portion of these Lectures, and published what they had thus preserved under the name of Ursinus. The work appeared first at Neustadt 1584, a year after his death, and later in Geneva and Leyden. From the manifold variations in these editions it was soon seen how little part Ursinus had in the doctrines and expressions therein contained; whereupon Pareus, who had also heard the Lectures of Ursinus at Heidelberg, was solicited carefully to examine these works, work them over, and form them into one which should approximate more closely to Ursinus' mode of thought. Pareus undertook this work, and gave the catechetical expositions of Ursinus another form, in which form they were first published at Heidelberg in the year 1591, in four parts, each furnished with a separate Preface by Pareus. They were also published again in the same city in the years 1598 and 1609; and afterwards often in different years, and were also included in the works of Ursinus. Martin Lipenius and Hieronymus Van Alpen give reliable notices of other editions of Ursinus' catechetical work, as well as those published before and after the improvements made by Pareus, under various titles. The title of the genuine edition published by Pareus has the following title: "Zacharias Ursinus' Body of Christian Doctrine of the Church Reformed from the Papacy; containing the Catechetical Expositions which in various editions had been variously disfigured, but which are now anew and finally revised from beginning to end; in such a manner that it may be regarded as a new work. By David Pareus. With a double index. Catechetical Miscellanies from the first Edition, newly revised and arranged, are added. Bremen 1623." The edition is in Latin.

This work has been much praised. In Holland, where it was translated into Dutch by Festus Hominus and published in Leyden 1617, it was more used and prized than any other. Very many editions of it have been published in different lands and languages. "Countless teachers in the Church," says Van Alpen, "have been instructed by it." It was translated into English by Henry Parry, and published in England at a very early day.* The English translation, by Rev. George W. Williard, appeared in this country in 1851, with an Introduction by Dr. Nevin.†

From the history we have given of this work the reader may judge how far it may be properly regarded as the work of Ursinus. He was rather the occasion than the author of it. A work produced in this way from fragments gathered by various hands from the lips of another, and afterwards passing through so many transformations, must necessarily have taken the complexion of the minds of those who reproduced it; and these again must have conformed to the mind of Pareus himself. There seems to have been no manuscripts left by Ursinus with which these varying gathered notes could be compared; and as the first edition was not published till a year after Ursinus' death it could in no way have had his revision or sanction. The improved edition of Pareus was not published till seven years after the death of Ursinus, and that called the genuine and finally revised, not till forty years after his death. Pareus, therefore, could have had no advantage over his predecessors in securing correctness except what his own notes—though it is not mentioned that he had taken any himself—and his recollection of his teacher's Lectures would furnish. Certain it is that this work can-

* We have an English copy in our possession; the title page, and consequently the date and place of publication, is lost, but the style, orthography, and letter press, show that it belongs to a very early date. It may be the same as the one referred to by Rev. Mr. Williard in his Preface, which was published in 1645.

† The commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism Translated from the original Latin. By the Rev. G. W. Williard, A. M. First American Edition. Columbus, Ohio: Scott & Bascom, Printers. 1851.

not be quoted as authority under the name of Ursinus. The state of the case seems to be correctly given by Van Alpen, when he says: "Ancillan is correct when in his miscellaneous critical writings he says: David Pareus has made an excellent commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism *through Ursinus:*"

After the publication in 1584 of the notes of Ursinus' Lectures, many learned men published explanations of the Heidelberg Catechism. Nearly every year, says Van Alpen, some larger or smaller work was issued. Indeed few books have been honored with a larger number of commentaries. We shall here give the titles of these works, as we collect them from Van Alpen, Kocher, and other writers, and give such other information concerning them as we have been able to gather from various sources.

GERMANY.

Quirinus Reuter published: An explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism in Latin, with criticisms of several Theologians. Heidelberg, 1585.

Tobias Fabricus wrote: An Exposition of the Palatinate Catechism. Neustadt, 1586. 1596.

Tobias Fabricus: Encyclopedia of the Heidelberg Catechism. Neustadt, 1586. Published also at Herborn in 1596.

Balthasar Copius: LIV Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism. Published at Neustadt, 1588. This work Van Alpen mentions as every where favorably known. The same year in which it was published, it appeared in a Dutch translation.

Melchior Anger: A short and simple account: 1. Of the great misery of the whole human race; 2. How they may be delivered from such a state of misery and saved; 3. Of the office of Christians, how they are to conduct themselves in their lives toward God and their neighbors, and be grateful to God through Christ for such deliverance; together with a full explanation of these points. All of which is treated in Questions and Answers, and compared

with proofs from the word of God. Heidelberg, 1593.—This is regarded by many as a precious treasure.

George Spindler: Fifty-two Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism; in which the principal points of Christian doctrine, and the substance of the entire holy Scriptures, are correctly and briefly comprehended. Together with a form for examination, etc. Amberg, 1597 to 1607.

Mathias Martin's full popular Theology. Bremen, 1612, 1617. Also by the same: Aphoristic Paraphrase of all principal points of the Christian Religion. Bremen, 1612. Both these works are in Latin.

John Philip Pareus' Catechism of the Christian Religion, as the same is taught in the Churches and Schools of the Palatinate and other Reformed countries, with a short logical analysis and Theological exegesis. Neustadt, 1615. Frankfort, 1615. Hanau, 1624.

John Piscator's explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism, published by his son, Philip Ludwig, Herborn, 1522. Martin Lipenius mentions an older Catechetical work by the same author: Explanation of the Catechetical subjects of the Christian religion. Herborn, 1603.

Sibbrand Lubbert's Commentary on the Palatinate-Belgian Catechism. Frankfort, 1618.

Frederick Wendelin's Heidelberg Catechism. Bremen, 1623. Written in Latin.

Joachim Wedeland's (or as some write *Wendlard*) Heidelberg Catechism clearly explained for the edification of the people and the instruction of the youth. Bremen, 1623. In Latin.

To this period belong several defences of the Catechism, called forth by an attack upon it by a Jesuit of Cologne, Johan Andreas Coppenstein. His book was published at Cologne in Latin, 1621, and having been translated into German, it appeared at Heidelberg, 1624. It bears the following ridiculous title: "The Uncalvinized Heidelberg Catechism, discalvinized and converted into the Roman Catholic faith, so that the Catholic is to be found in the Text, and the Calvinistic in the Margin." In the text the

questions are all furnished with Roman Catholic answers. Hottinger has well remarked that the best which the Jesuit accomplished was thus to place the true Catechism into the hands of Roman Catholics by whom otherwise it would hardly have been seen or read. Yet his work was thought worthy of formal answer. Five learned men among the Reformed wrote replies to the book of Coppenstein. The first was Jacobus Laurentius, whose book bears the title: The orthodox Heidelberg Cathechism, against the censor, or as he calls it, the discalvinization of it by the Pastor in Heidelberg, Johann Andreas Coppenstein. Addressed to the King of Bohemia, Frederick IV. Amsterdam, 1625. Johannes Blassius, Henrich Isselburgius, and Johan Morenbachianus—which is perhaps an assumed name under which is hidden Johann Jacob Herrmann, pastor in Herborn—also wrote replies to Coppenstein.

Albert Hanfeld's Sermons on the Palatinate Catechism. Frankfort, 1634.

Felix Wys' Analysis of the Catechism. Hanau, 1653.

Bernhard Erasmus Averman's Short instruction in Christian Doctrine according to the Heidelberg Catechism. Hamburg, 1675.

Gerhard Meyer's Heidelberg Catechism; with the omission of all which exceeds the capacity of the ignorant, in a brief and plain manner analized and explained, and confirmed by proofs from the holy Scriptures. Heidelberg, 1676. Bremen, 1698. In Latin.

George Jacob Pauli: The Heidelberg Catechism, with short explanations, and many proofs from the holy Scriptures. Halle, 1781. This, Van Alpen regards a still better work than the one from Herman Reinhold Pauli, elsewhere mentioned. "In the preface," says Van Alpen, "Mr. Pauli expresses the most correct and sound views of Catechisms in general, and presents an impartial judgment on the Heidelberg Catechism." This Pauli was court-preacher in Halle. We have in our possession the third edition of this work published with an additional

preface by John Charles Pischon, his colleague, after Mr. Pauli's death. Halle, 1796.

Henry Bernhard Meier's Milk and Strong Meat for all lovers of the truth; as well for the simple as for such as are already advanced in Christianity, as prepared and faithfully presented by him in his catechetical lectures, and after his too early death, according to the earnest desire of many, edited and published by *Blasius Reuter*. Bremen, 1684.

Heinrich Simon Van Alpen: Public Catechizations, together with sermon sketches on the Heidelberg Catechism adapted to the wants of our times. Two volumes. Frankfort on the Main, 1796, 1797. This Van Alpen was Pastor at Kaldenkirchen and Bracht in Jülich in the Rhine country. This is in many respects an able work. Written in a popular, fresh and vigorous style, it bears the impress of a strong original mind, and abounding in brilliant thoughts, it is the more to be regretted that it is so deeply imbued with rationalism. In the preface of twenty-eight pages the false stand-point of the author is clearly defined, so that the reader at once sees into what hands he has fallen. The edition of which we have given the title, is in our possession, and seems to be the first issued.

A treatise on the easiest and most necessary questions in the Christian religion according to the order of the Heidelberg Catechism; and especially on the five principal parts therein contained. Brought together in chapters from various beautiful and instructive writings of divines of the present day, diligently prepared for the benefit of Christian youth. By J. A. P. P. Z. D. That is, as we learn from the end of the preface, John Adolph Pavenstett, Pastor in Duisburg. Duisburg on the Rhine, 1698.

Heronis Sibersma: Sources of salvation according to the Heidelberg Catechism. This work was published first in Leuwarden, 1694 and 1696. A German translation was printed in Frankfort, 1699. This work is praised by Van Alpen.

Bernhard Meyer's brief but particular explanation of the

Christian Reformed Catechism, with an appendix concerning the wonderful ways of God in the government of his Church: for the instruction of the catechumens. Elberfeld, 1733.

Herman Reinhold Pauli's Heidelberg Catechism, or short instruction in Christian doctrine, as the same is taught in the Evangelical Reformed Churches and Schools of the Palatinate, confirmed by proofs from the holy Scripture, with explanations adapted to the practice of an active Christianity. Halle, 1740. This Van Alpen calls one of the best explanations of the Catechism. From the name we should judge this Pauli to have been an ancestor of Rev. Philip Reinhold Pauli, who emigrated to this country in 1783, and was for a long time Pastor in Reading, Pa.

Ludwig George Miegs: Devout Explanations of the Heidelberg Catechism in Fifty-seven sermons. 1746. This work, says Van Alpen, is much used as a devotional book in many Reformed churches and families.

The following work appeared without the name of the author.

Instruction in the Truth unto godliness according to the Evangelical Reformed Church; or brief catechetical instruction in the Heidelberg Catechism for the use of all inquiring souls, especially for the instruction of the beloved youth, explained in the language of the Catechism, and confirmed by proofs from the holy Scriptures, together with the foundation of faith for those newly confirmed. With the approbation of the Universities of Herborn and Heidelberg. Heidelberg and Herborn, 1748.

John Philip Widder's edifying Meditations on divine truths and articles of faith contained in the Heidelberg Catechism, drawn from reason and Scripture for the cultivation of a pious life. Frankfort, 1753. This is said to be a work very highly prized by pious persons in the Reformed Church.

Reinhold Schödde's Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism, with an account of his life. Danzig and Leipzig, 1754.

These sermons were published after his death. We have this work in our possession. It is eminently practical, and well adapted as a devotional book.

George Gottfried Otterbein: Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism. Two volumes. Lemgo, 1803. This author was Pastor in Duisburg on the Rhine, and an elder brother of the Rev. William Otterbein, who came to this country in 1752 and died in 1813. He sold a large number of copies of his brother's work in this country, many of which are still to be found in the libraries of our older ministers, and in Reformed families. Van Alpen mentions this work with favor. We have examined it with care, and find it sound, spiritual, and eminently practical.

Conrad Bröszken: The Heidelberg Catechism, as the same was directed to be used by Frederick III. of blessed memory, A. D. 1563, in the churches and schools of the Palatinate; with an analysis by which the otherwise strong meat is reduced to milk for the weak. Published at Manheim. The book has no date, but bears the marks of age. The author was Court preacher and consistorial-rath in Offenbach. This work we have in possession, and find it excellent.

Mathias Krall: Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism. A devotional book. Elberfeld, 1833. Krall was pastor at Gemarke. His sermons are plain, practical, full of sound religious truth, and animated with living devotion. This book is in our possession.

Karl Sudhoff: Sure ground of Christian Doctrine. A help for the proper understanding of the Heidelberg Catechism. Compiled from the German writings of Dr. Casper Olevianus, with original essays on points of the Catechism. Frankfort on the Main, 1854. This is an important contribution to the literature of the Catechism, and ought to be in the hands of every minister of the Reformed Church.

J. P. Kindler: The Heidelberg Catechism methodically analyzed and illustrated. Third edition. Erlangen, 1846. Kindler is Pastor at Nüremberg. He has furnished merely an analysis, but it is most excellent—among the best that has yet fallen into our hands.

Besides these works, written originally in German, there appeared also various works on the Catechism in that country, during this period, translated from other languages, especially the most important works which had been issued in Holland, and in the Dutch language. Among them are the following:

Gellius de Bouma—or as Martin Lipenius and Frederick Adolph Lampe call him—Gellius de Bauma; Catechism or short instruction in Christian doctrine, as the same is conducted in the churches and schools of the Palatinate; as also the United Netherlands. Together with a short form showing how the youth can be easily practiced in the questions of the Catechism; for the benefit of the ignorant, there are also several series of highly important questions appended. First written in Dutch, but now translated into German by John Valentine Reuser. Hanau, 1664.

Tileman Heuster's large Heidelberg Catechism, with confirmations from the old teachers of the Church. Translated into German by George Tomasen. Frankfort, 1671.

Peter de Witte's Catechetical Treasure; that is, a Scriptural and extended catechetical explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism of the Christian Reformed Religion. Hanau, 1669. De Witte was minister at Leyden. This is an excellent work. It passed through sixteen editions in a few years in Dutch. It was translated into German by John Thomas and Willingensem Nassovicus. We are in possession of a copy of the second original German edition, "in many points enlarged and improved." Published in Basel, 1680. It contains a very valuable Introduction of over forty pages; and the body of the work covers 1246 pages, besides an appended index of 25 pages.

The address of the author to "the Courteous, Peaceable, Flourishing Reformed Church of Jesus Christ, in Delft," opens thus quaintly: "This Scriptural present is lined with holy Materials. Worldly tongues seeke for the dainties and Curiosities of delicate Puft-Pastes and En-ambred Sauces; but here is food for other palates than the world knoweth of. The Doze is indeed marked with A. B. C.,

but the right doze of it rightly taken down, will make not an *Abecedarian*, but a perfect man."

This work has also been translated into English. A correspondent of the Christian Intelligencer mentions an English copy as being in the library of Rev. Anson Du Bois, in Kingston, but as the title page is lost the date of its publication is not to be ascertained from that copy. The style is old, as may be seen by the following specimen given from the opening of the dedication "to the famous Seatown of Horn, in West-Frieslandt":

"It is a golden rule of Augustine—all things that are written by everie one, come not into all men's hands. And therefore it is profitable that manie bookes be written of manie men, in a different stile, not of a different faith, even also of the same questions, that so the same matter may reach to more men, to some in this, to others in another manner."

Van Alpen also mentions an English translation of de Witte's work, but does not give the date or translator.

The Palatinate Heidelberg Catechism was published at Heidelberg, Sept. 1, 1684. It furnishes, in questions and answers, an excellent analysis of the Catechism, and has all the proof texts printed out in full. This work was extensively used in the churches and schools of the Palatinate and in other provinces, and has been very popular from the beginning, as well in America as in Europe. An American edition was published at Philadelphia in 1777, also an edition in Easton, 1829. An English translation of this work was made by the author of this article in 1849. Frequent editions have since appeared, and it is extensively used in Sunday schools and Catechetical classes throughout the Church. A German edition has also been published at Chambersburg within the last few years.

Wieland Peter van der Hagen: The ground of salvation in fifty-two sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism, together with four introductory sermons, translated into German from the Dutch by John Vogelgang. Bremen, 1693. This work is much praised in the Preface to the German edition.

John D'Outrein's Golden Treasure of the truth according to godliness, as contained in the Heidelberg Catechism, farther explained, elucidated and confirmed. Now, on account of its excellence, translated into German by Henry Günther Tegeler, N. C. P., organist of the St. Stephen's church in Bremen; farther carefully revised, and enlarged by various remarks and additions by Frederick Adolph Lampe, formerly minister of the divine Word in Bremen, and since Doctor and Professor of Theology in Utrecht, Holland. Bremen, 1721, 1735. D'Outrein was Doctor of Philosophy, and an eminent minister in Amsterdam. This work was first published in Amsterdam in the Dutch language, 1719.

This is justly regarded as the best work extant on the Catechism. Countless editions of this work have appeared in Dutch and German. Pious Reformed ministers and members regard it as truly a treasure. It is written in questions and answers, and covers 1130 pages, with a most valuable index of nearly 60 double column pages. It is both critical and practical, pervaded with a spirit of earnest evangelical piety. We are in possession of the very first German edition, and know of no work on the Catechism which we can more highly recommend.

A French Explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism appeared in a second edition in Frankfort, 1742. This work has not been regarded as orthodox. The name of the author is not given.

SWITZERLAND.

In Switzerland the following works on the Heidelberg Catechism appeared.

Jacob Hoffman: The Heidelberg Catechism with a plain Analysis and edifying applications of the text. 1654.

Bartholomew Anhorn: Practical homiletical Analysis of the Catechism of Zurich enriched from the Palatinate Catechism. Basel, 1688. In this work, written in Latin, every Lord's Day of the Heidelberg Catechism is explained.

John Rudolph Rudolph: The Palatinate Catechism ex-

plained for the good of his hearers. Born 1697. It appeared also at Franekker 1705. Van Alpen says this work is very highly esteemed.

Christopher Stähelin: Explanation of the Heidelberg catechism, in questions and answers, with practical applications adapted to convince, examine, encourage, exhort and comfort: also a prayer adapted to each question; the whole intended for parents who seek God and His Salvation for themselves and their children. Part I and Part II. St. Gall, 1724. Basel, 1728, 1737, 1752. We have a copy of the Basel Edition of 1728. This is an excellent work not critical like D'Outrein, but perhaps the very best in existence for practical devotional purposes. His practical reflections are very searching, and the prayers, one of which is added to the explanation of each Lord's day, are full of the true Spirit of devotion. An affliction of the throat, which hindered him from preaching, was the occasion which led the pious author to the preparation of this work. Thus to thousands, besides himself, has his affliction been made a lasting blessing. This work is still in print, and favorably known in this country, as well as in the Fatherland.

HOLLAND.

Hieremias Bastingus wrote a commentary on the Heidelberg catechism, in Latin; It was first published in 1588, and a second edition in 1590. He wrote another smiliar work which was published at Dort, 1594.

Philip Lansberg: Catechism of the Christian religion, as it is taught in the Netherlands and the Palatinate, in fifty-two discourses. This work appeared at Middleburg, 1594; at Neustadt, 1595; at Hanau, 1620; and at Frankfort, 1621.

Henrici Brandii Willemsonii: Analysis of the catechism of the Christian Religion, which is taught in the Palatinate and Belgian churches and schools. Leyden, 1605, 1612.—Latin.

Ruardi Acronii: Conversations, in which the questions

of the Palatinate and Belgian catechism are explained. Scheidam, 1606. This work is written in Latin. In Dutch he published; Instruction in the Christian catechism. Scheidam, 1608.

Johannes Kuchtinus: The catechism of the Holland and West Friesland churches explained, 1612. The place of publication is not mentioned. The work is written in Latin.

Johannes Becius on the Heidelberg Catechism. Dort, 1631.

Danielis van Leren: Meditations on the Catechism. Arnheim, 1636.

Guilielmi Amesii: Sciagraphy of the Christian Catechism, in which under the text the different Lord's days are briefly, critically, and learnedly explained. Amsterdam, 1635, 1650. It also appeared in his complete work's, Amsterdam, 1658.—Latin.

Gisberti Voetii: Questions on the catechism. Utrecht, 1640.

Casperi Sibelii: Catechetical Meditations in four Parts; in which the points of the Christian Religion, contained and taught in the Palatinate catechism, are clearly explained theoretically and practically, and effectually defended against the calumnies and abuses of its enemies, especially against the objections of the Remonstrants. It is preceded by catechetical Prolegomena and Paraligomena. Amsterdam, 1650. The first Part of this extended Latin work was published in Deventer, 1646; the next at the same place, 1647, the third, 1649, and finally also the fourth, 1650.

William Maxamilian Sheelinck: Simple explanation and application of the most prominent questions of the Netherland Christian Catechism. Middleburg, 1650.

Johannes Beeltsnyder: Anatomy or explanation of the Christian Catechism. Amsterdam, 1651.

Henrici Diestii: Catechetical Honey-making (melificium catecheticum). Deventer, 1653. Latin. The same author also published fifty-two sermons on the Heidelberg Cate-

chism. Arnheim, 1670. He also abridged the work of Ursinus and Pareus, of which we have elsewhere given the history. Harderwick, 1633.

Johannis Martini: Dominicals in three Parts; the third Part of which is a popular Analysis of the Palatinate Catechism with remarks. Groningen, 1653. Latin. In Dutch the same author published: Larger catechizations on the catechism. Amsterdam, 1676.

Conradi Mylii: Catechetical Meletemata, or Homolies on the Heidelberg Catechism. Amsterdam, 1654. Latin.

Cornelii Poudrayen: Catechizations; that is, fundamental Instructions in the doctrine of the Christian Catechism. Amsterdam, 1659.

Nicolai Heussenii: The Catechism of the Netherland Reformed Churches confirmed as to its truth, with testimonies from the Church fathers. Rotterdam, 1657. The same author also wrote prayers on the Catechism. Leyden, 1655.

Henrici Alting: The Heidelberg Theological Authors, the Third part of which contains an explanation of the Palatinate Catechism, with defence against the remarks of Novices, and the contradiction of the Socinians. Amsterdam, 1646, 1662. Latin. Van Alpen attributes another work to this Alting; Catechizations on the Heidelberg Catechism. Steenwick, 1662. It is thought, however, by Henry Simon Von Alpen that this may be only a Dutch translation of the Latin work.

Pauli Colonii: Catechetical Disputations. Harderwyk, 1663. Latin.

Christiani Schotani: Theological Partitions; or the Ursinian Amesianian Art in the Palatinate-Belgian Catechism. Franekker, 1663, 1665. Latin.

Arnoldi Montani: Catechism of the Christian Religion, as it is used in the churches and schools of Upper and Lower Germany, with an Analysis and marginal Scripture references, finally revised, ordered by the States of Holland and Westfriesland to be used in their schools. Latest edition, enriched with an analytical compendium of

every Lord's day from the Tables of Festenius Homminius. Amsterdam, 1664. This work is said to be written in a fine Latin style. Prayers and Hymns are added at the end of the book.

Jacobi Stermont: Milk for children, also meat for the more perfect; or a brief view of the Christian religion according to the Catechism. Haag, 1665.

Gellie de Bouma: Enlarged Christian Catechism, or a safe mode of catechizing in the same. Dort, 1658. From the same author we have: Catechism of the Reformed Religion, explained by an Analysis. Zütphen, 1651.

The first work has been translated into German and published. Hanau, 1664.

Balthaser Bekker: Sound food for the perfect. Leuwarden, 1670, 1672. Amsterdam, 1682. Although the Heidelberg Catechism is not mentioned on the title page, it is nevertheless an explanation of it. This book was at first praised by some, and pronounced dangerous by others. After a long discussion which it occasioned, it was at length declared heretical. Bekker endured the sentence with patience. He wrote also other works on the Catechism, which it seems were more fortunate, and his name is held in honor.

Joannis Cocceii: The Heidelberg Catechism of the Christian Religion, explained from the holy Scriptures. Leyden, 1671. Amsterdam, 1672. Franekker, 1684. Latin. Translated into Dutch by Abraham van Poot, Doctor of Medicine. Amsterdam, 1673. This work was published after the author's death by his son, John Henry Cocceius, who says in the Preface that it was his father's aim in this work to give the precise sense of the Catechism which was in the minds of its authors. If he succeeded in this, it must be a valuable work. The Dutch edition of this large work, in four volumes, we once bought, but before it reached our hands it was drawn out of its course by some strong antiquarian attraction. We can only mourn after it as "strayed or stolen!"

Jacobi Crucii: Treasure of the Christian soul; fifty-four Sermons on the Catechism. Amsterdam, 1671.

Samuel Maresii: Public Catechism, or theological Porismata on every Lord's day of the same, now according to the wish of many, published in an improved form. Gröningen, 1671. Latin.

Francisi Rideri: Sevenfold Exercises on the Catechism. In two Parts. Rotterdam, 1671.

Antonii Hulsii: Didactic and polemic catechetical Examnation. Two volumes. Leyden, 1673. This author published still another polemical work. Leyden, 1676. The work is in Latin.

Adamii Peenii: Catechization on the Heidelberg Catechism. Leyden, 1676.

Petri van der Hagen: Fifty-two Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism, besides four introductory sermons. Amsterdam, 1676, 1684. These sermons were translated into German by John Vogelgang.

Wilhelmi Mommae: Meditations on the Heidelberg Catechism. Leyden, 1684. Latin. The same author wrote: Considerations on the Heidelberg Catechism. Amsterdam, 1685. This may be a translation of the Latin work.

Jacobi Altingii: A Dissertation, or Notes on the Heidelberg Catechism. Likewise an exegetical Analysis of the Heidelberg Catechism, which may be found in the sixth volume of his complete works. Amsterdam, 1687.

Antonii Vorster: Catechetical Considerations on the Knowledge of the Truth, according to the order of the Heidelberg Catechism. Leyden, 1691.

Cornelii Gentman: Enlargement on the points in the Heidelberg Catechism. Utrecht, 1692. Van Alpen mentions another work of this author on the Heidelberg Catechism. Amsterdam, 1705. This may be merely a new edition of the same work.

Pontioni van Hatlem: Treatise on and more particular explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism. In two Parts. Amsterdam, 1692. Van Alpen calls this a wicked and dangerous perversion, and not an explanation, of the Catechism.

David Knibbe: The Doctrine of the Reformed Church,

according to the order of the Heidelberg Catechism, explained and confirmed, and applied to the practice of godliness. In two Parts. Leyden, 1692, 1694. Again at Leyden, 1696.

Barend Hakvoord: The School for Christians, containing sixty-six Lectures in which the whole Confession of the Christian faith is briefly represented, clearly explained, according to the course of the Heidelberg Catechism, and confirmed from the holy Scriptures. The third edition was issued in Amsterdam, 1693. Again at Zwoll and Amsterdam, 1706. Van Alpen thinks there is much in this work in conflict with the Christian doctrine.

Everhardi van der Hoocht: The Heidelberg Catechism discussed in the Nuwendammer church for those who would prepare themselves for the Holy Supper. Amsterdam, 1696. There is another work by this author bearing the title: Explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism. Amsterdam, 1714.

Heronis Sibersma: Fountain of Salvation, as pointed out in the Heidelberg Catechism. Leuwarden, 1696. A translation of this work appeared at Frankfort, 1699.

Joannis Wilhelmi Feylingii: Catechism. Utrecht, 1705. Also: The truth of the Christian Religion, its duties and its comfort, briefly set forth from the Heidelberg Catechism. Amsterdam, 1710.

Jacobi Bruekland: Treatise on the Doctrine of the Covenant of Grace, according to the Heidelberg Catechism. Middleburg, 1711.

Mathaei Gargon: The only Comfort, or the Heidelberg Catechism opened and set forth. Leyden, 1713.

Salomonis van Till: Catechetical Homilies. Utrecht, 1714. This work was translated from the Latin into Dutch.

Van Pothuysen: Key of Knowledge, or explanation of the doctrine of truth according to the order of the Heidelberg Catechism. Utrecht, 1717.

Petri Venhuysen: The whole sure doctrine of comfort of the Reformed Church, opened and drawn from the Heidelberg Catechism for wholesome instruction. Gröningen, 1721.

Johannes Van der Kemp: The Christian entirely the property of Christ, in Life and in Death, exhibited in fifty-three Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism; wherein the doctrine of faith, received in the Reformed Church, is defended against its principal opponents, and the practical improvement and direction of it to evangelical piety enforced. Rotterdam, 1722. The Preface bears date Aug. 2nd, 1717. The author was pastor of the church in Derksland, Holland. This work was translated into English by Rev. John M. Van Harlingen, and published in two volumes in New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1810. A copy of this edition is in our possession. The translator in his Preface says; "This work hath been highly esteemed in the original, having been often reprinted since its first publication."

Abrahami Van der Steeg: Food for the Young, or a short explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism. Utrecht, 1726.

Other learned men published other Catechisms of their own, according to the fundamental teachings of the Heidelberg Catechism, with a view to explain it and enlarge on some of its points, or in the construction of theological treatises have had this symbol of faith in view. In the Dutch language appeared the following works of this character.

Balthasar Bekker: Nourishment for the spiritual growth of the tender youth of the Reformed Netherland churches, consisting of 52 questions for little children, milk for babes and bread cut small, very convenient to be used in the Reformed schools and in all Christian familes, 1668.

Thaddaei de Lantman: Short introduction to the Doctrine of Truth. Haag, 1678.

Joh. Martini: Simpler Catechization on the Christian Catechism. Utrecht, 1686.

Georgii de Mey: A short summary of the principal points of difference between the true Reformed and the present Romish Church, according to the order of the Christian Catechism. 1693..

Emilii Cuylemboorgh: Begining of the Doctrine of Christ,

set forth according to the order and division, and in the words of the Heidelberg Catechism. Rotterdam, 1698.

Henrici Groenewegen: Catechization, or exercises in all the principal points of the Christian faith, according to the order of the Heidelberg Catechism. Eukhuysen, 1698.

Simonis Moolenaar: Bible-work, or short summary of the true divine knowledge, prepared on the Heidelberg Catechism. Two Parts. Amsterdam, 1723.

Antonii Van Oostrum: A Short Summary of the Heidelberg Catechism. Dort, 1704. There was also a work with the same title by Simon Simonides, published in Amsterdam, 1693. The ministers of the city of Dort in 1620 published: A brief summary of Christian doctrine in short questions and answers according to the Heidelberg Catechism, for the instruction of those preparing themselves for the Lord's Supper. Samuelis Maresii published in Herzogenbusch, 1641, in the French language: A sketch of the regular Catechism of the Reformed Church in the United Provinces, divided into twelve sections.

Antonii Driessen: Direction to explain and apply to practice the Heidelberg Catechism methodically and apodictically. Gröningen, 1724.

Hermanni Alexandri Roell: Explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism. Utrecht, 1728. Roell, says Van Alpen, was a learned and prominent man in his day, yet his commentary on the Catechism did not please the learned of his time. His son, who published it after his father's death, excuses its imperfections on the ground that the work was not intended by his father for the press. The work is compiled from college lectures, and in many cases the compiler did not apprehend the author's true meaning.

Johannis van der Honest: Exhibition of the evangelical truths which are comprehended in the Heidelberg Catechism. Leyden, 1728.

Hieronymus Van Alpen: Economy of the Palatinate Catechism, with an Introduction on catechetical instruction in general, and especially on the origin and fortunes of the Palatinate Catechism. Utrecht, 1729. This author

was a man of great learning and fame, who also did good service to the Catechism. His work is highly praised. It is written in the Latin language.

Antonius Strick: The Heidelberg Catechism briefly explained in questions and answers. Together with a catechetical exercise on making a profession of faith, and preparation for the Lord's Supper. Leuwarden, 1739.

The great Synod of Dort during its sessions, 1618, appointed the Theologians Franz Gomarus, John Polyander, Anton Thysius, Herman Faukel, Balthasar Lydius and Godfried Utemann, who were present, to draw out an epitome of the Heidelberg Catechism for smaller children. They completed their work whilst the Synod was in session, and it was adopted by that body.

In 1648 the States General of Holland, for the benefit of the Greek Christians had the Heidelberg Catechism translated and published in the Greek language. Pareus in his History of the Palatinate says: In Belgium they are engaged in translating the Catechism into Spanish, that it may be used in the West Indies. Oelrich, says Van Alpen, has made us farther acquainted with a Spanish translation in the following work: D. Joh. Carl Conrad Oelrich's historical and critical account of a very rare edition of the Heidelberg Catechism of the Reformed Churches in the Spanish Language. Berlin by Rauck, 1793, 42 pages. Perhaps this is the same of which Pareus makes mention in his History of the Palatinate.

Besides these commentators on the Catechism who are familiarly known, says Van Alpen, there are yet many others whose names have either remained obscure, or whose catechetical works have not been carefully and fully mentioned.

Several learned men in Holland and Germany have written on the Catechism in verses and rhymes; in some cases treating its contents summarily, and in others following out the course of the Catechism at length.

John Pinceres published a poetical paraphrase of the catechism under the title: The Palatinate Catechism, with a

poetical Paraphrase. Herborn and Hanau, 1597. This paraphrase is written in Latin.

Balthasar Bekker published Catechetical instruction in rhymes; or the Heidelberg Catechism for the benefit of children in Rhymes, 1665. We have also: The Old Heidelberg Catechism wrought into plain rhymes by an excellent writer. Wesel, 1742.

Franz Plante wrote sacred Epigrams on the confession of faith of the Reformed Religion and Catechism. Leyden, 1679. Another poetical work bears the title: The lustre of the Reformed Church, beaming forth from the brief summary of the holy divine wisdom contained in the Heidelberg Catechism, with its questions and answers, brought into rhyme by Christian Klaarbout. Amsterdam, 1725. This translation of the Heidleberg Catechism into the Dutch language poetically is accompanied by a long preface in which Klaarbout applies to it the highest terms of praise, relating also its history, the most of which he takes from D'Outrein, often repeating it in that author's own words.

While the Reformed Church has been thus diligent in illustrating its chief Catechism, it has been no less laborious in preserving its eventful History in all lands, and through all centuries. The first and most important History of the Heidleberg Catechism is the following:

Catechetical History of the Reformed Church, in which, especially the Fortunes of the Heidelberg Catechism are related at length, being drawn from reliable original sources and writers, by John Christopher Koecher; Doctor of Divinity, and Professor in the University of Jena. Jena, 1756. Germany. This work of 444 pages, besides that of the Heidelberg, gives also the history of all Reformed Catechisms down to the time of its publication. We are in possession of the first edition, the preface of which bears date May 4th 1756. We have also before us a translation of this work into Dutch by E. W. Cramerus, and published at Amsterdam, 1763. Koecher also published the Catechetical History of the Roman Church, Jena, 1753; and

in a third volume that of the Waldenses, Bohemian Brethren, Greek Church, Socinians, Mennonites and other sects, Jena, 1768.

Next in time and importance to the work of Koecher is: The History and Literature of the Heidelberg Catechism, by Henry Simon Van Alpen, Pastor of the Reformed Church in Stolberg, near Aachen. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1800. German. One volume, pp. 408. Van Alpen, like Koecher goes to the original sources, and brings the History down to his own time.

Besides these works, devoted specifically to the History of the Catechism, we have in English, "The History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism," by Dr. Nevin, Chambersburg, Pa. 1847. This is a brief, but very satisfactory work.

A review of what we have now presented will show that, however much the Heidelberg Catechism has been honored in the fatherland by the rich literature which it has gathered around itself, comparatively little has been done for its illustration in this country. So far as the Dutch Reformed Church is concerned this is no doubt attributable to the fact that the Catechism itself, in that denomination, has passed almost generally out of sight. Into the reasons of this defection from the true original genius, spirit, and practices in that branch of the Reformed Church it is not our present object to enter. The fact is publicly acknowledged and earnestly lamented, by, at least some, in that communion. Says one, "The general disuse into which the Heidelberg Catechism has fallen among us, occasions serious anxiety among many. Notwithstanding the care taken to lay the obligation upon all our pastors to explain this Catechism, it is well known that only a few regard it. Should our Board of Publication issue a manual not dissimilar in purpose to that of De Witte, it might probably accomplish what Synodical injunctions and Classical requirements have hitherto failed in accomplishing, toward the revival of catechetical instruction." Another correspondent of the Intelligencer, lamenting the fearful neglect

prevalent in regard to the proper instruction and care of the baptized children, praises the better former times when "the Reformed Dutch Church sent forth her colonies to this country in the seventeeth century" and when she "was very watchful over her children. They were all baptized; not one was left out of the covenant. And then, in accordance with the vows assumed, parents were particular in personally instructing their offspring, not leaving it all to the pastor and Sabbath school teacher. Then, too, the Church was constant and indefatigable in her care and teaching. Every individual church had its parochial school, where daily, in addition to ordinary elementary branches of education, the *Bible and Catechism* were taught and explained by the schoolmaster, and reviewed weekly by the minister and elder. It has been said of a truth, "*the former glory of Holland has departed.* But it is to be hoped, in this particular, it will return. If this occurs, the Church must retrace her steps." From this honest confession it clearly appears that the Dutch Church in America has been inveigled into tendencies which have gradually led her away from the stand-point which she occupied at the time when "her colonies first came to this country in the seventeenth century." With this entire defection of the Church from its true ground, where the Catechism has become a mere relic and rare curiosity of a former age, no commentaries on it, and no literature springing from it, could of course be expected. Vander Kemp's work itself, published in 1810, when it seems there was still "a little strength," so far as we know, perished with the first edition.

In regard to the preservation of the original catechetical practices, the case is entirely different in the German Reformed Church. Here the ancient custom of catechizing the baptized children in order to prepare them for confirmation and the full communion of the Church has not only been uninterruptedly retained, but the strongest "tendencies" in favor of its still more earnest use, have of late years enlisted the zeal of Synods, Classes, consistories, pastors,

parents, and children. Never since the organization of the first congregation in 1726, has it been held in so high honor, or been plied with such intelligent and devoted earnestness as at the present day. In the German Reformed Church the glory of the system has by no means departed, but rather it has excelled in glory. In those few cases, where a foreign spirit had sought to bring it into dishonor, the vigor of the Church's true original life has been able to accomplish its speedy and effectual defeat; and the champions have retreated to parts where no such evisceration of venerable churchly practices is needed.

Though the catechetical spirit has thus remained, the Church in this country has, as yet, accomplished little in creating a catechetical literature. True, there has not hitherto been an absolute call for labor in this department, since the German language is still generally understood and used by our ministers and people; the libraries of most of our pastors are more or less furnished with standard German and Latin works on the catechism, and many of our German reading families are also still supplied with practical works of this nature in the mother tongue—such as Staehelin, Otterbein, and others. But it is also true that our Churches are fast becoming English ; and though we have Dr. Fisher's Exercises, the Large Palatinate Heidelberg Catechism, Dr. Nevin's History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism, and Rev. Williard's Ursinus, all in English, the Church cannot regard itself as ad equately supplied with its present English catechetical literature. Ministers will need, and the people will ask, that the rich past shall be made to yield up some of those treasures which have been brought into review in this article. In that new tongue, which in the providence of God is fast becoming most familiar to us, would we hear the wisdom of the fathers. From the old vessels would we drink in the spirit of our pious ancestors, while we would defend the faith precious to us by mail and missle from this armory "whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men."

Lancaster, Pa. H. H.

ART. VI.—THE PROSPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA.

The Christian patrons of African Colonization have always looked for great results from this enterprize, in the spread of the Gospel among the African heathen. The founders of the American Colonization Society did not, indeed, speak of this evangelical effect as one of the objects of their institution. They had in view an interest of great importance to our country of another kind. But enlightened men, as they were, they must have seen that this incidental effect of their work would be the most important of all its effects, and be, in the end, its chief glory; and philanthropists, as they were, they must have rejoiced in the prospect of an indirect beneficence from their labors, so rich and munificent.

The good work of our countrymen in Africa will doubtless profit most by continuing to hold the temporal welfare of the people of color in this country as its chief end. But none can object to allowing Christian people, who are zealous for the spiritual improvement of the negro, to avail themselves of the admirable occasion furnished by colonization, for seeking to evangelize Africa. "The set time to favor Zion" in that part of the world has undoubtedly come. The Christian heart can not be content that the African continent should not share as largely in the prayers and labors of the Church as any other quarter of the world. And there is no portion of the heathen world more frequently referred to in the prophecies of Holy Scripture than that. We have reason to suppose that great stress was laid on some of the prophecies of the Bible concerning Africa, lest that remote and obscure quarter of the world should be too long overlooked by the benevolent enterprize of the Christian Church.

Among the Scripture references to evangelical progress

in Africa, we are accustomed to consider the passage in the prophet Zephaniah, chapter 3: 9, 10. Jerusalem, as the representative of the Gospel Church, was severely rebuked for her shameful ignorance of her spiritual relations and destiny, and for her character in general, which was so unworthy of her high calling. Zephaniah prophesies great indignation against her and gives her to understand that while her perverseness was proving her own ruin, it could not frustrate the grace of God towards mankind at large. Thus he accuses and warns her: "I said surely thou wilt fear me; thou wilt receive instruction; so their dwelling should not be cut off, howsoever I punished them; but they rose early and corrupted all their doings. Therefore wait ye upon me, saith the Lord, until the day that I rise up to the prey; for my determination is to gather the nations, that I may assemble the kingdoms, to pour upon them mine indignation, even all my fierce anger; for all the earth shall be devoured with the fire of my jealousy. For then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent. From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, my suppliants, even the daughter of my dispersed, shall bring mine offering." (Zeph. 3: 7–10.)

While the Old Testament prophecy may have, in many cases, an undeniable view of events then near at hand, both as to time and place, yet it is difficult for us to confine it to them. In most of the predictions, where times and places are not definitely given, we have reason to consider the eye of prophecy as reaching to a sort of indefinite future, and seeing the successive changes of the world, which occur at vast intervals of time, as we see the nearer and the remoter stars, apparently side by side. As to this prophecy of Zephaniah, if it primarily refers to parts of Africa, history records no marked events, near to the prophet's time, to which it could distinctly apply. Some interpreters have, therefore, so far yielded to the influence of cognate names, and of classical statements and allusions, as to extend the application of this geographical name to

countries far east of the African Cush, or Ethiopia, as the Greeks called it, and to understand it as designating the southern part of Arabia, and also the territory still farther east, between the Caspian sea on the north, and the Persian gulf on the south. And then the prophecy of Zephaniah here referred to, is applied to the return of the Jews from captivity; the rivers of Ethiopia being taken as the Tigris and its tributaries or branches. It is thought also that the captive Hebrews must be the persons intended by "the daughter of my dispersed."

But as reasons for preferring to apply the prophecy to Africa, we give the following considerations: 1. That the African Ethiopia is elsewhere very prominent before the eye of the spirit of prophecy; as when Isaiah calls upon "the land which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia to send its present unto the Lord of Hosts," (chapter 18: 1); and when he says to Zion in another place, (45: 14,) "the labor of Egypt and the merchandize of Ethiopia men of stature shall come over unto thee;" and this prophecy of Isaiah is so like that of Zephaniah that in the absence of strong reasons to the contrary we must apply both to the same event, as occurring in the Ethiopia, which is the same as Abyssinia, south of Egypt; and we thus take the rivers of Ethiopia to be the branches of the Nile. 2. That the "suppliants" *need* not be considered as any part of the captive Hebrews; for the Gentile tribes are referred to as *dispersed*, and living afar off, and their conversion is conceived as a *gathering in;* while the captivity in Babylon is not represented under the figure of a dispersion. 3. That the suppliants were to come from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, while the captive Hebrews were not beyond the rivers of this oriental Ethiopia, or Babylon, but *by* them. And 4. That Zephaniah speaks of a great movement of nations as taking place while this offering is coming from Ethiopia; but no such movement attended the return of the Hebrews from Babylon; whereas now, when Africa is receiving Christianity, the nations seem all in motion. For these reasons, it seems just to conclude that the sup-

pliants whom Zephaniah foresaw as coming from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, are the same who appeared in the vision of Isaiah, fellow countrymen or neighbors of the Sabeans, dwelling beyond the branches of the Nile, on the south of Egypt, at a most unpromising distance from the lands of light, in the almost unknown and inaccessible recesses of the interior of Africa. And through the glass of this graphic prophecy, we see the sable multitudes of that vast and benighted region, after their long night of ignorance and oppression, waking to a morning of freedom and joy. They come with the people of all other lands to the Christian sanctuary, to share in the salvation of the Gospel and to bring the rich fruits of their lands as an offering to the Lord. And this is the wonder which is now actually coming to pass.

The great commercial nations are showing a lively concern in the researches, now so rapidly penetrating into the dark interior of Africa. They wish to secure a share in the gains of such a commerce. Our own country more than any other, might be expected to claim an interest in those opening treasures: for the African people are nearer to us than to any other nation on the globe. Our Christian philanthropists have long had a sacred property in the western coast, and are sending thither many every year, who have had their birth and training here. But owing to our peculiar circumstances as a nation, with reference to Africans, we can not yet so much as recognize the national independence of that colony of our own planting. We are embarrassed in devising and executing public measures for the gains of commercial intercourse with that great and productive quarter of the world. Our Christian people, however, have an interest there which they can foster and improve. There has been a spirit connected with the enterprise of African colonization which will not be slack in preferring its claim to the Liberian Republic, as an instrument of its own divine work. For no matter how little the founders of the American Colonization Society may have thought of Christian Missions, as a means

of their noble work, or of the spiritual benefit of the African people as an end, they would still be among the first to recognize the wealth and power of their future colony as the Lord's, for publishing the Gospel and maintaining its institutions in all that continent. This will yet be the crown of their institution; the rich reward of their labor. The Christian spirit will baptize that whole grand enterprize, and consecrate all its movements to its own holy purposes. This is what the Christian people of this land are authorized, encouraged and bound to do.

In doing this, we should highly prize the constant emigration from this country and use all diligence in fitting it for our service. As citizens of the United States and as philanthropists, and friends of the secular welfare of our own people of color, we have an interest in promoting emigration, on account of the emigrants themselves. For in the providence of God and for reasons entirely beyond the control of either Church or State, the free colored people of this country are in a condition so unfavorable to their improvement that they would do much better there. Why this should be so, seems to be one of the mysteries of providence; but as things are, we can not look for any change in this respect. The purest feelings of kindness towards them as a class, and the highest degree of Christian character does not lead any nearer to that equality of condition and free social union which exist between other races. The ground of separation lies deep in the constitution, where it can not be reached by any civilizing or evangelizing correction, unless it shall be by means of natural change upon the physical texture of the African, proceeding through many generations. Our reasons, therefore, both natural and spiritual, for wishing success to the work of emigration, should not be condemned as wholly evil, but rather pondered as hints of the will of providence as to the present course of the two classes. And no candid observer can mistake the providential indications of the times in this matter. The welfare of our colored brethren will be promoted by emigration. If of the better class, they can

rise in Africa at once to social equality and usefulness. They can enjoy the dignity of true self-respect, beyond what they can ever attain here. If of the lower sort, they will have more open doors, and more incitements to successful activity than they can have here. Whatever their condition in any part of the United States, they will have good reason to be thankful for encouragement and aid in securing a home in Africa.

The number of slaves emancipated every year is very large. And emancipated slaves are not, as many may suppose, an inferior class of emigrants to Africa. Though many have less education in books, they have better habits. Their masters were among the more conscientious and humane, who took most care to prepare their servants for freedom. And then their freedom is new to them and unless they are extremely indolent and vicious, they will endeavor to make the most of it for themselves and their posterity.

The number of emigrants is increasing. Some 11,000 have already gone. They will soon be reckoned by thousands in a year. Those of proper age have more or less education and Christian training. Their modes of thought, their manners and habits, have been formed among civilized people. Many are decided and exemplary Christians, with intelligence, and other qualifications for usefulness in Africa. As that republic grows in wealth and commerce, and its character becomes attractive, the immigration will be greatly accelerated, till it becomes like the immigration from Europe to this country. Then the growth of Christian influence will be in a manifold proportion. The public sentiment is more powerful in large communities; the Christian inhabitants will have more intercourse with the natives; and African Christians will mingle more with those of other countries. We shall greatly promote the cause of Christianity in Africa by encouraging emigration.

The climate is healthy for the colored race; and the natural increase of population is rapid. This might be supposed from the fact that so many have been furnished

for the slave trade without stripping the continent of its inhabitants. In Liberia this rapid growth will be a growth of Christian families; whose children will be born to the inheritance of freedom, and of all the blessings of the Gospel. Besides this growth of emigrant families in the Republic, there is a population of natives who connect themselves with the colony for the benefit of living under its laws and its Christian influence. Their number is twenty or thirty times greater than the emigrant population of the Republic; some 250,000. They take up their residence in the neighborhood, obtain homes for their families and cultivate land. This will produce an immense increase of the christianized population. They will all have the Scriptures in their families. Their children will all be educated in Christian schools and in the English language; and thus have access to the vast body of religious literature of our language. They will seek their society and transact business among those who use that tongue. All will live and grow up under the influence of the Gospel. So great will be the number of these, that they will give a Christian aspect in the life-time of two or three generations to the entire continent. For as their growing multitudes become incorporated with the Republic, the frontiers of Christian freedom will advance towards the interior of the continent, the area of civilization will be enlarged, and a vast increase of these natives will gather upon its borders. Their language will be, "We will go with you for we have heard that God is with you." After the first generation, the natural increase will not be heathen, but Christian; acknowledging the only living and true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent.

From such a population on African ground, we shall measurably look for a systematic and energetic prosecution of the missionary work. This work cannot be prosecuted in Africa by Christian people from other countries. The Church has learned this by costly experiment. The expense of human life incurred by sending any but African people to live in Africa, amounts to a prohibition. *If any*

thing in the way of Christian enterprise can be considered as forbidden by the providence of God, it must be the sending out of white missionaries to preach the Gospel in Africa. This honorable work is reserved for those servants whom the Lord shall raise up of the African race. Many of these favored servants have already gone to their vineyard from this country, and are citizens of the African Republic. Others are preparing; and thousands who will yet put efficient hands to this blessed work are now in bonds, and others will be for some generations yet to come, preparing for their peculiar service by one of the mysterious ways of the providence of God. But the great army of those soldiers of the cross will be born on African ground, and be trained to their service amidst Christian institutions in the land of their fathers, and with physical constitutions formed by the African climate. Even those born and bred here, whose blood is purely African, are so little changed by their American clime, that after short residence in Africa, they become as healthy as the natives. But the number of *emigrating* missionaries will be only as a drop of the bucket compared with those raised up on the ground. There is no other tropical portion of the heathen world where so much evangelical work can be done with so little expense of life and treasure.

The Christian missions there will be conducted and prosecuted with a zeal quickened by all the natural, as well as spiritual motives; inasmuch as every religious advance will be felt by the people as an immediate gain to the whole economy of their life. The zeal will be guided by a wisdom scarcely attainable in human affairs except in intercourse with one's own countrymen. Not strangers in a strange land, and having natural affinities for those they would serve, they are not regarded with jealousy and suspicion, and held at a distance as aliens. They know and are known. They are in social contact with the people, with no stratum of national antipathy between. The advantage of this unobstructed sympathy is incalculable in the Christian sphere. No superiority of knowledge, tal-

ents or liberal accomplishments can be more than a very partial substitute for it. The people of Africa have suffered uncommon degradation; and when they begin to rejoice in deliverance, they are drawn towards each other by a peculiar attraction. Notwithstanding that attachment which grows in them towards the whites, who treat them with respect and kindness, and even the pride and vanity they indulge in being noticed, they soon learn in the school of true freedom that they owe nothing to others but what they can claim of them as brethren and equals. Place them in the same relations which others hold, give them a personal interest in the same social, political and religious affairs, which they have seen their superiors concerned with, and they feel themselves raised at once in the scale of being. They have a national fellowship in exaltation as they had in degradation. Under such circumstances, Christian Missions in Africa have great advantages, compared with those of any other country in the world.

The Christians in Africa will have the necessary means. Africa is one of the richest countries on the globe by nature; and it only requires a moderate industry, and a skilful application, to turn her natural riches into the common forms of national and individual wealth. Farmers, mechanics, manufacturers, merchants, all men of useful and honorable trades and professions, who are industrious and prudent there, will grow rich. The soil and climate produce rapidly, and the productions have all the rest of the world for a market. For the country yields many things not produced elsewhere, and many more, not found elsewhere so cheap. The future commerce and wealth of Africa will be a wonder. Many of the great nations are eager to promote it, and to share in its profits. And we may entertain the rational expectation, from the providential forces now converging thither from the prosperous countries of Christendom, that the righteous and merciful God is about to lift that continent to a height of prosperity compensatory for its former depth of adversity. There must arise on that ground a system of commerce vast, splendid, and lu

crative. The hand of Christian philanthropy there will be full of resources; and the Lord will see that his people employ his silver and gold for his service. There will be such a state of things as has never existed before. When this country was colonized the civilized and Christian nations were poor, compared with those nations now; with few and feeble means of exerting mutual influence; with few facilities for commerce, and familiar only with slow and tedious processes of production in the mart, the shop and the field. But now think of Africa, just taking root and lifting up her thrifty and lofty branches amidst the active and stimulating elements of the business world of this day. What must such a people soon come to be, in respect to the means of improving her own people. At the beginning of Christianity in the world, when Christian communities in social centres had barbarous heathen all around them, and among them, the work of conversion went on fast, till all forsook their idols and became Christians. But Liberia now becomes a social centre for that continent, with heathen all around and within her; preparing to establish her lines of steam and electricity in all directions towards the interior, till every motion of her Christian heart shall waken a pulse in every extremity of the land. The African missions will require support for a time. Let us maintain them in the highest vigor for one generation more and they will then take the whole service on themselves, and make their country rich in the fruits of the Gospel.

While this work of missions is going on, the natives in multitudes will be joining the colonists and uniting their interests with civilized and Christian people. It is from this source that by far the largest portion of the increase of the colony is to be expected. The stream of emigration, large as we may hope it will be, will be small compared with the accession from the native population. In this respect the Republic of Liberia has great advantage over the first settlers of this country. The colonists and the natives can begin at once to have free intercourse with one anoth-

er. There is no natural hindrance to immediate amalgamation. We are even astonished at the number of natives who seek to be connected with the Republic. We are informed they are in the proportion of thirty to one. They gather upon the borders and settle in the territory of Liberia. They offer their children for admission into the schools. They invite Christian teachers to establish schools among them. As they become qualified they are taken into the political body as citizens in full; becoming naturalized, and entitled to all the privileges of citizenship. They will form a part of the religious communities; will meet in the religious assemblies, adopt the customs of Christian people, receive the discipline of Christian ordinances, and of the usages of civilized life, and will leave their children with the sentiments and habits of Christian society.

We may take Sierra Leone, for an example, on a smaller scale, of what may be expected in Liberia. That British colony is now reported as having more than sixty thousand souls. These are of sixty different tribes. The emigrants are mostly recaptured from slave ships and carried to this colony as a place of refuge. Now great numbers of them and of their children are merchants, skilful mechanics, teachers, ministers of the Gospel, &c. Some who are engaged in commerce have acquired estates of one hundred thousand dollars each. Some own vessels and navigate them. The African people, thus trained to business exhibit as much talent in proportion to their experience as the people of other nations. Give them the practice which others have in the most intricate and complicated pursuits and those of greatest importance, and after two or three generations of such culture, it would not surprise us to see them standing among the foremost in all the higher developments of human nature. In their present degraded condition, and after their long history of degradation, it were strange that they should not be degenerate in character. They have never known the incitements and the means of true culture. Those in bondage could not have the facilities for improvement enjoyed by the free;

and those in their native land, besides being the prey of cupidity in other nations were insulated by their climate from the elevating intercourse with more advanced people, which would otherwise have given them a share in the general progress of the world. But that they do not possess their share of the highest capabilities of man, in every respect, should not be taken for granted so long as we have so many instances of noble intellectual and moral development among them, even under the disadvantages of slavery, and so long as those who pronounce them an inferior race, have such an interest from avarice or pride, in perpetuating their degradation. We speak of the example of Sierra Leone as on a small scale. Its numbers are small compared with those soon to be reckoned to Liberia; and the character of its accessions from recaptured slaves is so inferior to those received by Liberia from emigration, as really to forbid comparison. If Sierra Leone can present so favorable a result under the circumstances, Liberia may well congratulate herself upon her future. The citizens of the United States have done a glorious work in planting on the coast of Africa the seeds of a great Christian nation, which will have a brilliant history, and bring an immense accession to the Church of Christ. Notwithstanding the great reproach, deserved and received, for holding millions of the African race in bondage, we have the happiness and honor of doing for that race, what will result in an amount of good infinitely greater than the amount of evil they have suffered in slavery. God has overruled and is still overruling our sin for the glory of his righteousness. While we do not extenuate our wrong doing by the good which we may attempt and execute, and which God may bring to pass even by our unrighteousness itself, we thank God and congratulate ourselves that we have been able to begin this enterprize, and now are permitted to see it advancing so rapidly, and almost by its own resources along.

The Christian people of this country have yet a service, however, to perform for Africa in the present generation which they should do with their greatest diligence and

wisdom. They may feel, while doing it, that they are contributing one of the brightest pages of the history of the Church on earth. We are giving the Gospel, in the most effectual way, to millions of people who have never yet been numbered. We are spreading the Christian Church over a continent, on the greatest part of which, the Gospel has never yet been published. We are executing there a duplicate of our own civil and religious institutions. The inhabitants of that dark and almost unknown quarter of the world are coming to the light of life. They are taking their place among the followers of Christ, as heirs of the heavenly inheritance; as fellow citizens with the saints and of the household af God.

This case will be illustrious in the annals of the world, to show how God, in his wisdom and mercy, brings good out of evil. Nowhere else has the wickedness of man been so fruitful of wo; nowhere else will the grace of God be more fruitful of righteousness and life.

THE BIBLE AND SOCIAL REFORM; or, the Scriptures as a Means of Civilization. By R. H. Tyler, A. M., Fulton, N. Y. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. pp. 366.

The title gives a correct conception of the book. Believing "that the Bible is, in the system of morals, what the sun, the fountain of light and heat, and the centre of attraction, is in the system of nature," the author proposes to show that this Sacred Book "is really the great renovator of the race,"—"a radical reformer"—"a civilizer of the human race."

It is a common error of the times to confound Christianity with the Bible—the divine-human order of objective spiritual being in the world with the subjective history and representation of it as given in infallible human language; or, to identify the new creation in Christ Jesus with the inspired teachings in writing concerning it by prophets, evangelists and apostles. The promise in Paradise and the institution of sacrifices, are older than the record of them; the Jewish church, with its entire ceremonial order, is older than the books of Moses. The constitution of the Christian Religion, the establishment and organization of the Christian Church in Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy and the islands of the Mediterranean, are older than the Gospels and Epistles. So also are the foundation and progress of Christian civilization older than the New Testament. The truth of this position involves simply a question of historical fact, which every one must concede, who remembers that no book of the New Testament was written until at least twenty-three years after the Ascension of Christ, and the last as late as sixty years after that event. These historical facts the author of *The Bible and Social Reform* overlooks. He reasons as if the New Testament were the foundation of Christianity, and the source of the highest spiritual, moral and social power on earth, whilst directly the opposite is the truth: Christianity is the foundation of the New Testament, and the source of all the elevating and transforming power which the inspired volume possesses. All the author's facts and arguments, in as far as they have any logical force, go to establish the latter proposition, not the former.

Another important distinction is overlooked. The Sacred Scriptures are for those properly who are enlightened by the Holy Spirit, and have been made obedient to the Faith of Christ; not for the world at large. To the unconverted world they are a sealed book. Men are required first to receive Christ with unquestioning docility, before they can have access to its hidden treasures of power and knowledge. Without such childlike faith in Christ, who is the Alpha and Omega of the Holy Book, the Book itself is comparatively powerless for good. The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them for they are spiritually discerned. 1 Cor. 2 : 14.

E. V. G.

THE PROVINCE OF REASON: A Criticism of the Bampton Lecture on "The Limits of Religious Thought." By John Young, LL. Edin., author of the Christ of History, etc. New York: Carter & Brothers, 1860. pp. 305.

This is a bold and earnest criticism of Mansel's Bampton Lecture. Dr. Young exhibits the relation of Mansel to Hamilton and Kant; to Spinoza, Schelling and Hegel; sets forth the difference between the Reason, or the higher Reason, and the Understanding, which the Lecturer everywhere ignores; and exposes the confused ideas of the book in regard to the Infinite and Absolute, and the contradictory principles of reasoning which pervade the discussion. The Criticism will serve as a powerful antidote to the poison of "The Limits of Religious Thought." Dr. Young may not be equal to Mansel as to learning; but he employs a sounder logic. His style may be less fluent and beautiful, but it is more vigorous and forcible.

E. V. G.

A MAN. By Rev. J. D. Bell. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. 1860. pp. 462.

The design of the author is to develop the true ideal of *a man*. The cultivation of the senses, the necessity of study, rational love, thinking, conversation and wit, form the successive topics of the First Part; aspiration, genius, invention and discovery, writing and the three inspirations—that of the poet, the orator

and the hero—the topics of the Second. The book abounds in sound views concerning the formation of a manly character, which are beautifully illustrated by historical facts drawn from all ranks of society and all ages of the world. But it commits a grave error, which neutralizes the force of many wise counsels. It overlooks the fact of the Fall, and proceeds on the silent assumption that man possesses the moral power by nature to actualize the ideal of manliness. The Scriptures are quoted and facts in the life of Christ are cited, sometimes to sustain, at others to illustrate the author's views. But for no other purpose. "A man" is not referred to Jesus Christ as the vitalizing power and true prototype of the noblest manhood. "Without me," our Lord Himself says, "ye can do nothing."

E. V. G.

DER LITURGISCHE GOTTESDIENST. Predigt ueber Ap. Gesch. 2: 42. Von John S. Kessler D. D., Ref. Prediger und Lehrer am Allentown Seminar. Philadelphia. Schaefer und Koradi, 1860.

Dr. Kessler unfolds briefly the idea of a Liturgy, and then discusses the propriety of liturgical services, and the duty of a minister in regard to the use of a Liturgy. The Discourse was prepared at the request of East Pennsylvania Classis; and is the result of a thorough investigation of the general subject. It is well adapted to the present transition period of the German Reformed Church from a somewhat puritanized state to the stand-point of the Reformation; and should therefore be extensively circulated among our German congregations.

E. V. G.

A SERMON preached before the Alumni Association of the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church, located at Tiffin, Ohio, at its annual meeting held at Akron, Ohio, on Friday evening, June 1st, 1860. By Rev. Isaac H. Reiter. Published by request of the Association, Dayton, Ohio. Office of The Western Missionary. 1860.

This Sermon gives us a full and accurate history of the Western Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church.

First opened at Canton, Ohio, under Rev. Dr. Buettner as

Professor, it had two students and continued in operation less than a year. Suspended for nearly ten years, it was finally revived by the Synod of Cincinnati in Aug., 1848, and located at Columbus, Rev. A. P. Freese being chosen Prof. of Theology. Five students were admitted. The Institution was suspended in July, 1849, and in October the Professor tendered his resignation to the Synod of Tiffin. A special Synod, convened at Tarlton in April, 1850, located the Seminary in that village; but the Tarlton Seminary was never organized. Five months later, September 1850, the annual Synod of Navarre transferred the Seminary to Tiffin, in consideration of a donation from the citizens of $11,030; and proceeded also to found a Literary Institution, under the name of Heidelberg College. Rev. B. S. Schneck D. D., was elected Professor of Theology; Rev. J. H. Good, Professor of Mathematics; and Rev. Reuben Good; Rector of the Preparatory Department.

At a special meeting of Synod held at Tiffin, Dec. 14th, 1850, Dr. Schneck having declined the call, Rev. E. V. Gerhart was elected Professor of Theology and President of the College, who accepted and filled the office for four years. On his resignation Dr. Schneck was again elected to fill the place, and again declined. The annual Synod of Xenia, June 1855, elected Rev. Moses Kieffer, of Reading, Pa. Dr. Kieffer accepted and has been carrying forward the Institutions successfully since November, 1855.

Since the opening of the Tiffin Seminary in June, 1851, it has had *fifty-seven* students, of whom *forty-two* have become ministers of the Gospel—*thirty-nine* in the German Ref. Church, *one* in the Prot. Dutch Ref. Church; *one* in the Ger. Evangelical Church and one in the Methodist Church.

The Western branch of the German Ref. Church has had a long series of painful discouragements to contend with in establishing a Theological School, and College; but perseverance in faith has overcome every obstacle. The Institutions are doing a great work for the Reformed Church. They merit and should receive the cordial and liberal support of the ministry and laity.

Mr. Reiter has rendered the Church a special service in drawing so faithful a picture of the reverses and successes, the struggles and triumphs, of this central Institution.

E. V. G.

A FAMILIAR COMPEND OF GEOLOGY. For the School and Family. By A. M. Hillside. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. pp. 150.

The title explains the character of the book. It is what it purports to be—a lucid, concise and accurate manual on Geology in questions and answers, adapted to the capacities and attainments of youth, and based on an extensive and thorough knowledge of the Science. The book will answer an excellent purpose as a text-book in the Family and School.

E. V. G.